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THE  
METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

VOLUME LXXXIII.—FIFTH SERIES, VOLUME XVII.

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., EDITOR.

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# METHODIST REVIEW.

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JANUARY, 1901.

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## ART. I.—THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY: A NEW ALIGNMENT FOR A NEW IDEAL.

ONE of the most marked phenomena of our times is the vast growth of the Church. In 1800 its membership was but seven per cent of the population. In 1880 it had grown to be over twenty per cent, and in 1890 over twenty-one per cent. The proportion of evangelical Church members to the population was three times as large in 1890 as in 1800. It then aggregated over twenty millions. The estimate now is that in this year, 1900, it will number over twenty-seven millions. Considered as a voting force, in most places it would at least hold the balance of power.

With this vast enlargement of strength a new and enlarged conception of its mission is being imparted to the Church by the Holy Spirit. It is that the reign of God is to be set up here on earth in a regenerated society, in answer to the prayer of Christ, "Thy kingdom come." The Church begins to perceive it is our duty not simply to save the individual, but also the State. We are to model its laws upon Christian lines by electing lawmakers who will legislate according to righteous principles. It is our duty to choose judges, mayors, councilmen, and police directors who shall in truth not bear the sword in vain, but be a terror to evildoers. Then, when these true ministers of God shall have made and enforced good laws, it is our duty to protect them by our ballots from the revenge of the evil-minded at the next election.

To be explicit, in short, it begins to dawn upon the religious consciousness of the Church that it is our duty to take part in

politics, meaning by that word every social movement that has to do with the public welfare. Our duty is indicated and measured by our enlarged ability. "We ought because we can" is the universal rule of moral obligation. It is nothing to the point to argue that the early Church did not consider political affairs to be within its province. Jesus did not in his time directly attempt the abolition of slavery, because his followers were too poor and weak, and to have directly undertaken this work would but have resulted in their destruction. Paul never formally inaugurated a prison-reform movement, because neither in numbers nor influence was the Church of that period adequate to such a task. But when time and numbers gave strength the people of God essayed these duties. And, in like manner, there is laid upon us, now, according to our enlarged estate, the obligation to save society as it was not put upon our fathers.

The thought of this article is that these new powers and responsibilities of the Church call for a somewhat new alignment of our forces. Sometimes upon the battlefield, a successful charge upon the enemy's position demands the formation of a new line of battle for attacking another strategic point. This is precisely the present situation of the Church. We have been so successful in wresting individual souls from the grasp of Satan that it has laid upon us the duty of changing somewhat the direction of our front. Our guides are now to "take post," in military phrase, for assault upon the main evils of society. Up to this time the forces and activities of Methodism, for example, have chiefly been aligned, first, to individual soul saving and, next, to the development of the individual Christian life. We have scarcely contemplated affecting society in the mass. We have placed peculiar emphasis, first, upon the revival, which is a series of attempts to rescue the unit soul; second, upon the class meeting, which is, pre-eminently, a series of exercises to develop the personal Christian life. Nearly all our preaching and prayers resolve upon the individual center. And what is true of us is also substantially correct of all the Christian denominations. We have exercises and books *ad infinitum* for the development of the individual; it is only quite recently that we are beginning to think much



of the duty of the Church to the State and society, of Christian citizenship and the moral responsibility of the ballot. Admitted, of course, that there have formerly been some furtive glances toward political duties aside from the direct line of the Church's march. When the blast of war has blown in our ears this for a while has compelled recognition of our obligation to assist in preserving the State. On Thanksgiving Day, also, the minister has perhaps descanted on some social reform, or scored some glaring political delinquency. But even at such times, not to speak of ordinary occasions, whenever the Church has looked in that direction we have felt a sense of newness and strangeness in our attitude. We were not quite sure of ourselves nor of our action.

A paragraph from an address before the Epworth League Convention, last year, in Indianapolis so coincides with the line of our thought touching one great enemy of the Church that we quote it in this connection :

The time has come when Christian forces should make a new alignment. The important and substantial industries of the nation are against the saloon. The labor unions and fraternities that seek the betterment of the workingmen are against the saloon. The time, therefore, has come when Christian voters should ally themselves with the leaders of labor and industry, with the workingmen and manufacturer, and crush forever the foe of commerce, the enemy of labor, the promoter of poverty, of heavy taxes, and the inspirer of crime such as is committed nowhere else on earth but where the saloon is a recognized institution before the law.

Let there be a new alignment. Let the Church of God stand ready to form a league, offensive and defensive, with any and every power wielding the ballot or shaping the thoughts of men. Let her leaders be seen in workingmen's conventions; let them confer with the leaders of labor and the managers of industry, and thus array against the unrestrainable enemy of all the concentrated, irresistible power of all.\*

One result of the old alignment is that we have had all sorts of sporadic, temporary societies springing up for reform purposes outside the Church, which with a right attitude on our part might as well have been kept inside. There is a mistake somewhere, when those who want to work in any special way for the glory of God or the good of men have to go outside

\* Address of R. J. Cooke, D.D.

to do it. The Church has a commission from on high to be sufficient unto all such things. It should be an inclusive and not an exclusive organization. Whatsoever things are good should have a place in the Church. Nothing akin to the welfare of man is foreign to it. It was not intended of God to be a little society—a mere small side show in the world—but to ultimately embrace within itself all the social relations and functions of the perfectly organized New Jerusalem let down from heaven.

A further result is that whenever a moral question—as slavery, prohibition of the saloon, and the like—has happened to become involved in party politics preachers have felt themselves warned off that ground. Over vast fields of moral thought and action our former too narrow ideal of the Church's function has put up the warning, "No thoroughfare," and, shutting out the pulpit, the divinely ordained moral instructor of the people, has turned over large areas of popular life and action to the ministry of secularism and diabolism. The pulpit should speak more fully of the duty of Christians to society. We ought to discuss the responsibility the ballot confers and the limits of proper party allegiance. We should preach not merely the obligation of Christian men to God, but also to Cæsar; and when it happens, as in our republic, that our hearers are themselves Cæsar, constituting the voting power, making and executing laws, and determining social conditions, we should inculcate upon the careless and immoral in politics the duty of getting new hearts and of turning their feet into right paths. No devil's outcry of "political preaching" should frighten ministers from their function of being true nineteenth century prophets of the Most High God. Satan has managed, by that innuendo against the public preaching of social and civic duties, to largely scare the pulpit into the realm of supernatural and the abstract, with the result that he continues to possess in great part the kingdom of this world. He can always be expected to howl with rage, of course, when the Church invades what he assumes is his territory; but that minister is a poor exponent of the God of righteousness and the final dominion of the good who yields to this protest of the adversary.

In this connection we quote with approval the words of a thoughtful and vigorous writer in a recent book :

I never can understand the bold and persistent statement that Jesus had nothing to do with politics . . . except on the ground that we are anxious to keep him out of politics. . . . It is only an apostate Christianity that asserts that the Christ has nothing to do with politics. . . . The reign of Christ will never be, unless it comes as a political . . . reign. The notion that it can come otherwise is the accursed fruit of that worst and blackest of all heresies—the heresy that religion is one thing and life another. The kingdoms of this world belong to Christ; and the Christianity that the preaching of Christ must be kept separate from politics . . . is simply the betrayer of Christ into the hands of his enemies. The price paid for this treason is the money of political . . . self-interest, as it ever has been and ever will be, until we have the revival that shall show forth Christ as the giver of political law.\*

Some may say: "Save the individual souls and you will save society. Convert men, make their hearts right, and you will need no new alignment." This is much the same as declaring: "Make all the individual citizens of a country brave and patriotic, and there will be no need to instruct them in military drill to repel the invader of their land. You can depend upon their courage and love of country alone to supply the lack of discipline." The individual soldiers of the Christian host are brave enough now; but they need to have the foe clearly pointed out to them, and then they should be taught how to move together and plant their shots unitedly against the brothel and the saloon, against corrupt politics and civic immoralities. A converted heart does not confer omniscient knowledge nor infallible judgment. Men need constant help in applying general principles of conduct to their own life—the "thou art the man" sort of address. Of what practical value, for example, is it to exhort one's hearers to vote for temperance members of the legislature when it is a fact, as those who have tested the matter have discovered, that not half of them know who their representatives are, much less are acquainted with their temperance record? In municipal contests those who are engaged in the struggle for civic righteousness find no obstacle to good government so potent as the ignorance of the average Christian voter regarding the

\* Professor G. D. Herron, *Between Cæsar and Jesus*.

nominee or the officeholder of his own party. The partisan newspapers conspire to keep the voter in the dark, to confuse his judgment with party cries, to beget a craze of blind party enthusiasm which shall overshadow all else. Christian voters frequently need enlightenment from the Church. There is often no other way by which the true facts can be conveyed to them except by the religious press or pulpit.

That there are dangers to the ministers and Church editor connected with such preaching of politics we admit in advance—dangers of misinformation, of wrong spirit in the preacher, of foolish speech, of stirring up the evil passions of some of his auditors. But, if we expect to open our mouths only when there is no danger, we had better resign our ministry as dumb dogs that dare not bark. And, if the Church is never to make a movement of a political sort, for fear of mistakes, it will likely commit a tenfold larger mistake by sitting still. Its supineness will countenance some moral wrong for which it would at least have escaped the responsibility by a brave effort for the abatement of the evil. As Satan drills his army in the tactics of unrighteousness, we need to teach our people how to effectually overthrow his plans by a federated, intelligent attack upon the enemy. If the children of this world are wise in their generation, the children of light must be none the less sagacious.

As bearing upon this matter of a new alignment it is most important to observe that the proposition does not involve any abandonment or abatement of the soul-saving work of the Church. If it did, any thought of addition to the scope of the Church's activities ought to be definitely dropped at once and forever. To address ourselves to civic duties does not involve the omission of the prayer meeting, the class, the revival, or any slackening of energy in rescuing and developing individuals. On the contrary, attention to civic duties will make this work more successful by attracting and holding a large number of people not now interested. For the Church to take a more active part in social politics will enlist the co-operation of persons of the practical, utilitarian type of character. At present it secures the sympathy of the other-worldly and spiritually-minded almost alone. In his recent

book a prominent writer \* has forcibly shown us the need of broadening the Church idea in this respect. The work of the Church will then appeal to men, and to the masculine virtues of forcefulness and courage in addition, as it does now to the feminine graces of tenderness and patience. One of the main reasons why women now so outnumber men in our membership is because the current type of religion is adapted almost exclusively to the passive, feminine virtues rather than to active, virile excellences. Give men something to do that suits the manly character, speak to them upon themes that interest men, and the numbers who care for the Church will be larger.†

The widening of the religious horizon, for which we contend, would afford a greater variety to the exercises of the Church and thus stimulate a larger interest. To the pulpit it would legitimize a vast number of the themes which are now largely rejected as very interesting but of somewhat doubtful propriety. Let a preacher, for example, speak of the enforcement of the laws of the city and of the proper conditions of success in business life, or of the causes of physical health, and there are thousands who declare that it is very entertaining and instructive but that "it is not the Gospel." The preacher, in their opinion, is a sensationalist, or a lecturer, rather than a true minister of Christ. An enlargement of the Church's ideal would show that his preaching has just as legitimate a bearing on the spread of Christ's kingdom as the preaching of the revivalist.

This enlargement of ideal would also remove the bane of deadness from many a prayer and conference meeting which now revolves too exclusively around personal religious experience. It is this narrowness of scope which accounts for the habitual absence of many of our most worthy people from these gatherings. Spiritual egotism and selfishness, no matter how refined, soon cease to be attractive. The bringing in of such a practical topic as how to help the poor of the city, or how to abate the saloon on the next corner, would insure variety, would inter-

\* Professor George S. Coe, *The Spiritual Life*.

† It has been often remarked, for example, in Columbus, the residence of the writer, that Dr. Washington Gladden's pulpit, which dwells mainly upon applied Christianity, has attracted the men of the city more than any other.



est the people, and would surely be the first step in the doing of Christly work.

We would thus bring to the membership of the Church a broader development. The incessant focalization of thought and effort in personal self-culture would be swallowed up and lost in a larger, more operative love. The truest self-development comes not by incessantly watching and speaking of our moods and feelings, but by forgetting them and going out of self into the life of service for others. The reason some of the best men and women of the Church feel no interest in what are called the "social means of grace" is because they are anything but "social;" they are merely introspective, centripetal. They direct attention and thought to self; whereas Jesus taught that we would save our lives by losing sight of self and by cherishing the sentiment of good will toward others. Such an enlargement of the purposes of our religious assemblies would at least produce a better balancing of the introspective and the outgoing tendencies of human nature, of the centripetal and centrifugal forces, and would lead us to resolve in a more symmetrical orbit.

The new alignment for which we plead is perfectly practicable. The good citizenship movements in the Epworth League, the Society of Christian Endeavor, and the Baptist Young People's Union all look in this direction. The Church of the future is in these associations of Christian young people. "Look up," first says the Epworth League; then, next, "Lift up." Its members do not stand looking dreamily into heaven like the men of Galilee, but they go forth to preach and practice a social Gospel, as the disciples were bidden do, beginning at Jerusalem. In this they are a model for the Church.

Such an attempt to cleanse the springs of national life by going into questions of politics that are moral would involve the cooperation of all the denominations, and this also is practicable. The Churches are already learning to work together. The American Bible Society, the Evangelical Alliance, the Christian Commission in the civil war, the Young Men's Christian Association, the American Antisaloon League—all these are instances of united effort which could be increased tenfold by a universal crusade for civic righteousness. In an

irregular, furtive way many of the Churches now engage somewhat in politics after the fashion we advocate. They sometimes make common cause for the election of temperance officers, the enforcement of antisaloon laws, and the like. All we plead for is that the Church as a whole should do this regularly and boldly, as part of its well-defined and established policy, and not fitfully and half apologetically as now.

It is perfectly practicable, for example, that the churches of any considerable city before the next primaries should hold a pre-primary Christian convention and serve notice on all political managers that the moral character of every candidate would be carefully reviewed, and also that no candidate would be supported by the religious people who would not engage to enforce the laws against gambling, unlawful saloon-keeping, and brothels. If it were once understood that any candidate distasteful to the churches would receive their united opposition at the polls, political managers would be quite sparing of such nominations, and, taught by consequences, would scarcely affront the religious and moral citizens more than once. Such a pre-primary convention would certainly be quite as Christian as a church mass meeting to devise help for the persecuted Chinese Christians or to provide for sending the Gospel to Africa.

When notoriously evil nominations have once been made good men reckon it right to get together and defeat them. Why not forestall this necessity by the pre-primary Christian convention? Why not do with deliberate forethought and open declaration, in advance, what we afterward secretly try—often too late—to do anyhow? Why not declare that we are in the battle for righteousness, as Churches, and to stay? A New York brewer said: "The Church people can drive us when they try, and we know it. Our hope is in working after they grow tired, and continuing to work three hundred and sixty-five days in the year." We should be a standing army for the kingdom of God, always in the field. Both sides of a board cannot be on top at once; one must be under. Morality must be above, or it is beneath. The Churches will rule or be ruled. We are largely ruled by the elements of evil now; and the fault is ours because of our divisions and

our squeamishness about coming out clearly on the Lord's side. We sin; for, when God has given us the power to rule, we ought to do this.

This work involves the separation of local and municipal politics from national politics, in many cases. There is no need, for example, to mix the enforcement of the law for the Sunday closing of saloons with the tariff or the silver question. It is a trick of professional politicians, who make their living by the game, to run the two together, in order to keep Christian voters in line with saloon followers. Or if, in any case, they do legitimately coincide, we are not usually so poor in good men in any party but that political managers can present decent candidates to represent national ideas. For example, there is no need to nominate a tool of the liquor traffic to set forth free silver in the State legislature. Virtue is not so scarce in any party that in order to get its party views regarding tariff advocated in the national congress it must endure the candidacy of a moral leper. Let notices be served on caucuses that, in order to hold Christian voters in line upon national issues, they must nominate candidates who will subserve local morality also, and they will usually take the hint. If the Churches are duly insistent in the matter, Christian people will usually find the interests of local righteousness and their several party convictions on national questions represented together in upright candidates.

The programme we advocate will involve a certain sacrifice of party spirit by some Church members. It will call for a certain crucifixion of pride to vote against the nominee of one's party at the suggestion of the Church. But we already submit to its guidance in far more important particulars, and it is safe to assume that humble and teachable Christians will welcome information which will enable them to do their duty at the polls. If their grace is not up to this mark, they would have to obtain more or go from among us. For the Church must come to act in such things as a moral unit. We have allowed ill-informed, misdirected notions of personal liberty to shear the Church of political power. Politicians fear one saloon more than ten churches. We have subjected concert of action to individual whims until, instead of moving "like a mighty

army," as we sing, our congregations are more like a series of undisciplined mobs. We must learn to sacrifice our own questionable love of party to the greatest good of the greatest number. It is surely not extravagant to believe that devout Christians, as a whole, may come to do this in politics, as they are now doing in so many other directions, or as they even now do in politics when acquainted with the moral bearings of any nomination.

A recent statement is that "a letter signed by the bishops of London and Rochester, Rev. H. Price Hughes, Rev. F. B. Meyer, and the chief rabbi has been issued, calling upon the municipal electors in the New London boroughs to abstain from party politics and vote for candidates solely with a desire to promote the social and moral reform of the people." Such a movement would be an illustration of the general thought advocated by this article. Perhaps the Church of England is to lead the Church of America in the new alignment for the new ideal.

*J. C. Jackson.*

## ART. II.—JONES VERY—A SON OF THE SPIRIT.

"I knew a man who under a certain religious frenzy, omitting all compliment and commonplace, spoke to the conscience of every person he encountered, and that with great insight and beauty. At first he was resisted, and all men agreed he was mad. But persisting, as, indeed, he could not help doing for some time in this course, he attained to the advantage of bringing every man of his acquaintance into true relations with him. No man would think of speaking falsely with him, or of putting him off with any chat of markets or reading rooms. But every man was constrained by so much sincerity to face him, and what love of nature, what poetry, what symbol of truth he had, he did certainly show him."—*Emerson's appreciation of J. Very, in his essay on "Friendship."*

ON Main Street in the village of Peabody, Massachusetts, at its junction with Boston Street, Salem, is a little graveyard consecrated by the dust of the Reverend Jones Very, who, dying on a May day, 1880, was buried there. A granite family monument at the foot of a locust tree, surrounded by an iron railing, marks the place, and a marble slab, flat in the leveled earth, distinguishes the poet's grave. The writer pilgrimed thither on a July afternoon, 1900, walking out from the glutted center of Salem through old Federal Street and stopping by the way at No. 154, where the poet lived for many years, and died. The directory at Peabody Museum makes no note of the place, and a stranger would not know that the poet of transcendentalism, the friend and fellow of Ralph Waldo Emerson, one of America's noblest sonnet writers, once lived in the ancient town where Roger Williams preached, Giles Corey suffered martyrdom, and Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote *The Scarlet Letter*. True, the poet whom Emerson, Hawthorne, and Bryant knew is not the poet of the crowd; and he sometimes wrote verse which no criticism, however sympathetic, can pronounce poetic. Not always was he inspired. He wrote, as Wordsworth often wrote, by habit or by volition; and it is no dishonor to say of him, as it has been said of Wordsworth, that a selection of his poetry is essential to his place in literature.

He was, first of all, the poet of transcendentalism, that



unique intellectual movement of the early nineteenth century, which, subordinating the Hebrew-Christian sacred books to the monitions of the spirit, sought truth by new attitudes of independent or self-dependent insight and inquiry. An old Concord villager, whom the writer found mowing grass in the yard that surrounds the abandoned Hillside Chapel, where the School of Philosophy used to meet, remarked that the Concord philosophers endeavored to know more than God himself knows.

There is a quality of mysticism, therefore, in Very's verse which sets him forever apart and makes him the poet of those who seek the spirit in hidden places. He was characteristically a recluse spirit, an unpopular poet, speaking to the few, but to them with a voice of authority. Mary Fisher, in her *General Survey of American Literature*, says, "An overweening vanity and persuasion of his own purity made him lose all sense of relation and proportion." But that is a crudely false and distorted estimate, wholly out of tune with his genuine humility. No one can gaze long at the portrait which prefaces his collected works without seeing that Jones Very was the incarnation of the sublimated moral sense. He said that he felt it an honor to wash his own face because it was the temple of the Spirit. It was his virtue that, there in Salem, he achieved a refined and scrupulous purity which, while it partook of the mystical, dreamy piety of the cloister, was yet an out-of-door piety, genuine in unselfishness.

Miss Fisher, who exhibits especial detestation for the poet, says: "His love of God crowded from his heart the love of man. He was pure, but his purity was that of white, dry sand, in which not even a nettle will grow, and so, 'our brave saint,' as Emerson calls him, has done less for the world than many a sinner with the gift of song." Perhaps Very did not do much for "the world," but if, for many years, he lived a semirecluse life in the old house on Federal Street, his earlier career was potent in excessive moral activity and self-assertiveness. Emerson wrote: "Jones Very is gone into the multitude as solitary as Jesus. In dismissing him I seem to have discharged an arrow into the heart of society. Wherever that young enthusiast goes he will astonish and discon-

cert men by dividing for them the cloud that covers the gulf in man."

Emerson knew Very in the days of his enthusiasm, when he was talking religion to Harvard students, evangelizing the ministry of Salem, writing sonnets at the rate of two a day, and charging all his environing atmosphere with the electricity of his intense moral conviction. To Emerson, indeed, we owe the publication, in 1839, of a volume of Very's poems—the precious "first edition"—a copy of which, belonging to the late George Ticknor, may be seen in the Boston Public Library—this high function of the poet-philosopher being performed not only as a tribute to Very's genius, but as a recognition of the moral energy that had sought to attach him to his "school." But Emerson held true to the revelations that had been made to his own mind, and convinced Very that, though there was one spirit or mind, there were many voices of utterance and modes of manifestation. Very then went his own way, but for a period of two or three years lived the life of a moral enthusiast, an evangelist of the individual soul. At Harvard, in an institution where suspense of judgment on religious questions is regarded as characteristic of the highest culture, his tutor-ministry became unwelcome, and at Salem doubts as to his sanity arose. The movement to incarcerate him originated, it would appear, among certain ministers of religion whom he disturbed in their sleep. "He called on the different members of the profession and offered to pray with them, that they might submit themselves wholly to the divine will and be baptized with the Holy Ghost." And in this one is reminded of John Woolman, the Quaker of Mount Holly, New Jersey, who was moved by the Spirit to bear testimony against slavery, thereby disturbing the "Society" and exciting a spirit of offense. It is said that Very was generally received with courtesy, but "some of the brethren demanded that the peripatetic evangelist be shut up in an insane asylum." And the parish had peace. Of his "insanity," however, there must be reasonable doubt. However, it is good to read that, being persuaded that he needed treatment for nervous exhaustion consequent upon the highly wrought state in which he had lived, he consented to put himself under care of a physician at Somerville, Massa-

chusetts. Calmly emerging, 1843, he took up such work in the Unitarian ministry as was given him to do until, in 1880, his life ended. "He was never a popular preacher, and received no regular pastorate, but occasionally supplied a Unitarian pulpit. He never married, but, after the death of his mother, lived quietly in the family home with his sisters. His mornings were spent in study, and his afternoons in rambling alone over the fields and hills." He was never "popular," and did not do much for "the world;" but a minister for whom he sometimes preached said, "I told my people that to see Very for half an hour in my pulpit and know that such a man existed in the world was a far greater sermon than any ever preached to them from the lips of an orator."

The author of the *Survey*, from whom we have already quoted, says of his personal appearance :

His portrait represents a long, thin face, the cheeks drawn in and covered on the lower part with a scant fringe of hair, the mouth pursed up, the eyes sunken and dreamy, the forehead bald, the top head high and pointed arched. It is the face of one to whom the world is but a place of unwilling sojourn, the face of one who would be solitary in crowded places, and in whose heart there is an unstilled hunger for the unknown.

In truth, there is not a line in all Very's poetry to prove that this world was to him a place of "unwilling sojourn," not a line to show that he had an "unstilled hunger for the unknown." He believed that nature is the garment of the immanent God and that his life lay in the plan of God; whether here or there, his life was one with the will of God. For him the supreme activity of the human volition lay in the endeavor to do always, as Jesus of Nazareth had done, the holy will of the divine Father. He believed that he had identified his personal will with that of the holy Fatherhood, and therefore rested patiently in the unfolding of his career. It has been alleged that transcendentalism lifted him, then left him, and that, after his exaltation and descent, he never came to his own. It is certain that he never became a "practical man;" political economists class him as a "consumer;" materialistic critics pronounce him infertile, a mere parasite.

Perhaps it was from some self-consciousness of his seem-

ing uselessness as a member of society that he wrote these sonnets:

## THE IDLER.

I idle stand that I may find employ,  
 Such as my Master when he comes will give;  
 I cannot find in mine own work my joy,  
 But wait, although in waiting I must live.  
 My body shall not turn which way it will,  
 But stand till I the appointed road can find,  
 And journeying so his messages fulfill,  
 And do at every step the work designed.  
 Enough for me still day by day to wait  
 Till Thou who form'st me find'st me too a task,  
 A cripple lying at the rich man's gate,  
 Content for the few crumbs I get to ask;  
 A laborer but in heart, while bound my hands  
 Hang idly down, still waiting thy commands.

## THE HAND AND FOOT.

The hand and foot that stir not, they shall find,  
 Sooner than all, the rightful place to go,  
 Now in their motion free as roving wind,  
 Though first no snail so limited and slow;  
 I mark them full of labor all the day,  
 Each active motion made in perfect rest.  
 They cannot from their path mistaken stray,  
 Though 'tis not theirs yet in it they are blest;  
 The bird has not their hidden track found out,  
 The cunning fox though full of art he be.  
 It is the way unseen, the certain route,  
 Where, ever bound, yet thou art ever free.  
 The path of Him whose perfect law of love  
 Bids spheres and atoms in just order move.

This is the expression of a profound philosophy of life. The Salem poet, so sensitively dowered, so scholarly in habitude of mind; a lover of books and a lover of nature; withal, too, a genuine lover of man; a "strange recluse," to quote his sister's phrase, who was never more abroad than when in his study and never more shut in than when rambling over the hills that skirt Salem—he held a philosophy which even in the Stock Exchange is recognized to be sane and admirable. The *Boston Herald* of July 27, 1900, contains this paragraph in the "financial" columns:

So welcome is the rain that traders in the market are content to do nothing but wait, content in idleness, and the quality of idleness to-day,

as comparable with the rainfall, is of pronounced description, and should prove a good thing for individuals and the market. This idleness attests the futility of the late attempt to boom the market, with so many important factors missing. Idleness gives opportunity to study the situation and weigh the factors for and against the success of speculative endeavor.

Very had no knowledge of markets and not much knowledge of men, as men count "knowledge," but he knew the significance of patient submission to inevitable conditions. He was thrust aside from the strong currents of native life, his career was doomed to the narrow circles of an eddy—but he bore in noble, uncomplaining silence the burden of a seeming failure. Emerson predicted for him a large and growing audience, but Very's audience was never large, and for a decade it has not grown. In the great public libraries there is no demand for his "work," and critics cannot agree as to his place in the world of American literature.

"Never was there more foolish overrating of a humble power of rhyming" is the opinion of Miss Fisher in one of her recent surveys of the world of American letters. "His love for nature," she adds, "never rises above a comfortable sensation of being undisturbed in his self-communings." But in "The Columbine" is found a sentiment deeper than that of "drowsy comfort;" in it there is expressed in almost perfect form that sense of identification with inner nature which the true poet always has, and which every matured soul has in its higher moods of insight:

Still, still my eyes will gaze long fixed on thee,  
Till I forget that I am called a man;  
And at thy side fast-rooted seem to be,  
And the breeze comes my cheek with thine to fan.  
Upon this craggy hill my life shall pass,  
A life of summer days and summer joys,  
Nodding our honey-bells 'mid pliant grass,  
In which the bee half hid his time employs;  
And here we'll drink with thirsty pores the rain,  
And turn dew-sprinkled to the rising sun,  
And look when in the flaming west again  
His orb across the heavens its path has run.  
Here left in darkness on the rocky steep,  
My weary eyes shall close, like folding flowers, in sleep.

To understand verse so clear is not very difficult, but it is impossible for an unsympathetic compiler and bookmonger,

the mere critic of the schoolroom, to discern the cosmic quality of a sonnet that ranks among the finest ever written by an American. Indeed, Higginson and Bigelow in their collocation of *American Sonnets* quote as many from Jones Very as from either Aldrich, Lanier, Longfellow, Lowell, Louise C. Moulton, or Edith M. Thomas, giving him the fullest possible measure of recognition in the following noble group of sonnets :

## LOVE.

I asked of Time to tell me where was Love,  
 He pointed to her footsteps on the snow,  
 Where first the angel lighted from above,  
 And bade me note the way and onward go,  
 Through populous streets of cities spreading wide,  
 By lonely cottage rising on the moor  
 Where bursts from sundered cliff the struggling tide,  
 To where it hails the sea with answering roar.  
 She led me on ; o'er mountain's frozen head,  
 Where mile on mile still stretches on the plain,  
 Then homeward whither first my feet she led  
 I traced her path along the snow again ;  
 But there the sun had melted from the earth  
 The prints where first she trod, a child of mortal birth.

## NATURE.

The bubbling brook doth leap when I come by,  
 Because my feet find measure with its call ;  
 The birds know when the friend they love is nigh,  
 For I am known to them both great and small ;  
 The flowers that on the lovely hillside grow  
 Expect me there when Spring their bloom has given ;  
 And many a tree and bush my wanderings know,  
 And e'en the clouds and silent stars of heaven,  
 For he who with his Maker walks aright  
 Shall be their lord, as Adam was before ;  
 His ear shall catch each sound with new delight,  
 Each object wear the dress which then it wore,  
 And he, as when erect in soul he stood,  
 Hears from his Father's lips that all is good.

## HE WAS ACQUAINTED WITH GRIEF.

I cannot tell the sorrows that I feel,  
 By the night's darkness, by the prison's gloom ;  
 There is no sight that can the death reveal  
 The spirit suffers in a living tomb.  
 There is no sound of grief that mourners raise,  
 No moaning of the wind, or dirgelike sea,

Nor hymns, though prophet tones inspire the lays,  
That can the spirit's grief awake in thee.  
Thou, too, must suffer, as it suffers here,  
The death in Christ, to know the Father's love;  
Then in the strains that angels love to hear  
Thou, too, shalt hear the spirit's song above,  
And learn in grief what these can never tell  
A note too deep for earthly voice to swell.

Dana and Bryant agreed that Very's sonnets possess extraordinary grace and originality, being "among the finest in the language." The collection made by W. P. Andrews, of Salem, published in 1883, justifies us in thinking with Simonds that in greatness, as well as in completeness of sincerity, the poems of Very may be taken as those of "one of the chief American poets." The sonnets are consummately perfect in form and possessed of that subtle power which Ruskin pronounced the paradox of art—"the power to stay what is fleeting, to enlighten what is incomprehensible, to incorporate the things that have no measure, and immortalize the things that have no duration." The history of their production is striking. "In the earlier period of his most remarkable production, during the years 1837-8-9, these verses poured forth from him with extraordinary rapidity and were penciled down as they 'came' to him, on a great sheet of paper which he had folded to pages of small note size." According to Miss Peabody "they were produced at the rate of one or two a day. When the sheet was full Mr. Very brought it to her and she transmitted it to Mr. Emerson at Concord, who afterward printed these verses with others, which Very himself gave him, substantially unaltered." To Very himself there was a kind of mystery about his writing; he regarded himself simply as a medium. Whatever may be the correct psychology of his poetic activity, literary criticism, if it be true to its own canons, must admit that the sonnets, at least, exhibit more than a "humble power of rhyming." If Jones Very—the Very of 1839—was only "a humble rhymers," then Curtis, Emerson, Hawthorne, Dana, and Bryant were mistaken in their panegyric. His was more than a "slender rill;" at his best he was one of our truest, greatest poets to whom nature opened her secrets.

The physical garment and external incident of Very's life were more than commonplace. A graduate of Harvard, holding honors equal with those conferred upon the head of his class who had taken the regular course in the university, he tutored there as a student in the Divinity School with such definiteness of impression that in 1880—the year of his death—the members of his classes gave tribute to his fine skill as an instructor in Greek and as a monitor in morals. For, even as a tutor in Greek, Very, a young man of twenty-three years, exercised high spiritual functions, visiting students in their rooms, addressing them on religious subjects, and urging them to give due attention to God. His method was more direct than that afterward employed by Phillips Brooks and the university preachers, but it was none the less sincere. Had he been a Catholic of the Middle Ages he would have been a monk and would have been duly sainted and honored with a “day” in the calendar; and even in these unmiraculous days a halo seems to shine about his white face, with its sunken cheeks, its high brow, its large eyes.

“His life must have been somewhat monotonous and dreary,” says Andrews in the memoir. But there is no lament of loneliness in his verse; he rather seems to have accepted the fact of his isolation as a divine allotment, due to temperament and inwrought habit of mind. “He moved in Salem, like Dante among the Florentines, a man who had seen God and drew his inspiration from the spirit itself, far away in the soul, where no ambition comes, but only lowliness, humility, and seeking.” He lived through the storm and stress period of the nation's life, but his opinions on the slavery question were not expressed. He took no part in the awful fight. Forty-eight years old when the war of 1861 began, he was in his sixty-seventh year when the problem of reconstruction had been solved.

When he died the *Salem Gazette*, in its issue of May 11, 1880—the first issue after his decease on Saturday, the 8th—contains an editorial headed, “Rev. Jones Very.” It is a tribute to his purity, humility, unworldliness, his freedom from bigotry, his genuine interest in the great affairs of human history, his love of science, not for science' sake, but be-



cause it disclosed to him the laws of nature's God. For many years he had contributed to the columns of the *Gazette*; his last contribution, a sonnet on "The Influence of Channing," appeared in the issue of April 8, signed "J. V." With persistent love of letters, he was a frequent visitor at the *Gazette* office, soliciting use of such exchanges as contained articles on scientific subjects. One imagines the tall figure, clad after the fashion of another generation, with a suggestion of limitation in circumstance, evidently an unpractical man for whom there was no "position" anywhere in Church or State. Like John Foster, the essayist, he was not a preacher whom congregations like to hear, though at Eastport and Beverley he preached with more favor than at other places.

He was neither rich nor famous. He had done nothing, but the newspaper gave honor to his character. He had done nothing, but he was everything that a true man ought to be. He had won his soul, he had saved his life; he had made a guileless manhood, if he had not made money. He had been true to his "call." Emerson had said to him, "Do not let a whisper or a sigh of the muse go unattended to or unrecorded. The sentiment which inspires your poetry is so deep and true and the expression is so simple that I am sure you will find your audience very large." But the "audience" never appeared to fulfill the prophecy, and Very lived for many years face to face with his failure to get the wider hearing and the larger fame. Readers of the *Gazette* saw the initials "J. V.," but read the "news" and the "locals," and the poetry was not often copied. It is pathetic to read that, though conscious of his inability to win success either as writer or preacher, he preserved serenity of soul, sweetness of spirit.

It has been said that his philosophy was Buddhistic, at least in part; but he would have denied that. He accepted the Christ teaching, and affirmed that he had reproduced in himself Jesus Christ's attitude toward the Father. He could not disconnect his thought from the Hebrew-Christian books. He was a Channing Unitarian, whose moral earnestness had made him undesired in the pastorate. He was too orthodox for the liberals, too liberal for the orthodox. His catholicity made it impossible to catalogue him. Yet, passive and infer-

tile, his life had its place in the cosmos of God, and we may hope that to the writer of "The Created" will come the vision of peace :

There is naught for thee by thy haste to gain ;  
 'Tis not the swift with Me that win the race ;  
 Through long endurance of delaying pain  
 Thine opened eye shall see thy Father's face ;  
 Nor here nor there, where now thy feet would turn,  
 Thou wilt find Him who ever seeks for thee ;  
 But let obedience quench desires that burn,  
 And where thou art thy Father too will be.  
 Behold, as day by day the spirit grows,  
 Thou seest by inward light things hid before,  
 Till what God is, thyself, his image, shows,  
 And thou wilt wear the robe that first thou wore,  
 When, bright with radiance from his forming hand,  
 He saw the lord of all his creations stand.

This was the dream of the soul that we know as "Jones Very"—a soul whose life was hid with Christ in God ; a poet whose verse is the voice of a pure spirit, dedicated to Him who is all and in all.

[NOTE.—The manuscripts of Jones Very's sermons and poems are deposited in the Harvard Divinity School Library. The sermons have never been published ; the poems have been collected in a volume edited by Mr. Very's sisters, one of whom—the last of the Very family—lives in the old house on Federal Street in Salem, Mass. In a letter of August 24, 1900, she writes: "My sister and I published a complete edition of our brother's writings, although by some mischance the hymn, 'Wilt thou not visit me?' was omitted. This hymn is used in the churches of almost all denominations. One of my friends lately visiting Europe attended church in London, and the first hymn sung was 'Wilt thou not visit me?' The occupant of the pew told her it was a great favorite there. Dean Stanley says that he [Very] was the best hymn writer in America, and, when he came here said that the person whom he most wished to see was Jones Very ; but they never met." The edition to which Miss Very refers is, for many reasons, preferable to the collection published by W. P. Andrews, although Mr. Andrews's biographical sketch has high value and puts his edition in supplemental relation to the complete works. Here and there I find readers of Very—the lovers of a verse which appeals to the innermost spirit. I am aware that his work is not popular, but it produces enthusiasm among those who hold the mystic sense of things, seeing Nature as a part of the Cosmos in which God is immanent as life, force, law, beauty, goodness.]

*G. M. Hammell.*

### ART. III.—SOME QUESTIONS THAT EVOLUTION DOES NOT ANSWER.

WHEN Laplace was accused by Napoleon of having written a book upon the system of the universe without even mentioning the Creator, he replied that he found no need for such a hypothesis. Without doubt, here lies the basis of the opposition which has been so widely raised against the doctrine of evolution. It has been felt that modern evolution is only an expansion of the theories of Laplace, and, if Laplace's system left no room for a Creator, still less should modern evolution need such a hypothesis. Using this term, then, to apply to the general theory of the development of the solar system from the primitive nebulous condition, the essence of the doctrine of evolution is that it explains the history of nature by action of natural forces and insists that all nature can be included in purely mechanical formulæ. A thoroughgoing evolutionist believes that all of the phenomena of nature are the results of purely mechanical forces and could have been mathematically calculated, even from the beginning, by an intelligence that understood the simple laws of nature. Inconceivably complex, to be sure, would have been the calculations. But the doctrine assumes that to a mathematician who understood the original nebula it would be equally possible to calculate by rigid law the formation of the world, the exact depth of the Atlantic Ocean at any point, the birth of Washington on February 22, 1732, or the revolt in the Philippines on February 4, 1899. With such a conception we can understand how one might say that, since the universe is complete in itself, there is no need for the hypothesis of a Creator. With such a conception it is easy to see that every step subsequently taken toward the verification of the great law of evolution has been indistinctly felt as making it less and less necessary to find a need for Deity in the universe. Advance in evolution has been, therefore, strenuously opposed at every point, from a feeling that only thus can a belief in God be retained. But, in spite of all opposition, the doctrine of evolution has steadily progressed toward acceptance, until to-day it makes the claim

that it is no longer a theory but a definite part of human knowledge; and certainly it is accepted by thinkers the world over, with practical unanimity.

It is not common for the student of evolution to put before himself, clearly and frankly, the question of how far his scientific explanation of the existing order of things is a complete explanation. To him, as he looks at nature, the infinite number of details is sufficient to claim his entire attention. These occupy his mind so constantly that he rarely looks above them. The sufficiency of the evolution doctrine to meet and explain these details becomes more and more apparent to his mind. As he thus studies nature, naturally enough the doctrine assumes a greater and greater prominence until it almost becomes a sufficiency in itself. He grows so confident in the ability of the evolution doctrine to account for the origin of species that he forgets to ask for the origin of life. So completely does he become filled with the notion of explaining nature by natural law that he forgets to ask what is natural law. His mind becomes chiefly a machine for explaining details in terms of assumed natural forces. Occasionally, perhaps, it is forced upon him that his methods of studying the correlation of force and the origin of species leave some great problems entirely outside the boundary of his thought. But this disturbs him only slightly, for he readily dismisses such topics, thinking them not worthy the time of a man who has tangible facts to investigate. These problems are insoluble and their study fruitless. Better, he thinks, devote his time to problems that can be solved. But, unfortunately, out of sight is frequently out of mind; and the evolutionist is in danger of forgetting the existence of these fundamental problems, in his eagerness to grasp the tangible within his reach. It is not unwise, therefore, to review occasionally, some of the broader aspects of nature, if for no other purpose than to discover, even when we accept the most extreme doctrine of evolution, how far we are from having a complete explanation of nature.

Admitting, then, that the evolutionist's conception of the origin of the world is correct, we must ask whether we have finally reached a position where there is no longer a need of

Deity in the universe. Is the mechanical conception of nature sufficient to render the universe intelligible without Deity? When our thoroughgoing evolutionist asks himself this question, which he rarely does, he is always forced, perhaps against his will, to answer in the negative. There was as much need of a Creator in Laplace's system as in the Mosaic conception of creation; and there is an equal need of such a hypothesis in the more thorough, complete theory of to-day. It is a need which the scientist sometimes relegates to the unknowable, sometimes conceals under the terms "force" and "power," but more commonly ignores completely as outside the pale of science and therefore nothing that he need concern himself about—regarding it as trivial to spend his time speculating over problems hopelessly inextricable. But these problems occasionally force themselves upon the attention of even the thoroughgoing evolutionist. So that we propose to notice four of the questions for which the mechanical doctrine of nature not only has no answer, but which admittedly never can be answered by any development of the theory. They are problems that lie entirely outside the possible reach of mechanics. We sometimes speak of them as breaks in the chain of evolution; but it is more exact to say, at least in regard to some of them, that they lie outside the chain of evolution. They are not breaks in the chain, for they are not a part of it. They appear to be independent of the mechanical aspects of nature, and cannot be touched by the evolution formulæ.

At the outset we notice that the mechanical theory of the universe lacks a foundation to stand upon. Nature, as we know it, is filled with what we call "matter," and actuated by what we call "force." It does not concern us here to ask what we mean by these terms—whether they are wholly distinct from each other, or are only two aspects of the same reality. It is the manifest fact that nature contains something which is the basis of the evolution, and upon which the mechanical theory is founded. Now the great significance of the doctrine of evolution is that it teaches us to trace backward the history of this material universe. We trace the material of living bodies of animals and planets to the earth. We trace the earth back in history to a molten sphere. We trace

this sphere back to the central sun. We trace the sun back to a diffused nebula occupying space. In all this history we find the same material, the same energy. The very stone on which we stand and the force with which we lift our arm were in existence in the early ages. As we go back thus, we find nothing new, nor do we at any stage find a single atom of matter or a single moiety of energy in existence that was not in existence in the previous age. But when, in this history, we reach the nebula we stop. We stop, not because we are satisfied, for any mechanical theory must ask what came before the nebula. We have no more reached a resting place than had the ancients when they placed the world on the turtle's back. We stop, because we have no answer to such a question. Give us the nebula with its matter and force, and simply start it into motion; after that, with our evolution formula, we may explain nature. But from whence can we derive the nebula? This question no one has even tried to answer, for the uselessness of the attempt is recognized. No matter what previous condition of things might be assumed as producing the nebula, the question would only be carried back a step further, and the question of origin would be as prominent as ever. Indeed, we must recognize at once that the solving of the problem of origin is, to the finite mind, insoluble. "There is only one theory of origin in the field, and that is creation," says Drummond. Certainly the most mechanical theory of the universe that anyone was ever able to conceive never contained a theory of origin.

It is simply impossible to gain any comprehension of what we mean by creation. We cannot conceive of the universe coming from nothing. "*Ex nihilo nihil fit.*" Logically we are forced to assume the eternal existence of either the universe or its Creator. But the eternal existence of matter, even if granted, involves us in inextricable difficulty. Astronomy and physics tell us that this solar system of ours began with the nebula, not an infinite but a finite number of years ago. They tell us, too, that it is progressing toward a definite end of stagnation. Our system thus has a history of definite length. If it had started its existence an infinite number of æons ago, it would have run through this definite

history long since. But because it is still continuing its activity the fact follows that it started into existence at some definite, finite period. To start into existence at a definite point in time is contradictory to the conception of the eternal existence of matter. Hence, if matter is eternal, we must assume that the nebula is not the beginning, but only a phase in an endless cycle, and that our system, instead of running down to a condition of stagnation, will in the end become dissipated again into a nebulous matter, to begin its history once more. A series of cycles from nebula to system and from system back to nebula again is the only thought not contradictory to the idea of an eternal universe. But the sciences upon which we base all our theories tell us not of endless cycles, but of an end in stagnation. Eternal matter thus only lands us in inextricable difficulties. If this system began at a definite time, what started it? If it is eternal, it should have passed to its end of stagnation long ago.

Nor are we entirely easy in our mind if we adopt the other suggestion of a finite creation and an infinite Creator. Even the theist's answer that God created the universe solves nothing. It only again hides the questions in the shadows of infinity, which simply means that our minds are entirely insufficient to grasp them. For the question then arises, What created God? If this question is absurd, the other aspect of the matter is hardly more satisfactory. The notion of a God of infinite time, existing an infinity of æons and contemplating his own grandeur, or thinking for an infinite period of the myriads of kinds of universes which he might create, is certainly a very unsatisfactory way of avoiding the difficulty. We are simply face to face with problems which the human mind cannot grasp. Neither infinity nor finite existence satisfies our logic. The very existence of the universe, finite or infinite, is a logical absurdity.

We thus see that a mechanical conception of the universe has no foundation upon which to rest. All questions as to origin simply land us in nothingness or in meaningless phrases. Grant existence to the nebula with its matter and force and the starting of motion at a definite period of time, and the present order may flow from it by the process which

we call evolution. But to grant the nebula is certainly granting the whole, and at all events it is clear that to-day no one can ponder these topics in the light of modern evolution and repeat with Laplace that he finds no need of a Deity. The evolution theory is very useful, but in using it alone we are like the mechanic who might think he has made a watch with a screw-driver because with this tool he had been able to put together in a running condition the parts of a watch furnished him by the master-workman.

But, leaving fundamental questions of origin which are admittedly insoluble for any theory, we notice that there are other defects in the complete mechanical explanation of the universe. Given the nebula with its resident forces and we may proceed smoothly enough in the formation of worlds and in the fashioning of the earth with its mountains, valleys, oceans, and rivers. But presently, with the appearance of living things, we must start a new order of phenomena. After all that may be said by the materialist upon the problem of life, we must certainly admit that we have something new. For our purpose we need point out only one phase of the life process. All other processes in nature with which we are familiar result in the degradation of physical energy and in the destruction of complex chemical compounds. Throughout the physical universe there is everywhere a tendency in chemical elements to assume more and more stable conditions, which means the production of simpler compounds with the elimination of heat. In living nature alone we find a building up of compounds and a storing of energy. A physical process breaks up the compounds in gunpowder, liberating the energy and reducing the elements to simpler and more stable parts. It requires the agency of what we call "life" to build up these compounds. The power of building up belongs alone to life. Living nature has, further, the unique power of indefinite multiplications by division, and each of the parts arising thus has this same power of constructing still other parts ; while nothing in nature, so far as we know, has from any other source a similar power. The rest of nature is ever pulling to pieces ; life alone is building up.

Now, in the mechanical doctrine of nature, we have found



at the origin of life an obstacle which is up to the present time insurmountable. In all the magnificent attempts to build up nature by mechanical laws the chapter on the origin of life has been left unwritten. How to introduce these new features into the scheme we cannot say. In this universal tendency toward degradation of matter how can we account for a new phase which builds it up? The origin of life is certainly still unsolved. Not only is this so, but we are, apparently going farther away from a solution of it, rather than advancing toward it, with our increased study. The biologist, from the beginning of his conceptions of evolution, has been confident that he could ultimately solve this problem. He has insisted, and he still insists, that it is radically different from the question of creation. The latter, he admits, is unthinkable; but the origin of life appears to him soluble. Indeed, a few years ago, he felt that he was on the high road to that solution. With the discovery that all living phenomena are manifested by the one substance, protoplasm, and that protoplasm is capable of chemical analysis, disclosing itself to be related to albumen, it seemed as if he had approached close to his goal. It was only necessary, then, to assume that under the different conditions of early eras the chemical elements were united in different methods from those of to-day. This is probable enough. We well know that chemical union is largely dependent upon conditions. If temperatures and electrical conditions differ, the same elements will unite in different ways and produce different compounds. In the early history of the earth certainly these conditions were widely different from those of the present time. Remembering these facts it is only necessary to assume that among the various compounds which appeared in the earth's early history were some that approached the structure of protoplasm, and we have, in theory at least, a notion of a natural origin of life. Influenced by such ideas the biologist was insisting that the problem of the origin of life was not only soluble, but that the solution was just at hand.

But even a biologist must admit that we are certainly more distant to-day from this solution than we seemed to be a few years ago. This protoplasm, which was so promising and upon

which so much hope was based, has proved, in a measure, a delusion. To-day we do not know what we mean by protoplasm; no such thing as pure protoplasm can be found. We know only living animals and plants. We have no knowledge of the simplest life substance. A physical basis of life in the earlier sense is no longer thought of. Life, even in its simplest condition, is not manifested in any chemical compound or mixture of compounds. We are forced to-day to conclude that what we call "life" is the function of that minute but intricate machine which the biologists have called the cell. The intricacy of this machine and its fine adjustment of parts have been made out only in the most recent years. But the recognition of this machine and the necessity of the dependence of the life phenomena upon it have forced our biologists to abandon the hopes of making living matter. Life is manifested only in the cell machine, and to explain its origin we must discover forces capable of constructing machines. Blind forces may make worlds, and through the agency of chemistry may produce chemical compounds ever so complex. But in our experience, certainly, blind forces do not make machines. The problem of the origin of life has thus ceased to be the chemical one we thought it to be twenty-five years ago. It has become at least mechanical, involving the discovery of forces capable of adapting part to part. If we can find forces in nature capable of building a machine with part adapted to part, to act for distinct ends, and if it can be shown that these forces could have acted upon the materials of the primeval world in such a way as to construct a machine like the living cell, then we may find the solution of the origin of life.

These forces may yet be found; the biologist thinks they will be. His law of natural selection has already shown him that nature does have forces adapted to machine-building, although those now known cannot apply to the building of the cell machine. It is still the belief of many that forces explaining the origin of life will be discovered. Many a contribution to this subject is being made. We are treated to new theories of the asymmetrical molecule of living compounds, in distinction from the symmetrical molecules of nonliving matter. We are told that the chemical solution of the life problem is close at

hand because, forsooth, one has been able to stimulate an egg into development by the use of chemical compounds in place of the normal method of fertilization. But, after all, these do not bring us any nearer to the solution of the problem, and the origin of life remains the same *ignis fatuus* that it has been from the first. Its solution by natural means seems certainly much less hopeful to-day, since the microscope studies of the last quarter of a century have revealed the wonders of protoplasm, than it did forty years ago when the subject was first brought to the attention of science. But there appears here no inherent possibility in the way of solution. Though there is a veritable break in the chain, it may, perhaps, some day be bridged. It is not like the problem of creation, unthinkable.

The next question which arises is more than a break in the chain. In the origin of conscious sensations we have a problem that lies outside the mechanical aspect of nature. We must say conscious sensations, because it is this factor—the perceptions of the sensations—that makes the problem insoluble. In simple sensitiveness there need not be any very difficult problem. Sensitiveness may mean the simple property of reacting when stimulated. But, in this sense, we may say that gunpowder is sensitive to heat, for it certainly reacts under such a stimulus. Considering the sensations of animals, we are met with just this difficulty of not knowing what we mean by sensations. It is true that all animals give evidence of sensations. Even the lowest animal will react when stimulated, and from this point upward we find it a universal rule among animals that reaction follows stimulation. Now the only knowledge we have that animals or individuals have sensations is the fact that they react when stimulated. If we step on a dog's tail, the action of the dog tells us that he has sensations. If a distinct motion of any kind follows a touch, or if animals move toward the light, we say they have sensations accompanying these external phenomena. But, however useful this rule may be, it is not sufficient to indicate conscious sensations. We must remember that a man reacts to a stimulus, even though sound asleep, with no consciousness whatever. So in animals it may be that the structure of the animal machine is such that certain external forces start it into

activity, just as a touch on the throttle valve will start an engine into motion. With such a conception sensations need not mean any break in the mechanical series. But the moment we introduce consciousness into the problem the whole question assumes a new aspect. Although gunpowder reacts to stimulus, no one ever thinks of it as conscious of the matter. The steam engine is certainly sensitive, but it has no conscious sensations. In this idea of a sensation and the accompanying consciousness there is certainly a new factor. But, further, it is impossible to conceive such sensations as belonging to the mechanical series. Consciousness with its sensations is neither matter nor force. It belongs to an entirely different category. When heat in an engine is converted into motion the heat disappears. But the motion takes its place, and the heat reappears when the motion ceases. So far as we know no heat disappears when sensations arise, for sensation does not lie in the mechanical series at all. Energy and consciousness are entirely unlike, and no one, however complete a materialist he may be, has ever succeeded in drawing the faintest parallel between them. The break in the continuity is absolute.

Now we cannot say where, in the animal kingdom, this factor of conscious sensation appeared. Whether it is coextensive with life, or is present only in the higher members of the animal kingdom, whether it occurs among plants, or only in animals, we cannot say. By the most careful study of the actions of living things our biologists have been able to say that, all things considered, the evidence is against supposing it to exist in plants and the lowest animals, but that it appears in the higher animals somewhere, although it is impossible to say exactly where. But it is pointed out, at the same time, that this is exactly parallel to its appearance in the individual man. In the beginning of man's existence as an *ovum* he certainly has no sensations, and it is just as impossible to say where, in the course of his development, he first becomes possessed of conscious sensations as it is to say where this factor appeared among animals. But it certainly has appeared in man, developing side by side with the growth of his brain. The clear parallelism between the growth of brain and the development of conscious sensations has led to various philosophical

attempts to correlate them, giving on the one side a dualism and on the other a monism, either material or spiritual. But, in spite of all theories, the distinctness of these two phases of nature remains as bold as ever. The origin of the first conscious sensation is a problem not only unsolved, but, we can hardly fail to admit, insoluble. It is a lack in the evolutionary theory more serious than that at the beginning of life. Certainly the origin of life may be a mechanical problem of infinite complexity, but the origin of consciousness is a problem outside of the mechanical factors of nature, and therefore cannot be included in the evolutionary formula.

One more problem lying outside of the mechanical aspect of nature must be mentioned. This is the problem of volition or free will. It is not our purpose to enter into a discussion of this vexing problem. It has been discussed until it is threadbare, but it is no clearer to our understanding to-day than it was the first time it was brought up for thought. It certainly does not lie on the mechanical side of nature. It is neither matter nor energy. Energy is measurable, but no one ever thought of the possibility of measuring volition. All attempts to study volition from the mechanical side of nature result only in denying its existence. In a theory that reduces nature to a mechanism, as the theory of evolution tries to do, there is absolutely no possibility for the existence of volition. Each moment in the history of the universe is accounted for by the conditions of the moment before. An intelligence which could grasp all the facts of to-day could predict, according to the evolutionary formula, all the incidents of to-morrow. But manifestly this is an impossibility, if volition enters into the factor. Some have thought it possible to reconcile foreknowledge and free will, but no one ever conceived it possible to reconcile free will with a theory of necessity in nature. If man is at liberty to choose between the two courses, then the incidents of to-morrow cannot be calculated from the conditions of to-day, for volition may change the result. If the incidents of the morrow flow mathematically from the conditions of to-day, then volition does not count. The existence of volition runs absolutely counter to any mathematical predictions for the future. The student of mechanism must ask, "How can

volition have any influence?" To one thoroughly filled with a belief in the absoluteness of the conservation of energy it is impossible to conceive the mechanical outcome of a set of conditions influenced by a factor which is not energy and which lies entirely outside of the equation. To the mechanical view of nature the present is the sign of equality, connecting the past and the future, and the two sides of the equation must balance. Introduce volition and the equality is upset. Volition is, in short, an impossibility to the thoroughgoing evolutionist who feels that his mechanical formulæ are sufficient to account for nature and who can see nothing outside of the material universe. Hence, we find a general denial of the existence of volition. Not only animals, but mankind as well, are said to be automata, and the belief that they have any volition is wholly fallacious. All their actions are necessitated. It makes no difference whether one commits a murder or saves a life; the act is forced upon him by conditions, and is wholly lacking in merit. Each is simply the result of mechanical conditions and absolutely inevitable. We are no more to blame for committing a crime than gunpowder is for blowing up a ship, and no more to be praised for doing a good action than is gunpowder for blowing up an obstruction to navigation. Whatever may be said of this conclusion, it is clear enough that it proves beyond doubt that volition is not and cannot be included within the compass of the complete evolution doctrine which reduces the material universe to a purely mechanical formula.

Now, it will never be possible to convince mankind that his volition counts for absolutely nothing in the course of his life. We may argue it as we will; our belief in the reality of our volition will remain as firm as ever. It is doubtful whether even the scientist who argues that animals are automata really believes that his volition counts for nothing. Our only knowledge of nature comes from our consciousness and our mental activity, and the one fact that we are most supremely conscious of is our ability to choose between two courses. It is peculiar logic to insist that this fundamental matter of consciousness is wholly a mistake, and to base the reason for such insistence upon the fact that we cannot make this volition agree

with a mechanical interpretation of nature, when that mechanical interpretation has been built up by this same consciousness and mental activity. It is true that we cannot explain it or conceive of its possibility, but, as we have seen, it is an equal impossibility to conceive of creation. Logically, the existence of the universe with its laws and forces is inconceivable and, indeed, an absurdity. The existence of the universe does not fall within our mechanical formula. Logically, we cannot believe in our own existence. To deny the existence of volition, because we cannot include it in the formula of mechanical evolution, is just about as consistent as to deny our own existence because logically we cannot explain it. But we cannot deny our own existence, even if we will; and our own volition is as much a matter of direct consciousness as is our own existence. It is safe to say that a theory which finds no place for volition will never become a part of a belief of the world, in spite of the evident fact that we cannot include it in a mechanical formula of nature.

The outcome of all this is clearly that we have here another phase of nature which does not lie within the reach of the evolutionary formula. Admittedly, free will cannot be included in evolution. To evolution everything is a necessity, and the result of trying to include free will in the formula of evolution is to deny it absolutely. Even if we go to this extreme, we must then account for the universal belief that we do have that power of choice and that our volition does count in nature. This belief is as difficult to account for as free will itself. In short, the problem arising here is not only unsolved, but insoluble. The evolutionary formula is incomplete at the top, as well as at the foundation.

It must not be for a moment inferred that these inadequacies of evolution detract in the slightest degree from the universal importance and significance of the great doctrine. No theory, or rather, let us say, no discovery, made by man has ever had an illuminating power comparable to that shed upon nature by the doctrine known as evolution. Ever since the conception was first entertained its significance and its cogency have become daily more apparent, and as a method of the formation of worlds it has, each year, shed more light on the

dark places of nature. Against the most severe opposition it has demonstrated its right to persist, and it is to remain as a part of our knowledge of nature. But it is only a method of development, not a theory of origin. It demands as a basis a universe filled with matter and force, and it demands that in this nebulous mass motion should be started. Given this starting point and evolution shows us how the interaction of nature's forces has slowly produced the changes which have constituted the history of the solar system. Evolution unfolds the mechanical side of nature marvelously well. It throws an illuminating light upon the whole process of world-building. It explains wonderfully the existence of the marvelous adaptations in nature. It accounts readily for the development of organs among animals and plants adapted for distinct purposes. It easily accounts for the gradual elevation of the animal and vegetable kingdom, for the increasing complexity, the multiplying diversity, and the ever developing marvels of nature. For the mechanical world which we can see by opening our eyes it has everywhere its apt illustration. It has wonderfully illuminated nature wherever it has touched it. But evolution is a mechanical law, and deals only with matter and force. It demands their existence, in the first place, without so much as a thought as to where they came from or what they mean. It gives no explanation of these very forces which it so coolly appropriates to itself, nor of the matter which it supposes has undergone such marvelous transformations. It stumbles woefully at that new line of phenomena which we call "life," and it absolutely refuses to take into the slightest consideration the phenomena which we call "spiritual," including consciousness and volition, phenomena which stand forth even more prominently than the matter and forces with which evolution deals. It is a magnificent conception, giving all a more exalted idea of nature, and giving to the theist a more reverent idea of Deity.

But it is an incomplete doctrine, when we think of it as an attempt to include all nature within one formula. It has not justified the statement of Laplace that it leaves no need for the hypothesis of a Creator. We have placed our world upon the turtle's back, but furnished him no place to stand upon.



The real significance of nature lies deeper than the doctrine of evolution. We may, indeed evolutionists too frequently do, become so captivated with the study of the wonderful unfolding of nature under this law of evolution as to deceive ourselves into believing that we can thus picture the whole history. But this is only because we refuse to ask ourselves the more fundamental questions of the meaning of the very matter and forces which we are so deft in using in our explanations. Nature is absolutely incomprehensible. It is intelligible to us neither under the guise of the finite nor the infinite. In view of the great questions of the meaning of matter and force, the origin of nature, and the realities that underlie the phenomena, our formula for the evolution of the world appears lamentably weak and inadequate. It has indeed brought order out of chaos, but it has only forcibly confronted us with the great problems of the universe which limited minds are utterly unable to grasp. It has expanded our conception of infinity with the expansion of the universe and the extension of time back into the incalculable vistas of the past. It forces us to bow in more unutterable awe before that Something which lies behind the finite, which the scientist does not fail to recognize, though he may be unwilling to give it the name by which the Christian calls upon Infinity. Evolution has made atheism impossible. While it has, perhaps, modified our idea of what the nature of God is, the doctrine of evolution has demonstrated that nature as we know it is not its own explanation. The scientist calls himself an agnostic, and may not be a Christian; but he is no longer an atheist.

*A. W. Coon*

## ART. IV.—WILBERFORCE—A STUDY OF FREEDOM.

OVER Christendom at the opening of the nineteenth century hung the angry cloud of war, from which broke forth the flame and thunder of battle. Yet at that time began to dawn, though dim and misty as a Russian morning, the light of personal liberty. It was as when in the Apocalypse the beauty of the heavenly city beamed down from the sky over the agonies of Nero's gardens where martyrs were burning. Slavery had been prehistoric, its origin even back of tradition. Its early, if not primal, excuses had been that it made the weaker of our species industrious, orderly, and useful, while to the stronger it gave leisure for culture, government, and conquest. The philosophers and poets counted it, like deformity, illness, or poverty, a misfortune unmingled with any element of wrong. But early in the eighteenth century men's moral ideas began to stir with a vernal energy. Their feelings grew softer as with the breath of spring, and from their mellowing sympathies sprang, as from seed long dormant, many a shoot of the heavenly Father's planting. The impulse to justice and humanity marched with even pace just behind the revival of personal religion under Whitefield and Wesley. There was a shedding forth of the fragrance of tender buds; the time of the singing of birds had come.

This article deals with the English antislavery movement only. A West Indian planter, sojourning at Liverpool, had with him a slave, Benjamin Somerset. Such sojourn with slaves in England was not a new thing. Gilbert, of Antigua, had lately brought there two slaves, and these, converted like their master, had with him returned as slaves, though now "brethren beloved," the three afterward planting Methodism in their island. But Somerset's case was acute. He fell sick, and his master turned him out to die in the street. A good Samaritan, Granville Sharpe, when he came where he was, picked the wretch up and had him nursed to health. Then the master reclaimed his slave, and Sharpe entered suit for the man's freedom. The court found the case perplexing. It was then two hundred years since under Elizabeth the con-

dition of "unfree," the last trace of slavery, had vanished from England, though it yet lingered among the coal mines of Scotland, while there were presumptions and legal precedents, even the decision of a chief justice, for its recognition *in transitu*. After long study Lord Mansfield found slavery alien to the English Constitution and admissible by statute only. No enabling statute existed; therefore slavery did not exist, and Somerset was free. March 25, 1772, is a day greatly to be remembered as the time when mankind's *Magna Charta* was promulgated, of wider meaning and of working more energetic than the torn and time-stained document in the British Museum bearing the rough, reluctant penmanship of King John. Then up rose Cowper as *vates*, and sang:

Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs  
Receive our air, that moment they are free;  
They touch our country, and their shackles fall.  
That's noble, and bespeaks a nation proud  
And jealous of the blessing. Spread it, then,  
    . . . that where Britain's power  
Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too.

Cowper's words came to the quick ear of a boy in his early teens, at school in Hull. He was no vulgar lad. The only son of a wealthy home he, like Cromwell, disproves the notion that a boy reared among sisters lacks manliness. His frame, dwarfed and deformed, was glorified by a face on which was set every seal to give the world assurance of a man. Even at seven his teacher would stand him on a table to read to the school, so accurate was his taste, and his voice flexibly tuneful, fit to utter an angel's message. This lad, with fresh, generous ardor, at once took as his theme for a school exercise, "Is It Right to Hold Human Beings in Slavery?" The boy was father of the man, and uttered the keynote of his life's diapason. He went to Cambridge where Milton and Cromwell had walked, and, in our century, Gladstone. At twenty-one he was in control of an ample fortune, and the world was wide before him for the choosing of a career. He was humane and patriotic, though not yet a Christian. Determining upon public service, he became a candidate for Parliament.

Such candidacy was then a peculiar affair, and, indeed, so

was Parliament itself. Noblemen owned two thirds of the Commons, the Duke of Norfolk alone owning eleven members. Old Sarum, a borough without an inhabitant, sent two members. The County of Bute had but one voter. This important person with due dignity took the chair, called order, made and seconded his own nomination, recorded his own vote, and announced himself unanimously elected. In the unowned constituencies, during the six weeks given to the voting, the struggle was often fierce, and the campaign revelry wild enough. Men with basins of guineas—this from an eyewitness—stood frankly bidding for votes; and in the “Mad Canvass” half a million was spent, while Georgiana, the beautiful duchess of Devonshire, won a butcher’s vote for a kiss on her own proud cheek. Reform, sorely needed, was long in coming; but could our bosses well rise up to condemn the English “statesmen” of old? Is it not into politics that decency last comes?

Six weeks of hustings called for great exertions and fifty thousands of money. Wilberforce’s sister gave a new gown to the wife of every elector who voted for her brother. “Miss Wilberforce forever!” they shouted, as she came upon the platform. “Thank you!” she answered; “but I am not sure that I wish to be Miss Wilberforce forever!” Her brother, thus elected, sat for Hull—and afterward for its County of York—nearly fifty years with merely nominal opposition. Going up to London, young, wealthy, and accomplished, he found society attractive and himself soon one of its attractions. He gained the regard of Burke, and Pitt, sad and heavy-laden, found comfort in his love. He won the confidence of England’s best, but those days were perilous, though a tender conscience kept him from drifting. Thus, one evening at cards, of which he was passionately fond, he gained, from a man ill able to lose, a thousand pounds. Reflecting on this, he resolved never to play again, a resolution rarely made by a winner.

In 1785, while traveling on the Continent with Milner, the devout teacher of his boyhood, he formally gave heart and life to Christ. He was converted, and, from that day, Carlyle’s saying of Cromwell—“Oliver will henceforth believe in God at

all times and in all cases"—held true of William Wilberforce. Ready now with energies like those of some mythic hero, divinely reinforced for every good word and work, he the next year brought in the forerunner of emancipation, the Bill for the Abolition of the African Slave Trade. His introducing speech, full, clear, and earnest with his charm of tone and countenance, put him among the masters of appeal, and gained the support of the best around him. The slave trade was a great vested interest, and its defenders were fierce and strong, yet its assailant never lost heart or hope. Wesley strengthened himself upon his bed, and his heart, as with an engine's expiring throbs, impelled his staggering fingers to the last of his many thousand manuscripts, a heartening note to Wilberforce. Troublous times came on. France belched forth the Revolution, the Napoleonic wars, the hindering at Santo Domingo. The stress of politics was long and stormy, and over this bill were twenty years of struggle. Wilberforce refreshed this long test of faith by side activities of patriotism and benevolence. In 1797 he launched the first formal society for foreign missions, and for its balance he framed the society for ameliorating the condition of the poor of London—fair harbinger of like kindly enterprises to follow. Thus, while his efforts for man's welfare were not shut up to England, his charity blessed the spot of its origin, and his voice, his presence, and his money responded to every cry of darkness and suffering.

Wearying were the toils, the delays, the advances, and recoils that occupied so much of his lifetime. His health became infirm. "At thirty," he says, "I have the constitution of sixty." His eyesight was failing, yet his moral energy was flush, and the light in his spirit undimmed. Gifted sons grew up around him. One "Soapy Sam, always in hot water and always coming out with clean hands," became a distinguished bishop. On with his central task he struggled, gathering at last his arguments into a book that might, like Moses's song, serve others should entrance upon his heart's desire be denied to himself. Just then came victory. On March 16, 1807, after twenty years of effort, the House decreed that "no vessel should clear for slaves from a British port after May 1, 1807, or slave be landed therein after March 1, 1808." The Lords

changed "therein" to "in any country, territory, or place," and this the House at once accepted. The time was critical, for the king was about to change his ministers, and a new ministry meant delay, perhaps hindrance and baffling. Lord Grenville's last service was, by his Majesty's order, to affix to this act the king's seal, making it law. The clock was just striking twelve, and the full-orbed sun beamed upon this royal sanction of a *Magna Charta* for Africa. Reason and humanity had won in the long fight against cruelty and greed, and the victory came to stay. Grenville called it "the most glorious measure ever adopted by any legislative body in the world," and Bishop Watson said, "This great act of justice will be recorded in heaven."

It was high time. The African slave trade, as lawful European commerce, had begun in 1481. In three and a quarter centuries it had swept from four million square miles of equatorial Africa ten millions of human beings. In 1800, one hundred and ninety-two English vessels with remorseless energy were bringing to the West Indies forty thousand slaves a year, as many dying on the passage—and then, the primal havoc in their African home! The *Mayflower* had in the same year landed freedom in New England and African slavery in Virginia—wheat and tares to grow together until the blazing harvest of the Rebellion, with misery to glean thereafter. The next year after Wilberforce's triumph saw America declare the slave trade piracy and slavers enemies of the human race. As surely as sunrise follows dawn, the abolition of slavery was to follow the abolition of the slave trade. Wilberforce had intimated as much by announcing in 1792 a bill with that intention; and when George III had stamped as law the former, the latter moved to the fore. Storms in England and on the Continent grew loud and angry, but with angelic courage Wilberforce used the forces of the storm. He loyally and earnestly solicited every ministry, every Parliament, every great general. He made personal appeal to the czar, to the King of Prussia, to the sovereigns who met in 1814. For twenty years he toiled unceasing, unceasing for what he saw afar, the to him divine event of his life. Then his health gave way, and he resigned from Parliament, Sir Fowell Buxton,

"the member for abolition," became the corypheus of the drama, while Brougham, who had once written a defense of slavery, and many others rose responsive.

Wilberforce—while, like Priam's venerable counselors, he looked out upon the strife—gave to quiet benevolence the remnant of his strength, making many a widow's heart to sing, and warming to a smile many a face of sickness and sorrow. Like a stream of his level Yorkshire with calm, soft flow he kept the margins of his life green. At length he laid down on the bed from which he was not to rise, when, as with a sudden sunset glow, came his bright, consummate hour. Forty-one years after his introducing it the Bill for Emancipation passed. On that day, Friday, July 26, 1833, his tongue could but feebly utter the thoughts that arose in his heart. "Thank God," he exclaimed, "that I have lived to see the day!"

On Monday he ascended to the home of the loving, the pure, the brave, to give answer of a life of "Practical Religion" on which he had once written a book, and which he had early and late, publicly and privately, illustrated. One who had long known him said, "He deserved to be reckoned as one of the twelve." "Unaided," says Sir James Stephens, "by place, by party, or by the sword, he had by paths till then untrodden reached a social and political eminence never before attained by any man." No funeral like his had ever been seen in England. Two royal coaches attested the formal and comely grief of the palace over one who had served so loyally in the kingdom's fiercest trials and who had shed on the State so wide and tender a light of personal and public benevolence. The most illustrious of peers and commoners walked in the mourning train, while the poor of Hull and London wept and later, as the tidings came, the eyes of many a slave glistened with his share of the far-away sorrow. Westminster Abbey, the noblest of earthly burial places, swung wide its historic doors and opened for him its marbles covering royal dust,

While through the long-drawn aisle and fretted vault  
The swelling anthem pealed its notes of praise.

The bill ordered final and absolute freedom for August 1, 1840. At St. John's, Antigua, in the largest church of the

island, the negroes on the night of July 31 kept watch with prayer and praise and joyous agony of expectation. At midnight all knelt in silence to receive as from heaven the boon of freedom. At the stroke of twelve a sudden tropic cloud gave from the sky a startling flash and peal, as if heaven with the fire and trumpet of Sinai were announcing the first emancipation of the century and the world. Then, like a volcano's burst, came out the African temper in shouts and songs, in leaping and wildest tossing, in a frenzy of gratitude and gladness. This spent itself, and the waning night was given to Scripture, counsel, and meditation. The morning came, and in the fresh, early light—as on the Red Sea strand of old—stood a people free, eight hundred thousand strong.

Such a life as was that of Wilberforce! Shedding such color and fragrance on a world sorely needing it all! Fit to be taken to

The everlasting gardens,  
Where angels walk and seraphs are the wardens,  
Where every flower that passes death's dark portal  
Becomes immortal.

*A. B. Hyde*



ART. V.—DEATH AND THE INTERMEDIATE STATE  
IN ISLAM.

THE teaching of the Koran on this subject is, on the whole, somewhat deficient. Not so Mohammedan tradition and systematic theology, however. From these sources we may gather a great deal of information. The different witnesses may not be mutually consistent at times, any more than are the witnesses for our Christian eschatology. Nevertheless, taking our materials as we find them, we discover, after all, a fairly definite unity in essentials.

To look, first, at the doctrine of the Koran, death in itself is a solemn event which men may justly dread.\* None may escape death.† Consideration of that which awaits respective individuals in the next world makes the prospect of dying either more or less terrible, according to the character and works of those concerned. The moment of death is appointed, and can be neither hastened nor delayed. It is written down by God in his book of decrees.‡ The soul of the dying is taken away by angels.§ If it be that of a wicked man its torments begin on the day of death.|| Probably the reward of the good was, in like manner, regarded by Mohammed as beginning immediately after death. Prayers for the dead at the tomb are recognized, though there are some persons for whom one must not thus pray.¶

In elaboration of this doctrine of the Mohammedan scriptures Mohammedan theologians teach much more on the sufficient warrant of tradition. There is an angel of death, Azrael,\*\* commanded by the Most High to take away at the decreed moment the soul of each one living. From Azrael another angel receives the disembodied spirit and carries it up to God. God briefly and in a general way interrogates the soul before him, and it is then returned to the body to occupy it, but not to animate it. The soul goes with the body to the tomb, and the night after burial undergoes a frightful inquisition from two dread angels, Munkar and Nakir. If the result

\* Koran, 3, 137; 5, 105.

† *Ibid.*, 3, 182.‡ *Ibid.*, 3, 138.§ *Ibid.*, 6, 93.|| *Ibid.*¶ *Ibid.*, 9, 85.\*\* So the gospel of Barnabas; Macbride, *Mohammedan Religion Explained*, p. 127.

of their examination be satisfactory, the individual is comforted in view of the final judgment, and is given a foretaste of Paradise. If the reverse, he is made to undergo anticipatory tortures until the day of judgment. To the examination of the tomb children, being held irresponsible, are not subjected. The theology of Islam also goes on to speak of the signs of the last day. It relates that at the first blast of the resurrection angel's trumpet all the living will die, including the angel himself. After a period of forty years God will raise the resurrection angel, who will sound his trumpet again and bring all the dead back to life. Following the resurrection comes the general judgment.

After this brief outline—which we have given for clearness' sake, though it anticipates what follows—we may seek to learn more particularly what Islam teaches as to our subject. Some accounts of the deaths of Mohammedan saints give us ground for supposing that the separation of the soul from the body was looked upon as a terrible trial. The man who can endure without murmuring the pangs of death departs with greatly increased merit. Mohammed is represented as saying that "death is enough to cause overwhelming grief and sorrow." And the angel Gabriel says, by way of rejoinder, "That which follows death is far more dreadful than dying."\* In the Shiah manual, *Hyat-ul-Kuloob*, a saint in Paradise is represented as giving an account of his death. He declares that cutting the body to pieces many times with shears is easier than the agony of dying. Azrael, the angel of death, gigantic in size and awful in appearance, appeared before him in the air. By distinct signs he took away his sight, hearing, and speech. The pleading remonstrances of the dying man availed nothing. Azrael's reply to them was that the decreed moment had come and he was commanded to accomplish his death. Before the soul was drawn out of the body the man's two recording angels appeared, bringing the book of his deeds which they had written down. The angel Rakib presented to him the part containing the record of his good actions, while the other part with the record of evil actions

\* Merrick, *Life and Religion of Mohammed as Contained in the Sheeah Traditions of the Hyat-ul-Kuloob*, p. 193 f.

was laid before him by the angel Atîd. He was told that his good works outweighed the evil, and was comforted with the assurance that he would enter Paradise. Azrael now came nearer to the man and began to draw gradually his soul from his body. Every pull he made was equal in agony to all the pains under heaven. Finally, when the spirit had been drawn up to the heart, Azrael drew it by force from the man's nostrils. After being disembodied the spirit remained near by long enough to hear the lamentations of the man's family. Then came another angel and received from the angel of death the man's spirit. This, having bound in a silk garment, he took to heaven in less than the twinkling of an eye, and placed it near the Lord. God then examined the spirit as to its deeds and devotion when in the body. After this questioning it was conveyed to the body again, and remained with it while preparations were being made for the burial. It also went with the body to the tomb. There the soul sorrowed that it could not return to the world and its former life, and was rebuked by the angel Membah, who is appointed to take charge of all men and to punish them after death until they write down the acts of their life as a testimony before God. This angel set the dead man upright and bade him write down his deeds. He had forgotten them, but Membah recalled them, and he made the record at the angel's dictation. For paper the man used a part of his robe, which had been changed to that material; for pen, his index finger; and for ink, his spittle. When the writing was finished Membah sealed it up and bound it as a yoke about the neck of the dead (Koran, 17, 14, 15), where it was felt to be heavier than all the mountains of the world.\* Of this Shiah account of the agony of death and the visit of Membah it is probable that the main elements are accepted among the orthodox Moslems.

After Membah had left the tomb, and during the night following the funeral, there occurred the "examination of the tomb." The inquisitors were the angels Munkar and Nakir. They are two beings of awful aspect and tremendous voice. In his hand Munkar bears an iron mace of great size and

\* Merrick, *Life and Religion of Mohammed*, p. 362 ff.

weight. Having caused the body to sit upright,\* they proceed to question the man as to his faith. The Shiah tradition makes each angel put the dead through a separate examination.† The subjects of the interrogation are the man's god, his prophet, his religion, and his *qibla* (the point toward which he turns his face in prayer). To these the Shiites add a question as to his *imam*—leader in worship and religion.‡ The answer of a believer to these questions is that his god is Allah, his prophet Mohammed, his religion Islam, his *qibla* the Kaaba (the temple at Mecca). The true Shiah's answer to their additional query is that Ali (son-in-law of Mohammed) is his *imam*.§ To such an answer favorably the angels of this "first judgment" || give comforting assurance of their being cleared at the final judgment, and being permitted to enter Paradise.¶ The body is then put back into its former position. Hell is opened at its feet and Paradise at its head, that it may know what it has escaped and what it has gained. Hell is then closed and the gate to Paradise opened, so that there comes through to the resting believer the perfumes of the celestial gardens.\*\* The unbeliever in this process of inquisition will be unable to answer his examiners. They will proceed to beat him about the temples with iron maces, and will crush his body by pressing the earth down upon it. Some say that the body will be gnawed and stung by ninety-nine seven-headed dragons, while others declare that the unbeliever's sins will become beasts, biting like dragons, scorpions, and serpents according to their several degrees of heinousness.†† This judgment of the grave and the torture of the unjust in the grave must be acknowledged by all Moslems to be real and just.‡‡

The majority of the orthodox teach that, in the case of all responsible persons, there is at the close of the funeral ceremonies §§ at the grave an instruction (*talkin*) of the deceased by a *fakih*, or "doctor," who is called the *mulak*-

\* Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, Minerva edition, p. 56.

† Merrick, p. 364 f.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*

¶ Macbride, p. 131.

¶ Garcier de Tassy, *Fot Musulmane*, p. 16.

\*\* Comp. Merrick, as before.

†† Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, sec. iv.

‡‡ Macbride, p. 131; al-Ghazzālī in Ockley, *History of the Saracens*, Bohn edition, p. 76.

§§ Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II, p. 191.

*kin*, "instructor." This man tells the dead man of the approaching visit of the angels of inquisition, of the questions which they will put to him, and of the replies which he should give. The *mulakkin* informs the departed that, should he answer satisfactorily, the inquisitors will say to him after their examination, "Sleep, O servant of God, in the protection of God." The Malikite sect of orthodox Moslems does not believe in this instruction of the dead. The night after burial is called "*Lailat el-wahshah*," or "night of desolation," because the man's place in his home is left vacant; it is, also, called "*Lailat el-wahdah*," or "night of solitude," because of his solitary watch in the tomb until the angel inquisitors come.\*

At the house of the deceased, after the last evening prayer of the day of burial, there is performed a ceremony called the *Sebhah*, or "rosary." A large company of *fakihs* come to the house, one of them having with him a rosary consisting of one thousand beads, each of them as large as a pigeon's egg. The exercises consist of the recitation of special chapters of the Koran and of some liturgical formulas; the repetition three thousand times—three rounds of the rosary—of the sentence "There is no god but Allah;" other sentences repeated many times; and, finally, the recitation of other Koran verses. All this having been accomplished, one of the company asks his fellows if they have transferred the merit of what they have done to the person who has died. They answer by repeating a formula of affirmation. This completes the *Sebhah*. The aim of the rite is to help the deceased to find an easy entrance into Paradise.† The idea is that with the merit sent on to him he will be the better prepared to meet the first judgment of the grave and the final judgment of the last day.‡

The *Sebhah* in Mecca is somewhat different from what we have given above. There, those who take part are friends of the dead, though *fakihs* may be hired to assist in the recitation of the Koran. It is not necessary, apparently, to recite particular passages of the Koran, the aim being to complete, by adding together what the respective participants in the

\* Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 484 f.

† *Ibid.*, p. 486 f.

‡ Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II, p. 191.

ceremony have recited, the equivalent of one whole recitation of the book (*Chatma*).\*

What is the condition of the departed after the examination of the grave? After the first night in the tomb the souls of the good go to the place of good spirits, to await the day of resurrection, while the souls of the wicked go to the dungeon appointed for them.† More particularly, it is taught that the great host of God's prophets, without examination either in the tomb or at the last day, enter at death into Paradise.‡ The souls of the martyrs who die fighting in the wars of Islam are lodged in the crops of green birds, which feed on the fruits of Paradise. As to the spirits of ordinary believers, there is a difference of opinion concerning their abode between the two judgments. Tradition relates that the Prophet when passing near the grave of a believer would salute his spirit hovering close by.§ This view—that the spirit remains near the grave—is a widespread belief among Moslems. Tradition having also related that Mohammed in his famous night journey saw in the first or lowest of the seven heavens Adam with the souls elected to Paradise on his right hand and those doomed to Gehenna at his left, some have taught that the souls of ordinary believers are in the lowest heaven with Adam until the resurrection. Another view, which is said to be regarded as heretical and yet is declared to be widely held, is that the souls of believers are in the holy well, Zemzem, connected with the sacred mosque at Mecca, while the spirits of the wicked are confined in a well in Hadramant called Barahout. A fourth opinion is that souls remain near the grave for seven days, and that they then go no one knows whither. A fifth belief is that all souls are in the trumpet of Israfil, the angel of the resurrection. Finally, there is an opinion that the spirits of the good, in the form of white birds, are lodging under God's throne. As to the souls of the wicked, the view that they are in Barahout is not the most prevalent one. The orthodox hold that the souls of unbelievers are offered by the angels to heaven, but are refused because they are evil-smelling and filthy. They are then tendered to earth and are there rejected. The

\* *Mekka*, II., p. 192.

† Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 48.

‡ *Al-Ghazzālī* cited by Ockley, *History of the Saracens*, p. 78; Macbride, p. 131.

§ Macbride, p. 131.

angels then carry them down to the seventh earth below and cast them into the dungeon Sijjīn, which is under a green rock—some say, under the devil's jaw. In this abode they will be tormented until they are brought to judgment.\*

We may consider next the signs of the last day. The authorities diverge from one another very greatly in regard to these. Perhaps we may regard the following as generally acknowledged. The appearance of ad-Dajjāl, the Antichrist; the descent from heaven of the prophet Jesus the Messiah, who will slay ad-Dajjāl and will become a Moslem; the appearance of the Mahdi and his meeting with Jesus; the coming of Gog and Magog and of the Beast of the earth; and the rising of the sun in the west. The Mahdi will bear the name "Mohammed." He will fill the earth with righteousness, and will be the vicar of Jesus.† Gog and Magog are looked upon as northern peoples who were restrained from invading the South by a wall constructed by Alexander the Great from the Caucasus to the Caspian Sea. The Beast of the earth will be of enormous size, composite nature, and inconceivably swift.‡ He will bring with him the rod of Moses and the seal of Solomon. With the rod he will touch upon the face both believer and unbeliever, writing upon their respective countenances "Mumin" or "Mushrik"—"believer," "unbeliever." Some authorities assert that the whole number of signs of the last day will be twelve, six in this world and six in the unseen world.§ Others enumerate seventeen signs.||

The teaching of Mohammedan theology on the subject of the resurrection is as follows: The resurrection angel, Israfil, has his great trumpet, resembling a horn, to his lips unceasingly, waiting for the command to sound from God Most High. At the instant God orders it Israfil will blow a terrible blast which will fill with its sound all heaven and earth. On hearing it, all the living, including the angel himself, will die. For forty years the world will remain without life. God will then raise Israfil from the dead. The angel will again blow

\* Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, sec. iv; comp. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 485 f.

† De Tassy, *Foi Musulmane*, p. 16 (comp. also notes 27-30); Palmer, *Qur'ān*, Part I, p. lxxi, Intr.

‡ Merrick, p. 451 f.

§ Arnold, *Chrestom. Arabica*, p. 194, l. 1 ff.

|| Merrick, p. 451 ff.; comp. Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, sec. iv.

his trumpet and all the dead will rise.\* We are told that the first blast of the trumpet will so disturb the order of the world that God will have to put all in order again before the angel gives the signal for the general resurrection. At the resurrection all will rise absolutely naked, but they will be so preoccupied with the awful issues of the moment as to be entirely oblivious to the fact. All the good will, however, find at hand coats of Paradise with which to clothe themselves and horses of Paradise on which to ride. Arrayed and mounted they will then make their way to the shadow of God's judgment throne and will await their trial there. The wicked, on the other hand, will be forced to make their way to the judgment seat naked, on foot, starving, and wasted. The sun will beat upon them, until, according to their several degrees of wickedness, their perspiration reaches in its depth to the ankle, the knee, the mouth, or the crown of the head; that is, each will be in a pool of perspiration, one pool being shallower, another deeper. Thus they are said to remain for fifty thousand years. The transition from resurrection to judgment is found in the delivery to each man of his book of recorded deeds. The believer receives his book in his right hand, whereas the unbeliever is given his in his left hand or behind his back.†

We may now be thought to have reached the utmost limit of our subject, for, following what has just been described is the great event of the last judgment. This teaching of Islam regarding death and the intermediate state will suggest to all readers analogies in Christian theological systems. The ceremony of the *Sebhah* reminds one of the masses said for the dead, though there is in the Mohammedan rite that which is not in the mass. The aim is to send on merit to the dead, while the mass is merely meritorious on behalf of the dead. Too rigid an exegesis of Heb. ix, 27, "It is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment," might originate a doctrine very like the Mohammedan doctrine of the judgment of the grave. We are told that the Barbary Jews believe in angels who record the good and evil actions of men and bring these records to their owners after death. The

\* De Tassy, p. 8 f.

† *Ibid.*, p. 17.



good angel pleads the good deeds and the evil angel the evil deeds, and destiny is held to be decided by the prevailing of the one advocate over the other. Following this trial the individual is transferred to angels of award, who reward or punish him in accordance with the issue of the trial.\*

The Moslem evidently held to a material conception of the soul. It is represented as localized in the body, as bursting a vein in its exit from the body, or as being drawn out of the body through the nostrils. We do not, however, forget that our theology speaks of a spiritual body, though none dares to say exactly what is meant by the expression.

The teaching of Islam is that there are degrees of blessedness or wretchedness in the intermediate state, corresponding to the degrees of merit and demerit of those who enter therein. The blessed enjoy different kinds of entertainment in Paradise,† and a distinction is made between the favor shown to prophets, martyrs, and ordinary believers. On the other hand, the sins of the wicked bite like serpents, scorpions, or dragons, according to their heinousness.

The reappearance of the dead to the living is a definite Moslem belief. The apparition occurs oftenest in sleep, but is not entirely confined to that state.

The Moslem teaching as to the resurrection is suggestive of the Apocalypse. This article of the faith of Islam is a very prominent one, and is abundantly used, by way of moral encouragement or warning, both in and out of the Koran. The resurrection angel Israfil is the great throne-bearer, who carries God's throne on the nape of his neck, while his feet rest on the seventh earth below.‡

In closing, it is to be acknowledged that the materials of Mohammedan teaching on the subjects we have been discussing are largely borrowed from Judaism and Christianity. They have been worked over into new forms and connections, however, by Mohammed and the doctors of Islam, until they now wear an aspect which entirely harmonizes with the original elements of Moslem theology.

\* Merrick, p. 449.

† *Ibid.*, p. 194 ff.

‡ Arnold, *Chrestom. Arabica*, p. 195.

Walter M. Patton

## ART. VI.—MYSTICISM IN TENNYSON.

IN his interesting comparison of Tennyson and Browning Professor Dowden says: "Accordingly, although we find the idea of God entering largely into the poetry of Mr. Tennyson, there is little recognition of special contact of the soul with the divine Being in any supernatural way of quiet or of ecstasy." And then the professor adds: "This precludes all spiritual rapture, that glorious folly, that heavenly madness, wherein true wisdom is acquired. Wordsworth in some of his solitary trances of thought really entered into the frame of mind which the mystic knows as union or as ecstasy, when thought expires into enjoyment. With Mr. Tennyson the mystic is always the visionary who suffers from an overexcitable fancy. The nobler aspects of the mystical religious spirit are unrepresented in his poetry." Undoubtedly Mr. Dowden is right in the main, in his contention that the nobler aspects of the mystical religious spirit are more noticeable in Wordsworth or Browning than in Tennyson; but to say that they are not represented in his poetry is very far from the truth. We shall see, as we go along, that there are many passages in which the higher moods of the soul are expressed, and from the full and accurate memoir by his son we know that religious ecstasy was a very characteristic mood in Tennyson's life. In his letters and diary and in the reminiscences of his friends we have many prose commentaries on passages in his poetry.

Hallam Tennyson himself says of the experience of the poet in the respect indicated:

Throughout his life he had a constant feeling of a spiritual harmony existing between ourselves and the outward visible universe, and of the actual immanence of God in the infinitesimal atom as the vastest system. He would say, "The soul seems to me one with God; how, I cannot tell." He wrote to a friend at one time: "A kind of waking trance I have frequently had, quite up from boyhood, when I have been all alone. This has generally come through repeating my own name two or three times to myself silently till all at once, as it were out of the intensity of the consciousness of individuality, the individuality itself seemed to dissolve and fade away into boundless being; and this, not a confused

state, but the clearest of the clearest, the surest of the surest, the weirdest of the weirdest, utterly beyond words, where death was almost a laughable impossibility—the loss of personality, if so it were, seeming no extinction, but the only true life.” This might, he said, be the state which St. Paul describes, “whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell.” He was ashamed of such a feeble description, for his experience under such circumstances was altogether incommunicable.

In 1869, while writing “The Holy Grail,” he also made to his family the following significant utterance :

Yes, it is true that there are moments when the flesh is nothing to me, when I feel and know the flesh to be the vision, God and the spiritual the only real and true. Depend upon it, the spiritual is the real; it belongs to one more than the hand and the foot. You may tell me that my hand and my foot are only imaginary symbols of my existence. I could believe you; but you never, never can convince me that the I is not an eternal reality, and that the spiritual is not the true and real part of me.

These words he spoke with such passionate earnestness that a solemn silence fell on the family as he left the room. In a letter to Emily Sellwood, who afterward became his wife, he also says :

To me, often, the far-off world seems nearer than the present, for in the present is always something unreal and indistinct; but the other seems a good solid planet, rolling around its green hills and paradises to the harmony of more steadfast laws. There steam up from about me mists of weakness, or sin, or despondency, and roll between me and the far planets, but it is there still.

As he grew older Tennyson felt more and more the reality of the unseen. Edward Fitzgerald gives this interesting observation :

I remember A. T. admiring the abstracted look of a Murillo Madonna at Dulwich, the eyes of which are on you, but seem “looking at something beyond, beyond the actual into abstraction.” This has been noticed of some great men; it is the trance of the seer. I do not remember seeing it in A. T. himself, great as he was from top to toe, and his eyes dark, powerful, and severe.

But Fitzgerald afterward changed his mind, and wrote: “I have seen it in his (A. T.’s). Some American spoke of the same in Wordsworth.” Yes, with Tennyson’s deepening life

came a greater realization of the transcendent moods of the human soul, a greater spiritual power that expressed itself in the eye and tone of voice, and more elevated poetry. Speaking of him two years before his death his son says :

While he talked of the mystery of the universe his face, full of the strong lines of thought, was lighted up, and his words glowed as it were with inspiration. In 1888 we are told that during the day he lay on his sofa, near the south window of his study, and told us that looking out on the great landscape he had wonderful thoughts about God and the universe, and felt as if looking into the other world.

All of these passages, and others that might be quoted, show that not always, perhaps, but in his greater moments Tennyson did know something of that heavenly madness wherein true wisdom is acquired. He did not look upon the mystic as a visionary who suffers from an overexcitable fancy. He was terribly in earnest about the significance of such moments in his life. He said, with something of the same vigor that he used in speaking of immortality : "By God Almighty there is no delusion in the matter. It is no nebulous ecstasy but a state of transcendent wonder associated with absolute clearness of mind."

And yet Tennyson was far from being a spiritualist. We have an account of a conversation between him and his brother Frederick, in which he said :

I grant you that spiritualism must not be judged by its quacks; but I am convinced that God and the ghosts of men would choose something other than mere table legs through which to speak to the heart of man. You tell me that my duty is to give up everything, in order to propagate spiritualism. There is really too much flummery mixed up with it, supposing, as I am inclined to believe, there is something in it.

It may be seen from this that Tennyson had little sympathy with the extreme views of many modern mystics. His mysticism was based upon reality.

Perhaps the best short statement of Tennyson's faith in the unseen is found in "The Higher Pantheism." He wrote it for the Metaphysical Society of London, and meant it, no doubt, as a protest against the materialism and agnosticism of many of the members of that interesting organization. It is full of the idealism of Plato and Goethe :

The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills, and the plains—  
Are not these, O soul, the vision of Him who reigns?

With this God, of whom we catch but broken gleams, we can  
hold personal communion :

Speak to him, thou, for he hears, and spirit with spirit can meet—  
Closer is he than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.

These lines might serve as the commentary on the ninety-fourth canto of "In Memoriam," which is an account of the mingling of Tennyson's soul with the universal soul in a moment of transcendent ecstasy or rapture. The passage has been very much misunderstood. In the first edition it read :

And all at once it seem'd at last  
His living soul was flash'd on mine,  
And mine in his was wound, and whirl'd  
About empyreal heights of thought.

Unquestionably the logic of the preceding cantos was in favor of this reading, but in a later edition Tennyson changed it so that it has a much wider application. It comes as the climax of a long line of thought and feeling. After he has considered the questions of immortality and fame and has longed, as few men have longed, for the spirit of Hallam, one summer night as he reads the letters of his dead friend he is lifted up into the spiritual world. All that has gone before has prepared him for the realization in a supreme degree of the spirit of God in his soul :

And all at once it seem'd at last  
The living soul was flash'd on mine,  
And mine in this was wound, and whirl'd  
About empyreal heights of thought,  
And came on that which is, and caught  
The deep pulsations of the world,  
Æonian music measuring out The steps of time.  
Vague words! but ah, how hard to frame  
In matter-molded forms of speech,  
Or ev'n for intellect to reach  
Thro' memory that which I became.

In "The Two Voices" we have many suggestions of Wordsworth's "Intimations of Immortality." The argument for a preexistence is tentatively advanced; at least the man

uses it as an answer to the first voice, which says that to begin implies an ending. In certain great moments of life there are impressions that seem to carry us back, as in a trance, to that imperial palace whence we came before God shut the doorway of the head. One does feel, now and then, emotions that connect him with a world other than this. Such moments correspond to the calm weather of Wordsworth:

Some vague emotion of delight  
In gazing up an Alpine height,  
Some yearning toward the lamps of night;  
. . . . .

Moreover, something is or seems,  
That touches me with mystic gleams,  
Like glimpses of forgotten dreams—

Of something felt, like something here;  
Of something done, I know not where;  
Such as no language may declare.

Another poem in which the rapture of the human soul is finely expressed is "The Ancient Sage." That the experience described in it is not altogether dramatic is proved by the words of Tyndall. One night Tyndall, Jowett, and Tennyson were talking together. Says Tyndall:

Tennyson described to me a state of consciousness into which he could throw himself by thinking intently of his own name. It was an apparent isolation of the spirit from the body. Wishing doubtless to impress upon me the reality of the phenomena, he exclaimed that it was a state of transcendent wonder. This trance, he claimed, was a union with God such as that described by Plotinus and Porphyry, and is the best argument against materialism and in favor of personal immortality.

A few months after this conversation Tyndall saw that he had given expression to the same idea in "The Ancient Sage." In the poem an old sage, a thousand summers before the time of Christ, is talking with a reckless, doubting, skeptical young man who has in his hands a poem expressing the vanity of life and the darkness of the world. Against the words of the poem the ancient seer pleads for the Nameless, notwithstanding the fact that his existence cannot be proved; he believes also in the final triumph of the good, and that the doors of night are the gates of light:

And more, my son ! for more than once when I  
 Sat all alone, revolving in myself  
 The word that is the symbol of myself,  
 The mortal limit of the Self was loosed,  
 And passed into the Nameless, as a cloud  
 Melts into heaven. I touch'd my limbs, the limbs  
 Were strange, not mine—and yet no shade of doubt,  
 But utter clearness, and thro' loss of self  
 The gain of such large life as match'd with ours  
 Were sun to spark—unshadowable in words,  
 Themselves but shadows of a shadow world.

He closes his rapturous address to the young man, who can no longer reply to him, with words that are a suggestion of the Transfiguration on Mount Hermon :

But curb the beast would cast thee in the mire,  
 And leave the hot swamp of voluptuousness,  
 A cloud between the Nameless and thyself,  
 And lay thine uphill shoulder to the wheel,  
 And climb the Mount of Blessing, whence, if thou  
 Look higher, then—perchance—thou mayest—beyond  
 A hundred ever-rising mountain lines,  
 And past the range of night and shadow—see  
 The high-heaven dawn of more than mortal day  
 Strike on the Mount of Vision !

Is this vague mysticism, we ask ; and we answer again, with great emphasis, No. It is the genuine mysticism of Wordsworth and Browning. Tennyson has given us in his poetry many expressions of a false mysticism. He understood, as few men have, the evil that may come from false ideas of religion, and has entered his protest in memorable words against a hollow idealism.

The poem “Saint Simeon Stylites” must occur to anyone in thinking on this subject. If one has always thought of Tennyson as a *dilettante* poet—faultily faultless, icily regular—he surely has not read this vigorous and healthy poem. We see St. Simeon on his pillar of stone, from scalp to sole one crust of sin, and hear him “battering the gates of heaven with storms of prayer,” long as he yearns for the white robes and the palms that will atone for all of this self-mortification and torture. Even now, at times, he sees an angel standing watching ; his one great object is to subdue his flesh that he may be more alone with God :

Is that the angel there  
That holds a crown? Come, blessed brother, come!  
I know thy glittering face. I waited long.

This is his beatific vision—a vision of God that comes from denying this world and living on in the other—and we say with the poet that it is a hollow mockery.

The noble phases of the mediæval religion are presented in “Saint Agnes’ Eve” and “Sir Galahad.” Beautiful and romantic as these poems are, however, they suggest by way of contrast the healthier and saner religion of the poet and seer of the nineteenth century. From the casement of the monastery, in the first poem, the nun, looking out on the beautiful snow that envelops the earth, and at the stars that shed a mild beneficent light over all the winter scene, gets a vision of the Bridegroom. In “Sir Galahad” the vision of the Holy Grail afterward so finely developed in one of the idyls is suggested. All his heart is drawn above. Mightier transports than love move and thrill him. When at last he catches the vision of the Holy Grail he exclaims:

My spirit beats her mortal bars.  
Ah, blessed vision! blood of God!

We are unavoidably reminded of the legend of the Holy Grail as interpreted by Tennyson. It is the idyl that is oftenest neglected and misunderstood, and yet it is in many senses the most significant of all; although it may lack the moving pathos of “Guinevere” or the solemn majesty of “Morte d’Arthur” and the beautiful narrative style of “Lancelot and Elaine,” it is the idyl in which Tennyson has treated the religious problem of his age with greatest power. He himself regarded it as his highest utterance on life. It was the hardest one for him to write, but when it did come to him it came like the inspiration of a prophet. We doubt not that his difficulty in writing it was due to the greatness of the theme which he presents.

There are visions and visions in this idyl—trances, ecstasies, raptures. It is therefore an especially good illustration of the study we have been making. Not St. Francis of Assisi nor Abelard nor St. Augustine ever had more glorious visions of the blessed life or the city of God than Galahad and Perci-



vale and the holy nun. Other parts of the idyl do not so thoroughly reproduce the mediæval atmosphere out of which these legends came; but the religious fervor of the Middle Ages, that long-told story of the Holy Grail, is finely portrayed in this poem. It is not necessary to rehearse the story of the Holy Grail, but we shall only use so much of it as is needed for the understanding of the point at issue. The maid sister of Percivale, disappointed in love, turned her attention only to holy things. While passion was raging in Arthur's court—the terrible passion of unholy love—she held herself aloof from it all, and gave herself to fasting and alms. Her teacher had inspired her with zeal for a vision of the Holy Grail, and at last she catches a glimpse of it. Her eyes, beautiful in the light of holiness, shine with a glory never before known; she tells her brother of the sound as of a silver horn from over the hills. No music of earth was ever like it:

And down the long beam stole the Holy Grail,  
Rose-red with beatings in it, as if alive,  
Till all the white walls of my cell were dyed  
With rosy colors leaping on the wall.

Galahad's eyes became like her own, when he heard of the vision—Galahad, the beautiful youth begotten by enchantment. He is sent forth by the maiden:

Go forth, for thou shalt see what I have seen,  
And break thro' all, till one will crown thee king  
Far in the spiritual city.

When on a summer night the Holy Grail, clad in a luminous cloud, appeared to them all in a banquet hall, all the knights swore to follow it. In the tournament on the next day Galahad and Percivale were successful because strength was with them from the vision. The story is a long one of the disappointments of the various knights—their fruitless search for the vision, which appeared to them in so many different ways and at last brought gloom to their lives. The height of mediæval ecstasy is in Sir Galahad's vision as he passes away into the spiritual city, the veritable city of God that St. Augustine saw with his enraptured eye or that St. John beheld from Patmos. The vision had never failed from his sight, moving with him night and day. Through the night it

had been a veritable pillar of fire, and at last in a vision of glory it leads him to the throne of God. From the swamp and dark places of earth Percivale sees him passing to the spiritual city, with all her spires and gateways in a glory like one pearl.

And from the star there shot  
A rose-red sparkle to the city, and there  
Dwelt, and I know it was the Holy Grail,  
Which never eyes on earth again shall see.

This is the ecstasy, the mysticism on which science and materialism have made their attack, and, noble as it is in Sir Galahad and in Percivale's sister—nobler far than the corruptions of social life which prevailed in King Arthur's court—it has too little of the reality of life to be of any permanent value to the human race.

But in striking contrast with these knights who pursued the Holy Grail is King Arthur himself with his purpose to build up a kingdom. He, too, had had a vision, but it was a vision to make the world other, and to build up the realm of Christ. It is this purpose that binds him to the life about him, and causes him to see at once the folly of his knights, when he learns of their vows. He realizes that for Galahad there may be such a vision. He will thus fulfill his nature, but the others will follow "wandering fires, lost in the quagmire." Men are they, and men's work they ought to do, with strength and will to right the wrongs of earth. What infinite pathos is in the king's words as he bids them farewell. His prophecy is fulfilled, as we have already seen, but what has been his work? He has tried with his few knights left to go on in his efforts to organize a kingdom, and help the suffering world. He is one of Carlyle's workmen, but is he no more? Is he the practical man of whom we hear so much in these days; has he no vision and faculty divine? Ambrosius is the purely practical man the other extreme from the erring knights. He loves the world about him. How close he is to mother earth and its frail humanity! He likes to mingle with the folks in the little village, and knows every honest face of theirs and every homely secret in their heart. He delights himself with all their sufferings and joys.

He lives  
Like an old badger in his earth,  
With earth about him everywhere.

Now Arthur lives in a larger world than this. To the practical love of humanity that characterizes Ambrosius he adds something of the mystical sense of Galahad, and the two are blended in an all but perfect manhood. He has lived a great life; he has had deep feeling, high thought, divine purposes, and visions come to him. He has his moments of rapture and ecstasy when he is crowned in the spiritual city, and earth must fade, for heaven was there. It is all summed up in the concluding paragraph, words that need only to be read in the light of what has been said to be instantly understood.

And many a time they come,  
Until this earth he walks on seems not earth,  
This light that strikes his eyeball is not light,  
This air that smites his forehead is not air  
But vision—yea, his very hand and foot—  
In moments when he feels he cannot die,  
And knows himself no vision to himself,  
Nor the high God a vision, nor that One  
Who rose again.

These words were in Tennyson's mind the summing up of all of Arthur's life, and his own. "The Holy Grail' is one of the most imaginative in my poems," he once said; "I have expressed there my strong feeling as to the reality of the unseen. The end, when the king speaks of his work and of his visions, is intended to be the summing up of all in the highest note by the highest of human men. They are the central lines of the idyls."

*Erin Mims*

**ART. VII.—CHRISTIANITY NOT AN EVOLUTION.**

WITH curiosity, as well as serious concern, the observer will notice the growing tendency of Christianity to do obeisance to science, and of theologians to cater to the spirit of worldly wisdom. Not the least of these tendencies is seen in the disposition to yield too much to science in accepting the theory of evolution as a settled fact; whereas, it is at best only a theory, and a theory on which even scientists themselves are by no means agreed, either as to the facts proved or the evolving principles and agents employed. It is not, however, the purpose of the present paper to deal with the claims of science that it has proved the theory of scientific evolution, but rather to point out the palpable error of many prominent theologians in applying the term "evolution" to Christianity, and in speaking as though it were a settled fact that it is an evolution. It is not necessary to mention any names in particular, as our various periodicals abound with instances of this mistake on the part of theological writers. In fact, it seems to be almost a "fad" to speak of Christianity in this way, and even our college professors are falling into the same error—if it be an error, as we shall endeavor to show in this paper.

It does not seem clear to many writers that this habit of so speaking of Christianity is practically robbing it of its divine and supernatural origin and relegating it to the realm of rationalism. Of course, this is farthest from the thought of most of those who speak in this way; but the logical effect on the mind of the rationalistic thinker may be quite different from that which the careless theologian intends to produce. We verily believe that this habit of speech is fostering the spirit of rationalism that has been so noticeable in these latter times. Is it not true that the Christian Church has been leaning too much toward the premature conclusions of speculative science? Is not this very way of speaking of Christianity an indication that there is such a tendency? If so, then we ought to carefully examine the ground of our statements, analyze the terms we use, and guard our language in dealing with the theological side of great questions.

In considering the inquiry as to whether Christianity is an evolution, it is necessary that we should ask what Christianity is. The term, as commonly employed, is somewhat indefinite in its meaning. Addressing ourselves for a moment to the question, we notice that it is not a mineral, vegetable, or animal product, and cannot have "evolved," on any scientific basis, out of either of these kingdoms. But, if it does not belong to either of these kingdoms, and cannot be treated by the laws governing them, then what is it? Positively, we may answer this question in the following ways:

1. It is a system of truth, including the nature, character, and mission of Christ, the eternal Logos, who is represented as God manifested in the flesh, in whom dwelt "all the fullness of the Godhead bodily." As such, Christianity may be said to be a revelation.

2. It is a scheme of atonement for sin, provided by the divine Father for the redemption of mankind, and, as such, it is salvation.

3. It is a system of ethical principles and precepts for the guidance of human conduct, embodied in the life and character of its Founder and set forth as an inspirational ideal, for the Christian.

4. It is, when personally embraced, an inward experience for the individual of a renewal of spirit as to motive and practice, with the consequent effects on the moral sensibilities and emotions. It is, therefore, regeneration.

5. It is, again, in its operative energy, a moral force. Appealing to the moral sense it awakens conscience, and thus becomes a governing factor in human conduct by introducing powerful motives to right action. "The kingdom of God is in power." Hence, Christianity is power.

From these considerations it will appear that we are not to use the term "Christianity" as implying something that has evolved out of nature, or as a material and tangible thing governed by material laws. But, in whatever phase we regard it, we should consider the question of its origin. Is it something born or made? Did it evolve, or was it a new creation? Was it a new variety—the outgrowth of some kind of hybridism—or the result of a change of environment? Or was it an

“original type?” The fact that as a system it is a part of an evolving or progressive plan does not place it in the field of scientific evolution, whose laws are “natural selection” and change of environment. A little reflection will, therefore, we think, convince any competent thinker that, on the accepted theory of its divine origin in the advent of the eternal Logos, or Word “made flesh,” Christianity was not “an evolution,” but a new creation.

It was original in all its essentials. While other systems foreshadowed it and prepared the way for it, none of them grasped its true significance or its central thought, salvation by faith in the righteousness of another, and that other a divine Redeemer. This idea was proclaimed by the eternal Word, who was, according to Scripture, God “manifest in the flesh.” Previous systems had built a structure under the direction of a master Architect, but for what, they knew not. Like Solomon’s temple that went up without the sound of tool or hammer—not a work of chance, but the realization of a skillfully prepared plan—these old systems were blindly working out a carefully devised scheme in which Christianity was emphatically the stone which the “builders rejected.” But, as in Solomon’s temple, the whole structure was prepared from the beginning. The stone which the builders rejected did not find its place at last by “evolution.” It was specially prepared for the place long before it reached it. The old systems were practically dead when Christianity came into existence. There was no shading of species into this new system; its appearance was sudden and phenomenal. As Athena sprang full-grown from the head of Zeus, so Christianity sprang suddenly into being, full-fledged and full-armed. It was like a blazing comet, shot suddenly from the darkness of chaos into the glory of the Pentecostal morning. To apply the principles of scientific evolution to the advent of Christianity is stupendous folly.

It may be argued at this point that, inasmuch as the preceding systems foreshadowed it, Christianity is therefore evolved from them. But a model does not evolve a ship or a machine; neither does a type evolve the antitype in religion, but rather the antitype gives rise to the type. As the

ship itself is planned in the mind of the architect before the model or type can be made, so the Christian system was planned before the model or type could exist. To argue that the divine plan was gradually evolved by selection or environment because it was foreshadowed in previous systems is fallacious; the types and shadows of the Mosaic dispensation, in particular, did not evolve, but were given like the antitype by direct and special divine revelation.

And just here we may remark that one of the most stupendous blunders of modern scientists has been the confounding of development with evolution. Both materialistic and theistic advocates of evolution have been guilty of the same error. Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, Romanes, Drummond, and Kidd have all fallen into the same snare. We cannot discuss this point at length, but it seems necessary to call attention to the confusion of these two distinct phases of progress which has been made. When Drummond, Kidd, and others point to the case of the Sandwich Islanders or the aborigines of Australia in their progress from barbarism to civilization as an illustration of the evolution of civilized man out of a primeval savage they egregiously blunder in their failure to distinguish between development and evolution. These cases were not cases of evolution at all, but of simple development, and therefore prove nothing for scientific evolution. What, then, is the difference between the two? While in many instances the terms are synonymous and may be used interchangeably, yet in the strictly scientific sense they cannot be so used without leading to confusion. The term "evolution" in its scientific sense implies the process by which structural changes are produced in the organisms of plants and animals, through a long succession of generations and series of changes in environment; and these morphological changes mark the varieties of species that are thus produced from a single original type. Now this theory of evolution, if correct, calls for certain indispensable elements in order to its success. It must have not only a changing environment and principle of selection, producing or tending to adaptation of organism to environment, but it must also have an indefinite period of time, and a long series of generations in order to bring about these changes which

only come slowly and gradually. Evolution knows no short cuts "across lots," no sudden leaps over chasms. All who come along her way must come by the beaten path and follow her ancient trails.

Let us examine for a moment the cases so often referred to by evolutionists in support of their theories and see wherein they have erred. As an illustration, the aborigines of Australia are often cited to show that man could have evolved from a savage to a highly civilized and intelligent being. But, in trying to prove their position on presumptive evidence, the evolutionists have proved too much. They have shown that the children of these lowest known specimens of savagery, when taken out of the environment in which they were born and placed in the schools of the Anglo-Saxon beside the children of the most advanced race on the face of the earth, will not only hold their own in learning, but will often surpass their white cousins. And, further, in the case of the Sandwich Islanders, it is shown that they have in the present century advanced from the lowest condition of cannibalism to that of an intelligent and civilized, yea even Christian, people. But, the question is whether either of these cases proves anything whatever for the theory of scientific evolution. Each rather proves that scientists are often short-sighted and confuse themselves and others by confounding the meaning of terms which they employ in teaching their theories. Neither of the cases was a case of evolution in the scientific sense, but simply an instance of development. Scientific evolution implies a long succession of generations for the succession of changes by which a species passes from the lower and simpler to the higher and complex forms. Even the most sanguine evolutionists will not claim that these higher forms, either of organic structure or brain power, are evolved from the lower forms in a single generation. To admit this would be to yield the whole argument for evolution, for to practically grant the sudden advent of new species would be a virtual acknowledgment of creative power acting directly in producing new organisms. The question next arises, then, whether the savage in either of the above cases evolved any new faculties or organisms as he advanced in a single generation from barbarism



to civilization. The answer is apparent—no new organism or faculty was evolved in either case. Every faculty and power that the individual possesses as a civilized man he possessed as a savage, only in a latent or inactive form. We presume the ardent advocates of evolution will not claim otherwise. What, then, is the logical and inevitable conclusion regarding these cases? Simply that there was then no evolution here, other than that which takes place in the life of every individual organism, which we call growth or development and which is the product of education.

So much, then, for the mistakes of evolutionists. And it serves to illustrate how theologians are making the same mistake when speaking of Christianity as an "evolution." It did not evolve; when "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," by that divine manifestation Christianity was started, a new type, original and divine. As a system it stands out unique and distinct from all other systems:

1. It is so in its origin, as we have previously remarked. It was not a hybrid, begotten of Judaism and Greek philosophy, but so distinct from either as to be repudiated by both as the opponent of each. It was "unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness." It is distinctively Melchisedekian in type, having no natural ancestor or descendant. It forever stands out as God's special message by a special man, himself unlike all others in his birth and mission. "We preach Christ . . . the power of God, and the wisdom of God," said the great apostle of the Gentiles. Christianity is Christ; Christ was not evolved, but sent. Evolution properly applies to that which has an ancestry and may have a progeny. Only in this line of succession can the principle of "selection" work, if it works at all. Christianity started an original type, and was either the result of supernatural interposition or it is nothing. It was a torchlight swung out of the windows of heaven, glimmering through the darkness, "and the darkness comprehended it not." Neither Judaism nor Greek philosophy recognized any resemblance or relationship in it. Both alike despised and rejected it.

2. It is peculiar in the purpose sought, the restoration of man to the favor of God through and by regeneration, a new

life principle within. And this new life is not evolved out of anything that has gone before, but comes to each individual directly from the divine Father. "Except a man be born from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God." It is not bequeathed by heredity, but must come to each individual severally, and is the result of a voluntary and personal seeking. It is "Christ in you the hope of glory;" and Christ comes to the individual heart only by individual request. Christianity, then, is never transmitted from one generation to another. It has no existence anywhere else in the world than in individual hearts. "The kingdom of God is within you." There can be no evolution, therefore, for that which is neither hereditary nor transmissible, but which is only received by each individual and that by choice. Herein Christianity stands alone. Other systems have sought chiefly to save men through external means, or through organization. Christianity alone seeks and claims to save men by individual and spiritual regeneration. Individual salvation through repentance, faith, and regeneration—which salvation is applied Christianity—is from the very nature of things repugnant to any theory of salvation by evolution.

3. Christianity is distinct, in that it is the result of a superior and supernatural power acting upon the individual heart in generating this new life within. As the Christ-man was unique in his birth and character, so his Church had its birth in the supernatural bestowment of its chief operating force. The Pentecostal effusion was not an infusion of transmissible fluid that may be passed from one person to another, as Mormonism teaches, but was an individual endowment of non-transmittible force. This force is the indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit, and is not an inherited quality, but a special bestowment of the divine Father. The governing principle of the Christian life is "The love of God . . . shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." It is not evolved, but "given." How, then, can any thoughtful student of theology and science mistake Christianity for an evolution, when its supernatural power is neither evolved nor transmitted, but is a special gift to the individual soul, and that only on certain stipulated and voluntary conditions? To talk of

it as "an evolution" is the greatest shortsightedness and carelessness, or else it is ignorance of the fundamental principles on which the theory of evolution is built. Its reception is in opposition to all the essential elements of scientific evolution.

4. Christianity is also unique in its methods of operation and growth. That growth is not involuntary, but voluntary. Evolution is, on the contrary, involuntary and unconscious in its methods and progress. Species progress from the lower to higher forms without any concern on their own part, and are even unconscious of any change in progress or in contemplation. According to scientific evolution they are continually progressing, from generation to generation, toward a higher type of organism without even knowing there is any such thing going on in their organisms. They are constantly adjusting themselves to new conditions without scarcely knowing that they have changed conditions. All animal and vegetable growth is carried on in substantially the same way. Neither a man nor a tree grows by trying to grow, as Professor Drummond has pointed out; they simply grow by continuing in the position in which nature has put them, and neither will nor consciousness has anything to do with it. But with Christianity the case is different. Its growth, nay its very existence in the human heart, depends upon these two qualities, consciousness and volition. These are always the two conditions of its benefits with responsible beings.

Where, then, is the evolution in Christianity? It will not do to say that it is in the fact that Christianity is the grand climax in the plan of the infinite Creator and Father; for this grand climax was not "evolved," but was the direct and special work of that infinite Father.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "M. W. Lifford". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned at the bottom center of the page.

**ART. VIII.—THE UNITY OF HISTORY AND RELIGION  
IN CHRISTIANITY.**

THE relation of history to religion has not the interest for speculative reason which it had in the preceding century; nevertheless, it is ever a vital question. Whether religion can be conceived of as historical is a question which is no longer current. But, in the present state of the philosophy of religion, a new form of this same question is in vogue—How may religion be historical? At once the purely speculative and polemical form of the question gives place to a view which is vital and constructive. Now the proper method of discussing such a theme is twofold; the general relation of history and religion must be established before there can be deduced the peculiar unity of the two in Christianity.

Twofold as is the nature of the above theme, the method of procedure is not in each case the same. The relation of history and religion is first to be determined in a general and speculative manner. Only when such has been done may this relation be applied to a given historical religion. When the general validity of this relation has been pointed out, then the peculiar value of the same for Christianity may be indicated. Development, as a concept, must be made consistent with religion in general before there can be investigated the position of Christianity in universal history.

That religion is historical is by no means self-evident; nor has such a view been developed without a struggle. The light in which we rejoice to-day once shone in a darkness which comprehended it not. In present-day thought nothing is more apparent than that we are awake to the advantages of history; for among the ideals which the passing century has developed none are more vivid than those of development and process. Hereby is the truth of everything tested, so that reality might be looked upon as that which is capable of development. Both nature and mind reveal this tendency. What has been the influence of Hegel and Darwin in modern thought? A speculative system of becoming and a naturalistic scheme of evolution have dominated the reflections of the

nineteenth century. Thus has the universe of thought and things been set in motion *e pur si muove*. But a mention of these names and these tendencies serves to remind us of what is universally felt.

The spirit of the enlightenment was precisely an opposite of historicity. Then all was static and eternal, and no greater calumny could be brought against an element than to regard it as capable of change. History gave way to nature. That by which this latter conception was developed was reason, according to whose principles history was tried and found wanting. Nature, not in the current sense of an empirical somewhat, but as rationalistic and dogmatic a principle as scholasticism ever saw, was the source and method, the criterion and goal of all. In its application this principle was both practical and speculative. No more significant expounders of this tendency are to be found than Grotius and Spinoza, the one inclining toward ethics, the other toward metaphysics. But, in either case, the historical concept was crowded out by the so-called "natural." Grotius proceeded from the principle of natural rights, *jus naturale*; Spinoza, from that of *natura naturans*. As a result the temporal and contingent were unfavorably compared with the eternal and the necessary. How pale did history then appear, when all was regarded in the light of eternity—*sub specie aeterni*. The magnificent conception of nature became the be-all and end-all of early modern thought.

Natural religion arose under such auspices, and did not fail to become the most typical and exemplary result of such a rationalistic method. Historical religion was at once set at naught; if Christianity had any kernel of truth, it was simply because the former was "as old as the creation." Such was the influence of the method *sub specie aeterni*. It is not difficult to see how historical (medieval) Christianity might be set at naught. The practical principle of natural rights was elaborated in direct opposition to that of authority; the speculative principle of reason, in defiance of tradition. It was with the clashing of such contradictory opinions that the early periods of modern thought resounded—*jus* versus *autoritas*, *ratio* versus *traditio*. Thus it came about that the facts of positive

religion were dismissed, just as the idea of development was despised. Rejoicing in its emancipation and heedless of history, modern thought did not hesitate to undertake the somewhat arduous task of constructing religion anew. The result was natural religion. If it distrusted the positive and contingent, the enlightenment reassured itself by affirming its faith in nature and reason. For how could the temporal contain the eternal, or contingent facts become necessarily true?

Whatever be the method of history or the principle of historical division in general, the passage from the enlightenment to the present century was no smooth evolution, but was characterized by opposition and negation. This was brought about by skepticism. Doubt was entertained as to the power of reason, as well as of the appropriateness of the idea of nature. Hume and Lessing are representative of this reversal. The latter did not succeed so completely as did Hume in disentangling himself from the artificial enlightenment; nevertheless, in showing the possibilities of a particular form of religion—Judaism-Christianity—as an educator of humanity he performed a service which was wanting in Hume.

The destruction of natural religion and the corresponding rehabilitation of historical religion were brought about by Hume, whose whole philosophy centers round the idea of the positive-historical. Hume's speculative thought turns away from *a priori* reason and logical necessity to the principles of experience. Causation, the very heart of scientific thought, becomes a merely customary connection of ideas. "Custom, then, is the great guide of human life." In ethics the isolated principle of custom becomes more complete and systematic in the form of conduct. Outwardly viewed, ethics (*ethika*) is but the science of custom. Thus did a formal principle receive life. But in religion, which Hume treated historically, the principle of custom became universalized. Custom became the guide of historical life, and here it received its most characteristic treatment. For, it is by virtue of historical process that custom is developed. When history has done its work, then logic and ethics may be elaborated. History thus became the ultimate test of all reality. Reason gave way to custom; nature, to history.

Historicity, according to Hume, was the test of reality. Why was natural religion rejected? Because it was illogical? No; because it was nonhistorical. Natural religion has no history; hence it is false. Examine the history of humanity. We find that the farther back we go toward man's natural state, the farther removed he is from anything like natural religion. Not reason, but superstition characterizes early religion. Natural religion has no place in history; hence it can have no place in reason; it is, accordingly, a fiction of the imagination. History was doubly vindicated; it was delivered from rationalism and triumphed over the fictitious "nature." The test to which history has been submitted was calculated to prove its validity and to bring out its inner nature. Certainly a most serious view of the development of humanity must be entertained when we observe how history has weathered the "storm and stress" of rationalism, just as there must be felt our appreciation of that which has been produced, as it were, through "blood and iron."

Emancipated as history has been by skepticism and positivism, it should be thankful for its escape, yet not content to remain passive in the hands of its deliverers. It is for deliverance from its friends that it should pray; its enemies have disappeared. The now-esteemed method of history may be misapplied. A skeptical positivism may have been of real service in revealing the falsity of rationalism, but the former is by no means the complete form of the philosophy of religion. Thus it comes about that current religious thought is not wholly free from certain dangers inherent in its very method, the historical one. At the same time the experience of the enlightenment should show that the relation of history to religion is by no means an obvious one, so that the unity of the two is not without difficulty. The historical character of religion must be evinced by a deduction from its very nature.

The recoil from an antihistorical rationalism assumes to-day the form of positivism. History is contained in the form of this latter; its inner nature is supposed to be expressed in terms of actuality, or phenomenism, as well as in the principle of development. Manifesting itself in various philosophical sciences, such a twofold tendency is not absent from

religion, where it appears in the new science of comparative religion, as well as in a revived evangelical theology. In the one there may be observed, in general, the tendency to center all faith in the idea of evolution; and in the other the principle of the positive seems to be dominant. Now, to regard religion from the general standpoint of evolution is bound to be as abstract and valueless as was the practice of rationalism. If the enlightenment reposed its faith in an abstract natural religion developed by reason, current thought tends to look upon the general evolution of religion as the essential and valuable. But, for living religion the abstract natural religion and the empirical evolution of nature-religion are equally alien.\* History thus interpreted cannot serve the needs of religion. An abstract evolution of religion is as impotent as an eternal religion of nature. When history is regarded as mere development, such must ever be the result.

In the same way the relation of history to religion cannot be indicated by laying emphasis upon mere matters of historical fact. Advanced evangelical theology is here not without difficulty. Not only does it fail to evince the historical character of religion, but it likewise fails to justify its habit of finding all that is of religious value within the limits of the Christian religion. Such has been the case with the Ritschlian theology; it has not failed to ask the question as to how history relates itself to religion, but it has never given a just answer to the same. With Harnack and Hermann this is strikingly true. In his pamphlet, *Christianity and History*, Harnack finds the value of history for religion to consist in the fact that the former contains an account of the life and influence of a transcendent personality. Hermann is still more pronounced in what may only be regarded as a refined form of positivism. Faith does not repose in a necessary and eternal truth; that would be mysticism. But rather is faith a fact, nothing more. The inner nature of that faith consists in the persuasion that human destiny is not natural but supernatural. As the ground of such belief we have the phenomenon of Jesus Christ. Thus it comes about that the theological tendency

\* Comp. De la Saussaye, *Die Vergleichende Religionsforschung und der religiöses Glaube* (1896).



presents in current religious thought the counterpart of the scheme of evolutionary religion. Together they succeed in exalting an abstract process, as well as isolated facts. Now this is not history, nor does such a method conserve the interests of religion.

Without abandoning the historical position, and at the same time avoiding the error of the enlightenment, present-day religious thought must adjust the question in a different way. Neither rationalism nor positivism will suffice; the one defeats history, the other betrays it. No little light may be thrown upon the question by admitting the difficulty of historical religion; we cannot regard it as of passing interest or as being purely fortuitous. Religion should in some way represent God; and how may this be done if the former be temporal and circumstantial? The historical moment as a whole seems inadequate to reflect the Eternal; much less may a definite and limited period contain the Absolute. Such objections as these are proposed by religion, and history must dispose of them. In such a condition as this gain may result by regarding history not so much as a problem to be solved, but rather as a means of answering another question, that of religion. In all the discussion of the question religion has been looked upon as a complete concept capable of determining the conditions of its historicity. But, when it is seen that religion is itself a problem, history may then find its place as an accompanying principle. The difficulty which religion encounters in realizing itself is obviated by the historical method. History then assumes the form of an assistant, and not that of a burden. Religion can exist and act only as it is historical; in its inner nature it presents problems which history alone can solve.

What, then, is religion? The enlightenment asked this question, but its answer was inadequate. It is not sufficient to refer what is real and vital to abstract reason and a purely negative conception of eternity. To define religion in so many words is a method fraught with little gain; nor may we here discuss the question at any great length. For the purpose of relating history to religion it will suffice to indicate the latter's nature, and that by reference to the soul, the world, and to God. Hereby the inner nature of religion may be

brought out. Religion is not primarily an attempt to gain some speculative view of the world, nor is it a desire to produce practically some result in the world; but is rather the impulse, on the part of the soul, to affirm itself over against the opposition of the world. Thus the end and aim of religion is not a speculative conclusion or an objective result, but consists rather in the self-realization of the soul. Destiny is that which determines the behavior of the soul when its religious consciousness is aroused; the idea of logical deductions and the principle of duty are quite alien to its central spring. The perfect realization of religion occurs when the victory over the world is complete. Christ realizes religion in his own person when he says, "I have overcome the world." Such was the religion of Christ. The good cheer which it imparts follows not as the result of any work he performed or by virtue of any new view of the universe, but is inherent in that religious victory which was his. But this is only a partial and rather negative view of religion.

The task which religion has to accomplish is that of self-realization and world-overcoming. Such is the destiny of the soul. But to work out such a salvation is a task beyond the private powers of the personal soul. The awakening to religious consciousness at once reveals this fact; and, out of the depths of some divine despair, the soul cries out for aid from some more than natural source. Various forms and ages of religion would represent differently this common element of all religious life. Thus, as a second moment in religion enters in the belief in God. Such an idea comes not primarily from the world, for religion is more than scholastic curiosity, but is rather of an inner origin. The idea of God becomes a demand of the soul, when the latter seeks its salvation. While having some general reference to the world, this view of religion involves a twofold principle—the impulse of the soul, in response to the idea of its destiny, and the postulated tendency on the part of a divine soul to further this. Now such a view of religion is not only capable of historical interpretation, but cannot be conceived of apart from historical influence.

With its historical character religion may find a means of

realizing that which otherwise would be impossible. This may be shown from the twofold standpoint involved, and by a method in keeping with actual religion. History provides a method by which the soul can work out its religious destiny, as well as a means by which God can consistently supply his aid. The history of the race makes possible the solution of a problem too great for the individual in his isolated life. To overcome the world is a cumulative effort demanding time indefinite; in it the activity of the soul, as well as the assistance of God, may find room. At the same time the effect of social history upon the individual is not only such as to make possible the working out of his problem, but it likewise serves to develop the character of his problem. Self-affirmation becomes transfigured, and thus receives a more appropriate form than that of egoism. Historical religion thus is influential in assisting the soul in its activity, as well as in setting up the point of departure for its destiny. Accordingly, various stages in the progress of the soul will be indicated by epochs in religious history. The inner connection of the two will be evinced by the inner and outer forms of development.

If nature-religion may be regarded as typical of the original form of man's belief in his supernatural destiny, then the self-affirmation of the soul will be such as to assume the form of ingenuous egoism, this being the result of a nomadic form of social life. But, even here, such an egoism will be tempered by the demands of family and clan. A stage higher, in national religion, the individual soul becomes exalted in the nation, just as the latter by its culture and worship react upon him, enabling him more readily and more consistently to accomplish his task. Universal religion completes the process. The soul in the moment of its complete self-realization is seen; God appears in his absolute and perfect character. Narrow egoism and partial nationalism are done away with. In their stead appears some universal realm of religious life, as the kingdom of God. Such is the climax in the soul's career.

Another view of the same process may at the same time be entertained. Just as the soul has availed itself of various stages and epochs in the history of its realization, so God

may be regarded as a companion idea, developing in a manner consistent and appropriate. Here, again, various stages may be determined. To the patriarch and his clan God appears as a covenant-making Being. With the people of God he assumes the form of a national Jahveh. In universal religion the pure spirituality of God is revealed. In the kingdom of heaven man and God are conceived of as naturally related. Such a kingdom is man's true destiny, just as it is also God's veritable design. In such a realm the soul is realized, while God is revealed. And here is the inner meaning of history. The idea of the kingdom has been wrought out by virtue of an historical method, just as the idea itself is an historical one. As seed sown in the ground, so is the kingdom in the world. Development is inherent in the very notion, and such development makes up the history of religion.

Already, by our mention of the kingdom of God, we have been brought to the very borders of the second and particular part of our theme, the historical form of Christianity. All that has been said concerning the general relation of history and religion is singularly true here. In a double manner has Christianity united these two. It has created the historical form of religion, just as it has also adjusted to faith the content of universal history. Christianity in its most essential nature is preeminently historical. In it we observe the peculiar unity of history and religion. Pre-Christian thought was strikingly nonhistorical; such was the case in both antique and oriental worlds, as will become apparent when we glance at Greece, India, and China. Chinese thought is plainly unhistorical. No progress is made; conservatism rules supreme. If Indian thought has in it the idea of motion and change, such is not with the purpose or result of producing anything vital or essential. All is in motion, an endless becoming, but all is in vain. Change is all for naught; progress leads only to annihilation. In a somewhat different sense does the antique world show itself to be unhistorical. While here there is no particular reverence for the ancient, much less an antipathy to the world, as in the above cases, there is in Greek thought a similar inability to conceive of historical progress. Motion and activity are present, to be sure, but such evince themselves

within a closed circle; nothing new is produced. All reality is given; all that is essential has been accomplished. As a result there prevailed in Greek thought that peace of mind which passed from complacency to resignation, just as oriental thought had been conservative and pessimistic.

Christianity, in striking contrast to such a view, is clearly historical. The historical principle it has created for its own needs. Not as given, but as to be produced, are the real and valuable regarded. History is looked upon as working out a result, and such is regarded as being of the nature of an innovation. The new is wrought out. For the first time did history become valid, just as religion was then placed upon its merits and looked upon as capable of solution. When the essential meaning of religion was seen, the value of history was brought out. Such a unique method has already been observed in the mention of the kingdom of God as a typical idea of Christianity. From a purely formal standpoint this idea of an independent religious realm may find some counterpart in the Buddhist notion of Nirvana, or in the Platonic cosmos of ideas. But, apart from such metaphysical differences as might be pointed out, the great difference in the positive working out of the plan of the kingdom of God consists in the fact that the latter is historical. In the kingdom man realizes himself while God is revealed; but such a use of this idea is made possible only by the historical moment which it contains. That which is realized is by virtue of the historical idea, and such an idea has been achieved by the Christian religion.

The mastery over history which Christianity reveals is still further evinced when we turn from the purely historical idea to the positive content of universal history. Here a remarkable adjustment takes place. Dualism in history is created. The world begins anew; chronology is revised. A glance at the geographical arrangement of this dualism will bring out the radical nature of the latter. The ancient Orient is one thing; the modern Occident another. Europe and America are Christian, and herein consists the striking contrast to the Orient. The oriental world, so far as its significance is concerned, is past and gone; its place has been taken by a new civilization, a new view of the world and of life.

This dualistic view of history which is implied by Christianity becomes more vivid when we pass from purely outer comparisons to the inner meaning of the two parts of human development. The ethical change from Orient to Occident was most radical and striking. It is true that certain phases of advanced Greek thought were more or less indicative of the change which was to follow and that there was a general connection between Judaism and Christianity, but it cannot be denied that the effect of this new movement was catastrophic, just as the position of its founder was cataclysmic. Nietzsche—and did not the possessed in Capernaum confess that Jesus was the Christ?—has paid a strange tribute to the Christianity of Christ by regarding its position in the history of culture as a “transvaluation of all values” (*Umwerthung aller Werthe*). As a direct opposition does Christian ethics relate itself to what had formerly been of moral value. Whether such a change be regarded with favor or otherwise, as in Nietzsche’s case, it cannot be denied that the inauguration of Christianity was the signal for an ethical upheaval in universal history.

Cataclysmic as is the nature of Christianity, so is the original and unique position of its Founder. And what gain will ensue when theology, assuming the standpoint of religion, measures Christ by means of history? With respect to this original soul all else is a mere before or after; a for or against. In history Christ is creative. Well has St. Paul compared him with Adam. The first Adam desiring to become as God, knowing good and evil, discovered the moral law for himself. Christ, the second and superior Adam, pursued a different method. He thought it not robbery to become equal with God, and thus, according to the mystery of the *kenosis*, he rediscovered the moral law, the will of God. But what may such symbolism mean? The first Adam and his *morale* were both oriental, and are now antiquated; whereas the heavenly Adam finds value in a totally different method of life, and this becomes the ethics of the Occident. Thus does the dualism of universal history bring out the comparison of these two creative personalities.

The general relation of religion to history and the unity of

the two in Christianity lead to a final question—How may a single period in universal history become of intrinsic value for what is so embracing as the relation of the eternal God to humanity? In a new guise rationalism here appears, demanding that we regard history as a smooth and gradual evolution. But such a view, however applicable to the history of nature, does not necessarily hold in the history of culture. In the latter prevails the spirit of freedom, so that history is not naturalized but spiritualized. Various branches of culture reveal this truth. In the history of philosophy all that was essential to ancient and mediæval thought was developed within the chronological limits of the life of Plato. The history of art shows that the secrets of the *Renaissance* were solved in the twinkling of an eye. Slowly ascending through Romanesque and Gothic types, then as regularly descending in Barock and Rococco, the essentials of modern art were all developed upon the narrow ridge spanned by Raphael's life of thirty-seven years. Why, then, may we not find the essentials of occidental religion limited to the life of John the evangelist, who observed the influence of Christ's life and the effect of his death upon men? The guiding principle should be, not a theory of evolution, but a sense of religious value. Philosophy ignores the ages and hastens to Plato. Art centers in Raphael and his contemporaries. Religion thus knows only one name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved.

*Charles Gray Shaw.*

## ART. IX.—THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

WHAT is the higher criticism? It is not a set of theories or conclusions of any kind; it is a method. When Dr. Briggs defines it to be "the higher task" of considering the scriptural writings "as to integrity, authenticity, literary form, and reliability," he exactly agrees with that most orthodox and conservative scholar, Principal Cave, who asks, "What is the critical method?" and replies, "It is the examination of the books of the Bible by the same principles by which all literature is studied; it is logic; it is the application to the law and the prophets of that inductive method by which discoveries innumerable have been made in all the paths of research." And the principal continues by saying that "it is a rational examination of the facts of the Old Testament, facts of literature, history, style, and content by the aid of comparison and inference." He then declares that the greatest need of this hour is a more scholarly, thorough, and well-balanced application of this scientific method. This is indeed the position of Professor William Henry Green, and of every other orthodox conservative who is at the same time a critical scholar. The writer does not know even one Old Testament man in the world to-day who has a reputation outside his own village that does not, at least professedly, accept the critical method. August Köhler, who took the lead of the conservative evangelical forces of Germany in Old Testament criticism when Delitzsch died, voiced the unanimous opinion of scholarship when he wrote a book, the main contention of which was that wrong criticism was not to be anathematized but answered, and that only criticism could answer criticism. The skeptics who represent the orthodox position as different from this are simply slandering us. That thoroughly orthodox Old Testament scholar, Professor Charles H. H. Wright, wrote recently, "There are those, alas, who look upon every deviation from the old traditional views as akin to apostasy from the faith. But they who are gifted with a firmer faith in the 'oracles of God,' and are indisposed to think the 'ark' in danger because the oxen happen to stumble, will welcome all



new light upon every biblical question." So Dr. Delitzsch even more forcibly says, "The love of truth, submission to the force of truth, the surrender of traditional views which will not stand the test is a sacred duty, an element of the fear of God."

All this proves that evangelical Christianity believes in the sovereignty and lordship of the truth. The truth is the one king of men whose right to rule Christianity cannot question. This is the one king ruling by divine right. God is the highest truth, and a God-given revelation cannot be in conflict with any truth which can be discovered. If we believe the Bible to be a true record of God's revelation to man, we need not fear that any truth will hurt it.\*

In this search for truth the Methodists ought to be most fearless and tolerant, for the Methodist system of doctrine has for its center, not any particular intellectual tenet, but the assured facts of Christian experience. Wesley and Whitefield, Adam Clarke and Richard Watson, notwithstanding their wide divergence in doctrine, were all good Methodists because they were one in this fundamental. Whoever retains a vital Christian experience, such as Methodism emphasizes, cannot think very far wrong. We know Jesus Christ has power on earth to forgive sins, which is the best present-day proof of his omniscience, omnipresence, and omnipotence. If Jesus Christ is a fact, as Christian experience proves him to be, then the New Testament history must be substantially true and the Old Testament prophecies have been proved true.†

\* The writer can remember the time when it was counted heresy in his native town for a minister to suggest that God possibly did not make this earth and all that is on it, just as it stands, in seven literal days. We now see, however, that God's method in creation was a little different from what we thought it was when we were boys. And the change of view has not hurt our religious experience or our reverence for the Bible. We see now that whatever method God took in creation must have been the right method. It is exactly the same with the Bible. Whatever has been God's method of revelation, it must be the right method, and we ought to be as glad to find out exactly what his method was in revelation as in creation.

† Jesus Christ is himself the best vindication of prophecy. What particular difference does it make whether we can tell the name of the inspired prophet who wrote Isaiah liii and various Messianic Psalms or not? That they were written centuries before Jesus came no one doubts. That they did voice the hope of those holy men of God in a coming redemption few, even of the most rationalistic critics, deny. Not by some twist of phrase, as if they were sibylline oracles, but in the heart throbs of their deepest meaning the Old Testament prophecies pointed to the coming Conqueror, Sufferer, Saviour. Even Smend himself acknowledges that the foreknowledge of the prophets is a divine mystery and has its source in divine illumina-

Methodism, therefore, has always urged her theological scholars, from the days of Adam Clarke to those of Professor Harman, to investigate every question of history, textual criticism, and canonicity with absolute freedom, even though they should be led to consider some books, such as the Hebrews, to be anonymous, and others, such as Jude and Second Peter, to have no certain claim to be genuinely apostolic writings. Methodism has always believed that no man and no generation can get all the truth which is hidden in this wonderful word. As the author of the nineteenth Psalm suggests, the Bible is as great as nature, and, like nature, it will keep all future generations busy seeking new discoveries. It is not a brave nor a safe thing for any Church to build a wall of fifteenth century or nineteenth century belief in front of a man and say, "Thus far shalt thou think, but no farther." If we believe that the Bible contains a true revelation from God, we need not fear that any truth can hurt it; and if we believe that the Christian thinker who knows Jesus Christ as the Son of God is guided of the Lord and illuminated by the Holy Spirit, we need not fear that any such thinker who retains his vital Christian experience will be so guided by the divine Spirit as to do any real harm to the book which was written by holy men as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.\*

It is true that at every great epoch in the Church a new view of some great doctrine has been obtained. Every conflict, so far, with heathendom, with popedom, and with modern rationalism has left the Church holding a better and stronger position than at the beginning of the fight. If this is God's battle, and God still lives, that must always be true. We ought to be glad that in the growth of the race and in the developing of the divine plan the new wine is ever bursting the old bottles. Let them burst if they cannot hold God's new truth.

tion. Surely any Church which has a living faith in a living Christ, and which really believes his promise that he will lead his people into all essential truth (John viii, 31, 32; xvi, 13), must be most free and fearless in its examination of every religious question.

\* Edwin Williams, in his *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, just published by the Welsh Methodist Book Concern, urges that if the higher critics believe in a true revelation no harm can come to the Church from their speculations. Certainly this must be true if, in addition to this intellectual belief, they also possess a reverent spirit and personal spiritual union with Him who is the truth.

We hope the day will never come when Methodism will be so careful of her worn-out wine skins that she will count them more important than God's new wine.\* The best way to make a heresy powerful is to persecute it and act as if the Church were afraid of it. Heresy cannot be stopped by anathemas. It is perhaps Max Müller who in his *Recollections* tells of an English professor who grew so excited in his class room, while denouncing Froude's *Nemesis of Faith*, that he finally threw the book upon the fire and stirred the coals to make it burn, and then, after this visible annihilation of the book, asked of his students triumphantly, "What have I done?" receiving the unexpected reply from one shrewd pupil, "You have stirred the fire, sir!" The earnest seeker after truth ought to be tolerant of speculation, even when it is opposed to his holiest convictions. Christianity can afford to encourage the most critical examinations of its religious books. There is no other religion that can. The Koran claims to have been written by Gabriel, and the writer has never met a Mohammedan who did not think that he had settled the matter forever by simply quoting proof texts from the Koran. The Mohammedan Church does well not to allow any member or teacher to undertake a critical examination of the claims and contents of the Koran. It could not stand such an examination. But the Bible can. Such investigation may change some old beliefs and opinions of Christianity, but it will change them for the better; for God's truth shall remain, though the earth be shaken and the mountains removed into the depths of the sea. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but the truth of the divine word shall never pass away. He who fears the truth is no real friend of the Bible. There may come a new writing of Jewish history, a new statement of the doctrine of inspiration; the old argu-

\* It is better to keep a living truth than a dead dogma. The best way to kill a living faith is to shut it up where it has no room to grow. There were Churches, several centuries ago, which came out of the great Reformation possessors of a new and living creed concerning the sovereignty of God and the sinfulness of man. But they put this belief in a holy vault and double locked the door upon it as something too sacred to look at again; and when Wesley tried to break open the tomb and give the dying faith a little fresh air and breathing room, they drove him away and stoned him with stones. And when to-day the Lord of all life stands before that same vault, ready to cry, "Lazarus, come forth," there are still those who cry, "No, Lord."

ment from prophecy based upon fragments and scraps of texts may be rendered impossible; but the Bible as a record of God's revelation to man and his infallible guide from earth to heaven will not be harmed. As Kamphausen says, "The Bible abides; scientific attempts to sketch the history of the Bible come and go." Dr. Briggs himself declares, "The substance of Holy Scripture, the divine teaching as to religious faith and morals, is errorless and infallible," while Robertson Smith once wrote, "Of this I am sure, . . . that the Bible does speak to the heart of man in words that can only come from God—that no historic research can deprive me of this conviction or make less precious the divine utterances that speak straight to the heart." Methodism can be charitable with men like these who hold what we believe to be wrong theories; for history shows that many theories which have been proved erroneous have yet frequently been productive of good results.

God has proved in the past that he can overrule to his glory the phases of criticism just as truly as he does the courses of external history. So much has been said about the work of certain great scholars of the extreme radical school that some may have imagined that rationalism has monopolized the scholarship and won all the victories of this century. Nothing could be more untrue. Two generations ago when Tholuck, who was himself a converted rationalist, went to Halle as a professor he could find only one other professor and five students in the entire university who were evangelical believers, and they were called "the idiotic orthodox." This represented the general feeling in the great German universities at that time. There was an almost unanimous verdict of expert German scholarship, not only against the trustworthiness of the Old Testament documents, but of the New Testament documents as well. There has been a great change in our generation, and even in the last decade. Conservative evangelical scholars now fill the chairs which were occupied by rationalists of the most pronounced type only a short time ago. Who is in Halle now, where Tholuck was insulted and even had his house attacked because of his evangelical opinions? Everyone will think of such men as Bey-

schlag and Haupt and Kähler, three scholars who are as famous for their great learning as for their evangelical spirit and criticism, while Edward Meyer of that university, one of the great historians of the age, who only a few years ago was attacking the historic credibility of the Old Testament, is now defending these narratives on scientific critical grounds. At Leipsic one thinks at once of Delitzsch, who was followed by Buhl and then by Kittel, all great scholars and conservative teachers. At Berlin, when Dillman died, it was Baethgen, a pronounced conservative, who was chosen to succeed him; and it is Baudissin of Marburg, another conservative, who has written a mighty work aimed at the very center of the Wellhausen theory, who has also just been invited to Berlin. It is interesting to remember also that Dr. Adolph Harnack, of that university and one of the chief leaders of the radical school, has recently been driven by the scientific higher-critical method to date the New Testament books surprisingly near the very time when orthodoxy has always claimed they were written. If this radical can say in his *Geschichte*, 1896, "The most severe examination of the historic foundations of the New Testament has only made it the stronger," may we not believe that by this same critical method Old Testament scholarship may in time, through the providence of God, render the Church a similar service?

The present writer does not doubt, considering the present tendency, that the theories which may too often be described as "hairsplitting" and "atom-dividing"—the theories which would turn all Jewish history upside down, and would move almost all its literature into post-exilic time and make all the great Hebrew classics a patchwork tacked together by unknown men, often from very questionable motives—will in the lifetime of men now living have been thrown into the curiosity shop of scholarship, while the documents of the Old Testament, like those of the New, will have taken their place as the most authoritative and critically accurate documents relating to the history and belief of Israel. That the Gausson theory of inspiration and the Milman method of writing Jewish history will ever return cannot be believed by anyone who knows how the new method has illuminated the life and

thought of this ancient people. Already the higher-critical method has done much to increase men's love for the Bible. And as critical scholars continue to use it, without being handicapped with presuppositions against the miraculous and the truly prophetic and supernatural character of these records, better results will certainly be obtained. The writer has little sympathy for the thing called on the street "higher criticism"—a thing which has well been called a learning "infatuated with a sense of its own infallibility, void of reverence, and spectacted with foregone conclusions." But even this is not as bad as an ignorance equally infatuated with a sense of its own infallibility and equally spectacted with foregone conclusions, which would call all criticism heretical that is not cast in its own narrow, pre-scientific mold and that does not therefore reach fifteenth century or eighteenth century conclusions.

*Candee M. Coburn*

## ART. X.—BROWNING'S VISION OF OLD AGE.

OUR nineteenth century poets have sounded no more helpful note than Browning's clear trumpet peal of optimism. In a time of spiritual depression and of morbid fears, a time of waning faith in the individual human destiny as against the general averages of political science and the deterministic and rationalistic explanations of man's life, in such a time he declared

This life's no blot or blank,  
It means intensely and it means good ;  
To find its meaning is my meat and drink.

Its every phase as connected with individual destiny was studied, and its good was proved. His poetry culminates in a ringing confidence in the possibilities of life even through its latest years to the brink of the grave. He, "the young and undefeated," looks steadily to that "last of life, for which the first was made."

To what extent is his thought about old age a new perception for the race, a "point of the eternal power hid yestereve?" The venerable white hairs of Nestor in the Greek councils, the pious care of Anchises' son, were long known to the ancients; Hrothgar, the grand old man of our Saxon forefathers, and Lear, broken in mind and body, but filled with pitiable yearning for love, speak to us from the past. Yet, in spite of this, the thought of age was usually a threat, not a promise. The Renaissance, with its mundane joys, saw almost with horror that "old men have gray beard, their faces wrinkled, their eyes purging thick amber and plum-tree gum, and that they have a plentiful lack of wit, together with most weak hams." The thought of a loathsome debility conquered the conquering spirit of man. Queen Elizabeth fought time with rouge and wigs and bright colors, and would have counted it all but high treason for a subject to have noticed in her the signs of age. In the irreverent time of Anne, gray hairs were satirized and despised by the wits of the day; only Addison pleaded for them in the character of Sir Roger de Coverley. But in Wordsworth, there

broke forth again the perennial fountains of reverence and pity which had produced the "good old Lord Gonzago" and the faithful servant Adam. Michael, the leech gatherer, the pastor in the "Excursion," all tell of the wisdom and strength of old age. But the deeply personal sonnet to his wife, as he realized that age had come on them together, has a better note:

Morn into noon did pass, noon into eve,  
And the old day was welcome as the young,  
As welcome and as beautiful,—in sooth  
More beautiful as being a thing more holy.

And this is reechoed by Browning with an equal personal fervor when he speaks of "the age so blessed that by its side youth seems the waste instead." But one further utterance from the "Excursion" should be cited here, a passage which anticipates in part the teaching of Browning:

Do not think  
That good and wise ever will be allowed,  
Though strength decay, to breathe in such a state  
As shall divide them wholly from the stir  
Of hopeful nature. Rightly is it said  
That man descends into the vale of years;  
Yet have I thought that we might also speak,  
And not presumptuously, I trust, of age  
As of a final eminence; though bare  
In aspect and forbidding, yet a point  
On which 'tis not impossible to sit  
In awful sovereignty; a place of power,  
A throne, that may be likened unto his  
Who in some placid day of summer, looks  
Down from a mountain top. . . .

For on that superior height,  
Who sits is disencumbered from the press  
Of mere obstructions, and is privileged  
To breathe in solitude, above the host  
Of ever-humming insects, mid thin air  
That suits not them . . .  
And may it not be hoped, that, placed by age  
In like removal, tranquil though severe,  
We are not so removed for utter loss,  
But for some favor, suited to our need?  
What more than that the severing should confer  
Fresh power to commune with the invisible world



And hear the mighty stream of tendency  
Uttering, for the elevation of our thoughts,  
A clear, sonorous voice, inaudible  
To the vast multitude.

Browning is the chief heir to this utterance. Other nineteenth century writers have dwelt on the kindliness or the pity-moving weakness of age. The latter does not touch Browning's art, the former affects it but slightly. These are superseded by the larger perception of the power and majesty and sweeping vision of age, "its final eminence" of "awful sovereignty." Age is no longer trembling but triumphant. It is the very crown of life; for, "say what fools will, it is, or should be, the best of life—its fruit, all tends to, stem and leaf and flower." It is the time of fruitage, when life's whole results, self-involved, have reached maturity. Nor is it deficient in joy:

By the spirit, when age shall o'ercome thee, thou still shalt enjoy  
More indeed, than at first, when unconscious, the life of a boy.

There is no half-hearted shrinking from infirmity; but the full glory of Browning's faith in humanity gathers as a halo around the brow of age. He has created a triad of aged heroes, not Nestors of counsel, nor Lears of suffering, but athletes of God, meeting spiritual enemies and overcoming them. They grapple with every assailing doubt against the faith in man and God. They are the nineteenth century counterparts of Milton's Samson. The wisdom of experience, the sinew of training, and the fidelity of love are alike theirs. They ask for no help nor pity for themselves; they rather minister to the needy world from their own large resources of spirit; three great ones of earth indeed—the Apostle John, Rabbi Ben Ezra, and Pope Innocent. Browning's portrayal of these three men fell within half a dozen years of his artistic life, between his fifty-first and his fifty-seventh years, years when the memory of his own bitterest sorrow was new. And the artist has made them the mouthpieces of his weightiest message to his generation—a message which came to him then through his own sorrow—his faith in man's life and his trust in God's love. Each of these three have been trained to endure hardness as a good soldier of God. John, in "A Death in the

Desert," had been tested by the Roman spear, by the glozings of Cerinthus, by the rationalism of modern speculators; yet he had learned through successive failures, and rising on his failures he could see that "when pain ends, gain ends too." Rabbi Ben Ezra had felt earth's rebuffs; the truth as he saw it had been disputed by those around him; his whole life had been read amiss; yet he, too, says:

Be our joys three parts pain,  
Strive and hold cheap the strain:  
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe.

And the good old Pope, in "The Ring and the Book," weighed down with sorrow at having all his world to condemn, sees that for himself and for all others "life is training and a passage," that "all to the very end is trial in life." And all of the three, having borne the probation of life, stand ready alike to weigh the past and to face the future.

But in these three poems, Browning is concerned, not so much with the process of training man, a common thought of his in looking at individual destinies, but rather with the spiritual power and insight of those who have passed through probation and have been approved. They are rich, not merely in knowledge, but in wisdom. They have steadily tried to find and to realize God in his world. Their aspirations have been crowned by an abiding of Truth in their souls. Life to them has been "just the chance of the prize of winning love." Nor has God left those who aspired to him in darkness. The Rabbi can say, "I, who saw power, see love now, perfect, too." John rests in "the love that tops the might, the Christ in God." And the Pope demands "what lacks then of perfection fit for God but just the instance which this tale supplies, of love without a limit?" They have gained the great central truth, that God is in all his world for good, with his love and with his power; and "the Christ in God" solves all problems in the world and out of it for at least two of them. This Truth "is" to them, it has taken up its abode in their inmost natures, where truth may "abide in fullness." Hence they are seers, interpreting life through this vision of Truth. Each stands a valiant fighter against disbelief and discouragement. John sees and answers the

repeated attacks on Christianity even down to the skepticism of the nineteenth century. Rabbi Ben Ezra surveys the whole of life, sees the plan of its years of trouble, its joys of the flesh, its ineffectual yearnings, then his great soul springs heavenward with glad faith in the molding hand of "The Potter," whose plan is full of love. The Pope, after judging the men brought to his bar, with an eye, as it were, the eye of God, turns to the whole "dread machinery of sin and sorrow." He studies the problem of evil. Then he shows man how to "love in turn and be beloved, creative and self-sacrificing too, and thus eventually Godlike." And grieving over the torpor of assurance which has benumbed his age, he looks to the next few years when all assurance will be shaken from man's creed, and when man will again need to devote himself to the endangered truth. Each of them faces the doubts which assail the religious thinkers of our own century; each would help the troubled faith of our age. "Still within life, though lifted o'er its strife," they "discern, compare, pronounce, at last," by the light of the Truth within them.

But Browning understands equally well the sadness of visionless age. He could not shut his eyes to the fact that for each single aspiring soul there were many who were contented to "find and feast and feed," who were not kindled by a "spark of God," who had miserably deafened their ears to the voice of aspiration within them. Browning has portrayed such men in the dying Bishop and in King Victor. But his saddest picture of darkened age is in Cleon. In him we have the pathetic failure of man's best insight when cut off from the revealed truth of God. He represents the ripe product of Greek culture; he has gathered the best of Greece into his own life; but a godless world crushes his spirit. He yearns for another life to round to completion the imperfections of this. And he can only look with a shudder on the time when "the hand shakes, the years increase, the horror quickens still from year to year, the consummation coming past escape, when I shall know most, yet least enjoy." Such is old age to those who have failed to find God in his universe through their years of probation. Browning sees indeed the horrors of visionless decrepitude, but he also knows the joy, even in

the failing flesh, to the heart that yearns for Truth, and which is assured that he will not drink of it fully until he finds it at last in God. For the body, and the world which environs it, have all along been hiding the Truth :

Some think creation's meant to show Him forth :  
I say it's meant to hide Him all it can.

Mind "would wither up at once confronted by the truth of Him." And as the Pope adds, "This world is meant to hide Him." To the strong vigorous youth, this life immediately around, this life of joy in the senses, is so insistent and ever present, that he is blinded to the Truth above it. But with the decay of the body the real life of the spirit begins to shine through the tattered veil of flesh. In his "ultimate decrepitude" of eighty-six toilsome years, the Pope is also "sensible of fires that more and more visit a soul in passage to the sky, left nakeder than when flesh robe was new." The apostle John, nearing his hundredth year, remembers the "flesh as a veil of youth and strength, about each spirit," but he also knows that "years . . . wear the thickness thin, and let men see." So of the veil of flesh which had once kept him safe, there is now scarce a shred, and he "lies bare to the universal prick of light"—the light of God's Truth. What was physical decrepitude to these men but the breaking of the clouds as their souls rose at last to God !

Such is Robert Browning's declaration as to the vision of age. He saw this in middle life, he realized it in full till well on toward fourscore. And in his last poem he put the seal of experience to what had once been only the gleam of prophecy.

*Chas Stoddell*

## ART. XI.—THE DOCTRINE OF DIVINE RETRIBUTION.

THE tendency of religious thought to-day is clearly in the direction of a restatement of the doctrine of divine retribution. Let no one be alarmed at this. In an important sense theology is a progressive science. Men cannot state truth perfectly unless they see it perfectly. Increase of knowledge and refinement of spirit must help the vision of man in matters of such vast moment as are involved in the character of God and the laws by which he governs the moral universe. It is true that the Scriptures are, and in spite of all that can be done to the contrary, will be, our only and sufficient rule of faith and practice. But it takes culture and knowledge properly to interpret the facts and figures of the Bible. Like nature, we can easily find out from it all that is necessary for practical purposes, but, like nature, it is easy to form incorrect ideas from it through our ignorance. It is certain that no thoughtful Christian now believes in the literalness of the Bible teaching concerning the doom of wicked men, nor yet in the forms this doctrine assumed one hundred years ago.

But a question here arises, Whither are we drifting? What will be the thought of the Church on this subject when it settles into a form that shall satisfy the judgment of an enlightened world? There is need of more attention to this matter. The motive of fear is just as necessary in the economy of nature as is that of love. The influence of fear was potent in the preaching of early Methodism. It is by no means certain that the pulpit has not lost in power by refusing to longer state the old formulas of eschatological teaching, while nothing definite has taken its place. Certainly it is high time that more thought was awakened on this subject. This paper is written with the hope that it may contribute a little to that end.

I. The doctrine of divine retribution will never be permanently formulated on the basis of Universalism. This is unscriptural, because there the doom of the sinner is no more limited, as to time, than is the reward of the righteous. It

is, moreover, unreasonable. If God could save a soul in the other world in spite of his own choice, he could certainly do it in this. May we not as confidently say that if he could, he would, not only for the glory of his name, but much more because of his love for the sinner? If he does not do it here, who dares to say he will do it in the next world? To say that men will be more willing to be saved in the next world than in this, is to beg the question. Sin can scarcely produce greater horrors than may be seen as a direct consequence of it in this life. If this can go without arresting the downward way of men, how can we say it will do it in the world to come? Virtue appears in this world in very attractive form. Her beauty is seen in nature, and it has been glorified by art. What could be said that has not been said in its praise? But if all this can be lavished without avail on the sinner, who shall say that anything can reach him in the world to come? The fact that every year lessens the probability of a sinner turning from his evil ways, from boyhood to old age, points with unmistakable certainty to the time when our doom, or our deserts, will be settled by the awful words, "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still." Finally, Universalism fails in the true test by which we may always know the divine teaching. The test given by our Lord as a way of avoiding false prophets, or false teachers, is this: "By their fruits ye shall know them." The fruits of Universalism have never been found in the increase of spiritual life and growth. Morality does persist in its advocates frequently, in spite of their faith, but is rarely, if ever, promoted by it. Much less is the spirit of piety promoted by its teachings.

The doctrine of the annihilation of the wicked seems to be more productive of piety than Universalism. Yet it is seriously defective in that also, since wicked men indulge largely in the thought that "death ends all" as a means to comfort when thinking of the possible consequences of their transgressions. The thought that God would raise the wicked into physical life again, merely to burn them up in his anger, is not only derogatory to the New Testament conception of

Deity, but would be found of little avail in restraining the sinner, even if he could be induced to believe it. But the doctrine of annihilation seems to be associated with that of a crude materialism. The immortality of the soul is stoutly denied by most, if not all, who teach this doctrine. But once for all, if the soul is not immortal, there is no consistent belief in the immortality of the righteous.

It is needless to spend time in the discussion of the doctrine of a second probation. It is a scheme of Universalism, and must fall with their faith. There is not a word of Scripture in favor of it, and those who have held to it among evangelical Christians have done so with a hesitation of manner, and an uncertainty of spirit, which proclaimed too manifestly the want of a reasonable basis for an "eternal hope."

We may therefore conclude that without a new revelation we shall continue to hold with the Church in all ages, that a soul may be lost, and that the consciousness of that loss shall eternally go with it. We do not say that no difficulties go with such a belief. Difficulties meet us on every hand when we try to examine the conditions of the life to come, with only the present life by which to judge, or only the light we now have by which to make our investigation. But religion is not the only thing that involves difficulties for the human mind to grapple with. Our highest wisdom will be found in discovering what best meets the demands of the present life in reference to the future, and holding on to that in spite of difficulties. And this, too, we ought to preach, not with clenched fist and frowning brow, as though we had been appointed judge of all men, but lovingly, tenderly, with the most careful solicitude for the eternal welfare of those who hear us.

II. Let us now consider what modifications in our former ways of teaching this subject the enlarged thought of the age requires.

(a) It is necessary that we should conceive of divine retribution as in no sense an expression of divine vindictiveness. That passages in the Old Testament naturally bear such a meaning is readily conceded. But we must remember that revelation, in some measure at least, had to conform to the

habits of thought of the times in which it was written. Men wrote it, and there is a human element in what they wrote. We shall never interpret the Bible correctly until we give due weight to that fact. The correct conception can only be gained when we get into the spirit of the truth, rather than when we are solely guided by its verbal formulas. From the New Testament, if properly considered, all ideas of a revengeful, vindictive, retaliating Deity are forever eliminated. Here we become acquainted with God in the person of Jesus Christ. He said, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." Anything like human vindictiveness is an impossibility with Him who prayed, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." The thought that divine retribution was an expression merely of the power and glory of God, a manifestation of his complete triumph over his enemies, has been a leaven in theology which has wrought an incalculable amount of evil. It has been made the basis of untold horrors of torture and suffering, while men were helping to vindicate the glory of God. Such thoughts are unworthy of a noble manhood; how infinitely belittling to the divine character. And here it may be well to notice how the spirit of Christ has come to influence the comminatory ideas of nations. To grind a conquered people in the dust, to inflict the worst possible punishment on political offenders, was once the common experience of the world. The close of our civil war was a revelation as to the transformation the Gospel has made on human thought and action. This work will go on. In spite of war and bloodshed we are moving out on a millennium of human kindness. Christianity is doing this, and it is destined to complete the work, though the demon of hate may yet produce some final convulsions before he is entirely cast out. The perfection of God's truth is well seen on this subject, when we contemplate Jesus, rejected, plotted against, already facing a horrible death from the rulers and people of Jerusalem, sitting on the Mount of Olives, and weeping over the ills that were so soon to be visited on that wicked city: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would



not!" Still God is swearing by himself, because he can swear by no greater: "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?"

(b) Near akin to the preceding thought is another which we should carefully ponder. The perdition of ungodly men is not a place or condition especially fitted up by divine skill for the purpose of making them wretched. The conception of mediæval theology was that divine skill had exhausted itself to make guilty souls miserable in the extreme. This is a horrible thought to any man of right sentiments. It has made a multitude of infidels. It is making them yet. The retribution the sinner feels is the direct result of violated law. There is a right way and there is a wrong way. Infinite skill could not make the same results to follow both. The sinner has started on a course where happiness can never be found, but where wretchedness will be in exact proportion to the distance he goes. Instead of believing that God would make it as hard as possible for the sinner, we may conclude with good reason that he will do exactly the reverse. So it is in this life. His care is over the bad as well as the good. On both he sends the sunshine and the shower. To each the pestilence comes with equal severity. The difference is in the character. We may carry hell or heaven in our own bosoms, according as we choose. We may see the smile of God, and it may become the sunshine of our souls. Then we share the part of those whom the poet has described:

The day glides sweetly o'er their heads,  
Made up of innocence and love;  
And soft and silent as the shades,  
Their nightly minutes gently move.

Quick as their thoughts their joys come on,  
But fly not half so swift away:  
Their souls are ever bright as noon,  
And calm as summer evenings be.

But suppose we turn from God and walk in our own shadow, how absurd to suppose that the fruition of righteousness should be ours. And if we walk in darkness forever, whose fault is it?

The eternal law of right and wrong could not make it otherwise than miserable.

(c) Any proper conception of divine retribution must include that which is lost by sin though the sinner should be saved. This is a subject far too much neglected. Unfortunately the pulpit is not only too silent about it, but the opposite teaching is most carelessly given in too many instances. An evangelist said to his congregation, "If you are forgiven, and received into the family of heaven, it will be to you as though you had never sinned." This is only a very little better than the old theory, actually believed by some, that the more the believer sins the more he will magnify the grace of God, and the brighter he will make heaven for his soul. See where this logic leads us. Here is a man who early learned the life of faith in the Son of God. From childhood he led a useful life; all the strength of his manhood was given to promote the glory of God and the good of humanity. In the same school, possibly in the same family, one lived whose abilities were fully equal to the good man; but he early went astray, fell into bad habits, led others into vice, sinned on, until hardly an element of manhood was to be found in him; then, in old age, repented, sought and obtained the forgiveness of God. Will these two stand on equal terms of heavenly bliss? Will he stand as high in glory, be as happy and blessed as the one that gave a whole life to virtue and godliness? To ask such questions is to answer them. Right must change places with wrong before such results could be indorsed by the Judge of all men. Sin is a waste, sin is a loss, sin is a destruction. It is a missing the mark. Every day a man continues in sin he loses something from the sum total of his possible success. Though he may repent, though he may be forgiven, though his heart may be cleansed from all unrighteousness, yet opportunities squandered cannot be restored, and the loss from his folly must be great in time and eternity.

But some one may say, How about the atonement? Christian theology will never part with the doctrine of the atonement, but some theories of it we cannot too soon set aside. We cannot too soon part company with the notion that the atonement answers in God's sight, not only for the death

of the sinner, but for his righteousness as well. The most we can say is, that the sufferings of the garden and the cross present two important facts to the sinner: First, that God loves him, and has made a great sacrifice for him; second, that God hates sin, and cannot suffer it to be taken from the natural consequences which law has affixed to it without such compensation made to law as will leave it honorable and effective forever. But what has this to do with the conclusions reached above? Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it. The law cannot pass away, nor be nullified by grace. The Gospel comes in with hope for the man who has gone wrong. It tells him that though much has already been lost, there is something left that grace will secure to him. "By the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost," he may yet have eternal life.

(d) The central thought of all correct ideas of divine retribution is death. This is scriptural, and, in the highest sense of the word, it is reasonable. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." This is not physical death, which is natural, and an essential factor in all material existence. It is spiritual death. This does not mean annihilation. Death never means that. The body of the old Egyptian king is dead, but it exists, and has existed for thousands of years. It may exist a million more. The essential fact of physical death is, that it deprives the body of its power to adjust itself to its environment. The body has eyes, but it no longer sees; it has ears, but it no longer hears; the nerves are all in place, but they no longer feel. The body is not conscious, for consciousness is not an attribute of matter. But consciousness is an attribute of spirit, hence dead spirits are conscious. But our description of death—want of ability to adjust itself to environment—holds as good here as in physical death. Perhaps a good definition of spiritual death is maladjustment to environment. It does not see what it ought to see. It cannot see God. It cannot see his goodness. Much more it is incapable of feeling his goodness, or even in believing in it. Who knows but that atheism may exist in the other world as well as in this? Indeed, what else could be expected of "wondering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness forever?" This also would involve the impos-

sibility of enjoying what God has intended for the soul in its purity. Such would naturally call evil good, and good would be counted evil. So it is in this world. A man conscious of his acceptance with God has a heaven in his own soul. To him the earth becomes a land of Beulah, while the man who has cut off his relation to God, severed the vital cord that brought life and light into his soul, becomes a pessimist, boasts of his ability to make a better world than this. He becomes out of sympathy with everything divine, and finds only the torment of discord in every harmony God has made. Such a one may find momentary gratification in earthly, animal appetites, but when these fail, what can he find to give pleasure in this life? What can he hope for as a source of happiness in the world to come?

Now spiritual death means eternal death unless there is a resurrection. Even physical death means the same unless there is a resurrection. Lazarus had remained entombed forever except for the voice of Jesus, crying, "Lazarus, come forth!" Once spiritual death has fastened on the soul there is no more life unless we hear the voice of Jesus calling us again to live. It is only by him that we can be raised "from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness." We have not one word of assurance that his power in this work can ever be exercised outside the sphere where he came to use it. Surely there ought to be judgment enough left in every man, even though blinded by sin, to cause him to turn back from a doom like that. But if he see it not, the Holy Spirit is given to show him this very thing. And the offices of that Spirit will be given to all that truly seek them.

*C. V. Anthony*

## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

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A BOOK of extraordinary interest, just issued by our Book Concern, in two volumes, octavo, is *A History of Babylonia and Assyria*, by Professor R. W. Rogers, of Drew Theological Seminary. A full notice will appear in our pages in due time.

FEW incidents illustrate how accessible from the first is the human spirit to the infinite Father of spirits, better than the following story told by a strong man:

When a little boy in petticoats, in my fourth year, one fine day in spring my father led me by the hand to a distant part of the farm, but soon sent me home alone. On the way I had to pass a little "pond-hole" then spreading its waters wide; a rhodora in full bloom attracted my attention and drew me to the spot. At the root of the flaming shrub I saw a little spotted tortoise sunning himself in the shallow water. I lifted the stick I had in my hand to strike the harmless creature; for, though I had never killed any living thing, I had seen other boys out of sport destroy birds, squirrels, and the like, and I felt a disposition to follow their example. But all at once something checked my arm, and a voice within me said, clear and loud, "It is wrong!" I held my uplifted stick in wonder at the new emotion—the consciousness of an involuntary but inward restraint upon my actions—till the tortoise and the rhodora both vanished from my sight. I hastened home and told the tale to my mother, and asked what it was that told me it was wrong. She wiped a tear from her eye with her apron, and taking me up in her arms, said: "Some men call it conscience, but I prefer to call it the voice of God in the soul of man. If you listen and obey it, then it will speak clearer and clearer, and always guide you right; but if you turn a deaf ear or disobey, then it will fade out little by little, and leave you all in the dark without a guide. Your life depends on heeding this Voice." Then she went her way about her affairs, but no event of my life made a more deep and lasting impression on me.

ALWAYS, and through every phase of action and of thought, religion was to Gladstone's life what the Nile is to Egypt, what sunshine is to the world. It was especially manifest at his Hawarden home, where the family life was very simple and somewhat old-fashioned—good plain food, regular and early hours, Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone going to church every morning of the week at eight, and breakfasting on their return. With all the business and burdens of his life, he never omitted attending service twice every Sunday, and always held what he called "once-ers" in small repute. He was an appreciative

listener, and his criticism of sermons was very modest. "A notable sermon," he would say; or "A remarkable reference that he made to Isaiah," and so on. His private secretary remembers only one adverse criticism from him, and that was on coming away from a beautiful and brilliant sermon by Mr. White in the Chapel Royal, when Mr. Gladstone said, "He has excited my brain by his quotations, and given me anything but the rest which is what I want and expect to find in church." He did not like to have his brain excited or taxed on Sunday. He wished to be lulled and soothed. A devout Episcopalian, Mr. Gladstone endeavored to exercise a positively religious influence over his associates. Once, at a dinner, Abraham Hayward shocked the company by his views as to a future state. Gladstone, being grieved and troubled, took time the next day from busy cares of state to write Hayward a letter of twelve pages of expostulation and entreaty about his unworthy and unwarranted views; and he had the reward of receiving the message years afterward from Hayward's deathbed, "Tell Mr. Gladstone I do not die an unbeliever."

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IN her account of the Greek Christian poets who lived and wrote between the second century and the fourteenth, Elizabeth Barrett (Browning) pays the following rapt but right tribute to a language so highly perfected and so vital that to speak of it as a dead language seems even now an irreverent misnomer on the lips of men who still possess the immortal masterpieces of its mighty literature:

The Greek language was a strong intellectual life, stronger than any similar one which has lived in the breath of "articulately speaking men" and survived it. No other language has lived so long and died so hard, pang by pang, each with a dolphin color—yielding reluctantly to that doom of death and silence which must come at last to the speaker and the speech. Wonderful it is to look back down the great past, thousands of years away—where many generations lie moldered into dust, where the sounding of their trumpets, and the rushing of their scythed chariots, and that great shout which brought down the birds stone-dead from beside the sun, are more silent than the dog breathing at our feet or the fly's paces on our window pane; and yet from the heart of that silence, to feel words rise up, words audible and distinct even to our times. It is wonderful to look back and listen.

Blind Homer spoke this Greek after blind Demodocus, with a quenchless light about his brows, which he felt through his blindness. Pindar rolled his chariots in it, prolonging the clamor of the games. Sappho's heart beat through it, and heaved up the world's. Æschylus strained it to the stature of his high thoughts.

Plato crowned it with his divine peradventures. Aristophanes made it drunk with the wine of his fantastic merriment. The later Platonists wove their souls away in it, out of sight of other souls. The first Christians heard in it God's new revelation, and confessed their Christ in it from the suppliant's knee and presently from the bishop's throne. To all times, and their transitions, the language lent itself through a long summer of above two thousand years. At the close of that long summer Greece lay withered to her root, her academic groves and philosophic gardens all leafless and bare, yet from the depths of her desolation still sounded the voice which did not grow hoarse, but sang on not unsweetly though more faintly than before. Strangely vital was this marvelous language of the Greeks. It seemed as if mankind could not consent to part with it.

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#### SIMPLICITY AND DIGNITY.

A CORRESPONDENT notes that our soldiers dying in battle in Luzon use none of the expressions attributed to an earlier generation, such as, "I die for my country," "Wrap the flag about my body," and other similar utterances once used with a sincerity and naturalness we can hardly appreciate. The note may be worth more than passing attention.

In this century we have altered many things, but no change is more marked or more subtle than the changes in dress, manners, and language. The old-time sayings referred to by the correspondent would, if used now, sound to us like mock heroics, boastful and insincere. The modern soldier could not employ them; we believe such language was very rare in our civil war; we must go farther back to find it in full use. This is due to the fact that the general tendency of progress has been toward simplicity, and sincerity now demands the simpler language. Soldiers are neither better nor worse for the change. The silence of to-day is as patriotic and heroic as the eloquent expressiveness of former times.

The newer way is noticeable also in dress, in rhetorical address, in social intercourse, and in the general temper of society. We are, as a rule, more frank, more direct, less given to profuse expression, less formal and ceremonious in many things. The stately life and the elaborate rhetoric of Washington's time went out with knee buckles and lace-trimmed uniforms in civil life. We certainly can hardly understand the stress laid on the sanctity of the Roman toga or the enthusiasm of grown men about clothes a hundred years ago. If we thanked each other for small kindnesses, or addressed our friends, in the stately fashion of our great-grandfathers' times, we should feel that we were

guilty of stilted affectation and disgraceful insincerity, and would despise ourselves accordingly.

Some affirm that we are more manly than the fathers; they say that the old disposition is manifest among us now in the passion for creating numerous new orders with gaudy uniforms, but that the essential vulgarity of it is indicated by the fact that only second-rate manhood serves in or inclines to join these much-dressed orders. These unduly acidulated criticisms probably miss the point. The change toward informality which we are noting may be at its extreme swing, and the uniformed orders may be the return movement toward more formal and elaborate habits. The extreme of simplicity may have been reached and a movement in the opposite direction may have already begun. At first most railroad men resented the order to wear uniforms, but it is said that the tendency is toward regarding the uniform as an honorable badge. Society journals report an increase in the number of men who, in their own homes, like the presidents in the White House, dine in evening dress, as the gentlemen of the olden times used to put on special and ornamented costumes and make domestic and social occasions stately. Some point to signs of a reaction in manners and even in rhetorical address. Such a reaction need not be feared and might be not without its benefits, for the world is in no danger of being carried back to the artificiality of former centuries; and our extremely simplified habits are not without actual evils and possible dangers.

To suppress fine and noble instincts and sentiments from honest and reasonable expression is unwholesome and unfair. Referring again to our Luzon fighters—the dying soldier has some feelings which the custom of his time makes him ashamed to express. He, as much as the patriot heroes of former times, feels that he dies for his country; he, too, loves the flag and proves it with his blood; tender thoughts may be thrilling in him which are denied utterance by the hard, unwritten law of repression. He is schooled to believe that the men of his time expect him to die in silence.

It has been remarked that religious expression has been less modified by the tendency to reserve, to self-repression, to brevity and bareness of speech, and that, for this reason, a suspicion of insincerity, a sense of something akin to shame, attaches to religious testimony in the minds of many persons; and it is



claimed that this accounts for the increasing number of voiceless Christians. But if there is more freedom of utterance in religious assemblies, than elsewhere, there is no cause for shame. Religion has both a right and a duty of utterance. An atmosphere chilled by prejudice against the expression of genuine feeling is more arctic than the dullest, deadest formalism repeating expressions not in-filled with feeling. If, in religion or in society, we are victims of the notion that honest feeling must be choked into silence as not being in good form, then there is good cause to fight for a recovery of natural freedom, to stimulate expressiveness, and to cultivate the gifts of expression, in order that sincere feeling may have adequate and satisfying forms of utterance. Indeed a certain measure of formality—not formalism—is necessary to the vitality and culture of healthy emotional life. Unspoken feeling may sometimes be deeper and stronger than clamorous emotion, but the feeling of which conventionality makes us ashamed to speak has, or will soon have, a diminished vitality, for a dumb life is unnatural to it, since all emotion tends to break over at the lips. Voiceless religious feeling there is in the depths of pious souls; but that is only because speech fails to reach those deeps of the heart; and systematic and habitual denial of utterance to religious sentiments and emotions must chill the warmth it smothers and benumb the sensibilities.

In the matter of manners, too, the prejudice against polite forms of speech and elaborate courtesy result often in undesirable extremes of plainness, bluntness, and uncourteous simplicity. The too free-and-easy unmannerliness of boys and men in streets or shops becomes sometimes so boorish and brutal that it amounts to a return to barbarism. It is a rude conception of manliness which moves a man to express his love with a past-participle curse and a slap on the shoulder; a young bull or a wild boar out of the woods could hardly be more animal-like or less like a manly man. Partly this style of address may be due to the native coarseness of the man, but it is also, in some degree, fostered by the prejudice against the polite manifestation of any tender friendly feeling. It is a despotic law, indeed, which forbids sincere expression, and forces men to make believe that they have no feeling. A lamentable conclusion it is, if our long efforts to attain simple voiced sincerity has carried us over into coarse-voiced insincerity; if, in trying to avoid the hypocrisies which may underlie profuse expressions,

polite forms, and elaborate rhetoric, we have developed a refusal of expressive forms, and a rough informality which is essentially hypocritical and dishonest, inasmuch as our real feelings are concealed and we pretend to a stolidity, stoicalness, and insensibility which we do not possess.

Something may be said, too, in favor of a return to something more of form at social functions and even at the ordinary family dinner. To make the family meal an occasion of refined and orderly proprieties may dignify the home, maintain a school of courtesy, and constitute by the interchange of mutual respect and kindly interest a sort of domestic sacrament. When plain people pride themselves on being rude and unmannerly, or make the family life one careless disorderly informality, they err. Careless and slouchy habits in either parent are demoralizing to the household. To come to the table with clean clothes as well as clean face and hands is hardly an excessive refinement for the father and the children, and wives do not need to be told that the husband is rare who is not favorably affected by her reasonable solicitude for her personal appearance. Too much ceremony, punctiliousness, and costuming there may be in rare instances, hard to find; but people need not dine off the curbstone or live as in a lumber camp in order to prevent themselves from falling into the mistake of coveting rosewood tables and solid silver service. The world may be sweetened and beautified by things which have no moral quality in themselves and yet are potential agencies in its production, as cleanliness is not only akin to godliness, but often immensely promotive of it. Homes need not be gay, frivolous, fashionable, or worldly in gracing their everyday life with orderliness, politeness, and dignity; as its root, the word dignity means only worthiness, fitness, seemliness. Systematic disregard of seemliness, fitness, comeliness, propriety, has unlovely and discreditable effects on customs and manners in the home; and home habits and behaviors are apt to accompany and control us when we go abroad. They were not silly women and careless housewives who, in the old days, put on their best harness when they went to take tea with their sisters.

Our effort to get rid of cant, bombast, hypocrisy, affectation, and other such bad things by forbidding manly feeling to open its mouth, has resulted in unworthy shames, half-developed fineness of feeling, and the suppression of dearest desires. We

are sure that the soldiers dying on those Luzon fields of battle had something to say which they did not utter, and that if the words had been spoken they would have added to the value of their supreme sacrifice; and we must believe, also, that many a child needs words of tenderness and examples of dignity, and that too much inexpressiveness, simplicity, and plainness may be more fatal to sound life than too little.

It is named to us as a reason for hope and congratulation that signs are discovered of an effort to recover lost liberty of utterance, and also tokens of a return toward such a respect for forms and ceremonies as does not render life artificial or pretentious, but rather pays reverence to the voice which bids "all things be done decently and in order." In our tense, hurrying, abrupt practical life there is little danger of profuse expressiveness or excessive and ostentatious ceremoniousness.

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#### A PROTEST AGAINST SACRILEGE.

ONE of the ablest Democratic journals of the land has recently felt called upon to rebuke certain clergymen for irreverence toward Christ and toward the Bible. Not seeking to pose as a religious teacher, but simply pursuing its functions as public censor and protector of morals, this secular daily declares that, in a Christian community, it is a common duty owed to decency not to compare or class the Son of God with mere men. One occasion of its present complaint is the recently published *Life of Theodore Parker*, in which, the journal says, the biographer has broken loose from that common duty, and is found running at large in the pages of his book in the character of a fugitive from reverence. For this the newspaper sharply reproves him, asserting his offense against moral propriety to be flagrant, his expressions flippant in spirit and deplorable in effect. The following is a part of its criticism :

The style is marred by startling and unnecessary conjunctions or comparisons of the Saviour of mankind with men and women of this generation. This is a trick of Mr. Chadwick's writing. It is a vice. Instead of being chastised out of it, he seems to revel in it still, and an object which suggests itself as one he has in view appears to be the provocation of readers or critics to just such a protest, and their penetration by just such a shock as here finds expression because of his offense. Mr. Chadwick is a large man. But this practice of his is a very little business. We do not suppose that his purpose is to divinize the Tom, Dick, or Harry among men of whom he speaks or to vulgarize the second Person of the Trinity by his chippy and almost flippant allusions to him.

As an example of the objectionable language which the secular critic censures, this statement is quoted from the biography :

He [Theodore Parker's father] was, perhaps, a worse farmer for being a pretty good mechanic, and leaving the boys to work the farm while he puttered in the carpenter shop ; such an one as that of Nazareth, rude cabinet-making alternating there with the making and mending of farmers' implements. So Theodore had, like the young Jesus, the happy privilege of playing among sweet-smelling chips and shavings.

A similarly censured offense was committed when Parker's biographer, at the funeral of a worthy enough citizen, said concerning the deceased, "Like Jesus Christ and John Brown, he was a son of the common people." Objecting to all such speech, the journal says: "Our protest is against the seeming purpose or policy of vulgarizing God and cheapening Christ, toward both of whom the Bible enjoins reverence, awe, and worship." When one of the "liberal" clergy, whose customary mode of speech is under rebuke, intimates that the rebuker is in bondage to orthodox traditions, and glories in his own "free soul," announcing that he and his brethren will not be admonished into pretending a reverence they do not feel, the Democratic editor replies: "We have no quarrel with this man about 'free souls.' Our soul is as free as his—free to dissent from his smug assumption that only those souls are free at all in whom faith is apparently represented by a fluidity of words and reverence by a vacuum."

The editor rendered a commendable and impressive public service by his weighty, straight-aimed, and trenchant stroke of editorial condemnation. He spoke in defense of communities which make laws and decree punishment against profanity, blasphemy, and perjury; communities which dislike to have their sense of sacred propriety outraged and their morals damaged by the irreverence of public teachers toward holy things, this dislike being due to the same sentiment that protests against a vulgar ruffian's torrent of obscene profanity and punishes perjurers for making light of the binding sacredness of an oath sworn on the Bible before a court.

From the same source recently came another protest against the irreverence sometimes shown toward the Scriptures by ignoring their unique and supreme character of divinely inspired writings, thus lowering their dignity and lessening the estimated authority of their contents. The objection made is against ut-

terances, oral or written, which assert or seem to imply that the men of to-day and their literature are similarly, if not, indeed, equally inspired, and their communications as unquestionable, authoritative, and commanding as those of the biblical writers. Studying the Holy Scriptures just as we study other books, in order to appreciate "the Bible as literature," as the phrase, if not the fad, of our day has it, is not without its dangers, one of which is that we may come to regard, or cause others to regard the Bible as being no more inspired than some, if not many, other books.

When the minister of a famous church spoke of Thoreau as one of three great prophets of God in nature, the other two being Wordsworth and Ruskin, a listening clergyman wrote in comment:

I have no objection to the greatly extended use of the word prophet of these later days, providing the man to whom it is applied has the marks of a prophet. To be a prophet of God a man must possess the sentiment of the Infinite and also must have the power of awakening the sentiment of the Infinite in other men. We cannot read Ruskin's "Mountain Glory" and "Mountain Gloom" without feeling that enchanting awe stealing over us which is always present when the sentiment of the Infinite is awakened in the human soul. We feel that the ground on which we stand is holy ground, and we exclaim, "God is here!"

What is true of Ruskin is even more true of Wordsworth. To him this beautiful world was but the wicket gate which opened into the glory that excelleth. No one can enter into the spirit of Wordsworth's poetry without soon finding himself on the other side of that gate, amid the harmonies and glories of the eternal.

After hearing this sermon I went to work reading and studying Thoreau. But never for a moment did he snatch me away from the things seen and temporal and place me among the things eternal. He is a clear, crisp, and racy writer, a minute observer of nature, with a vein of poetry running through the hard granite of his soul. He has no mark of a prophet of God. He does not speak for God, nor turn the thoughts of men to God.

On the other hand, I look upon Darwin as a prophet of God. Scarcely had his *Origin of Species* been published ere the whole world was talking about God. Darwin has brought out into the light God's method of creation. He has made men feel that God is immanent in nature, that he is the one ever near.

The preacher failed to discriminate between plain living and beggarly living. To dwell in a shanty costing only twenty-eight dollars to build, to live upon less than four cents a day, to work in the field barefoot, to dress like a tramp, to travel on a pleasure trip to Canada wearing a ten-cent straw hat and an old linen duster, as Thoreau did, is to live like a beggar, and not like a high-toned manly man. It is a great and grave mistake to hold up such manner of living as worthy of imitation. There is nothing more certain than that young men, robust in body and mind, will turn away with loathing from such an example of plain living and high thinking.

Nor is the moral make-up of Thoreau to be commended. He was a cynic. In

his book there is plenty of sarcasm and scorn for humanity, but not a single heart throb of pity or of mercy. In this age, when men are blindly feeling after the great truths of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men, surely that man is not one to follow whom genial John Burroughs describes as one "devoid of compassion, devoid of sympathy, devoid of generosity, devoid of patriotism," no matter how devoted such one may be to principle, nor how rich a vein of poetry and of wisdom runs through his books.

Nor can the impartial critic free Thoreau from what Coleridge calls "the devil's darling sin," "the pride that apes humility." Thoreau was proud of his appearance because it was shabby, and of his clothes because they were mean. In his book, *A Yankee in Canada*, he calls attention time and again to the fact that he went to Montreal and Quebec wearing a ten-cent straw hat and a linen duster. As Diogenes was as proud of his tub as Chremylus was of his mansion, as the Quaker is as proud of his gray as the prince is of his purple, so Thoreau was as proud of his poor duds as the Fifth Avenue dude is of his fine clothes.

Upon the pulpit celebrity and his ministerial commentator the editor in chief of a great city journal comments thus :

These clerical gentlemen are very free and easy in their use of the words "prophets of God." The Bible contains the names of all to whom inspiration has given the title of prophet. Men would do well to be equally economical in the use of the title. Such use of it as we complain of does not exalt Ruskin, Wordsworth, or Thoreau to divine authority. Neither does it lower Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Daniel below that plane. It simply suggests that these clergymen and others would better employ words to describe authors whom they like, different from those words which inspiration attaches to men whom God commands us to believe, receive, and obey as his forthputters of revealed truth. The attempt to elevate writers of human limitations to the rank of seers by divine appointment is neither reverent nor accurate.

Such protests as we have quoted are entitled to respect; they have right on their side, reverence in their heart, wisdom in their judgment, and moral majesty in their mien; they will be regarded by all save light-headed fools, reckless rationalists, and incorrigible mountebanks. It is a severe comment on the pulpit when the secular press is constrained to correct and castigate clerical offenders against religious decencies and the cherished sanctities of Christendom. These reproofs from such a source suggest that the entire public, barring only those who are definitely hostile to religion, feels that it has a stake in the dignity, fidelity, sobriety, and integrity of the pulpit. The honorable and worthy portion of a community is more jealous for the credit of the clergy than the pulpit itself sometimes seems to be. It is mortified and grieved when anything is done or said by anybody in religious circles which lessens respect for the Church, the minister, the Bible, or religion. For the sake of

human well-being, all worthy citizens are anxious that the institutions, agencies, and instruments of good shall not cripple themselves or in the least degree impair their influence and capacity for usefulness; for, in truth, all vital interests of the community are affected by, and in large degree dependent on, the purity and power of those agencies. The whole respectable community takes satisfaction in the strength and efficiency of the churches. Every town longs to be proud of its ministers, and is happy when it can be. It rejoices when they are strong and influential, when they are able, studious, and learned, when they are reverent, devout, and spiritually impressive, when they are robust, virile, and intrepid, when they are careful, accurate, judicious, unanswerable, and commanding in their statements, when they are blameless, consistent, pure, and beautiful in life and character. There is hardly a community between the two oceans that will not glory in such ministers. There is one community of some sixty thousand souls, where, for thirty years, the mightiest single force for order and morality has been a certain sturdy, fearless, and austere faithful Roman Catholic priest, a man whose appearance fits him to impersonate Victor Hugo's Javert. And the population as a whole, nonreligious and Protestant, as well as Catholic, regards that man with admiring and grateful appreciation or with wholesome awe.

As there is in the common mind a deep respect for ministers of every name who are faithful to their commission, which the public regards as holy, and who exalt righteousness and command reverence for the authoritative sanctities of religion; so there is widespread resentment toward men who deal flippantly or irreverently with those sanctities, who vulgarize God, discredit the Holy Scriptures, and lower Jesus to a merely human level, representing him as ignorant, fallible, and even morally deficient. The best public is amazed and shocked at times at the liberties which the pulpit itself takes with the solemn trust supposed to be committed to it. When the clergy destroy faith in the Bible, unsettle religious belief, cut the cables which hold souls to safe anchorage, trifle with the most dearly cherished convictions of Christendom, or degrade the pulpit by playing the clown, they are not forgiven; and it is well when the general indignation which mutters in secret is peremptorily voiced by the high-minded secular press.

## THE ARENA.

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### RECUPERATION IN NATURE: A SUGGESTION.

THE writer has read with much pleasure and profit Professor Bennett's paper on "Science and Immortality," in the *Review* for September, 1900. His arguments are unanswerable. Yet we shall probably never have the final word upon this fundamental fact of sentient and moral being, simply because the finite mind is incapable of comprehending the whole of the finite. But we still "follow after," hoping to reach a better understanding of this fundamental fact of our existence.

The reading of the paper has suggested two additional arguments: First, the longing after immortality is an intimation that this desire may be attained. Well did Addison represent Cato as saying,

Else whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire,  
This longing after immortality?

Is not "this pleasing hope, this fond desire" a part of that soul hunger and soul thirst expressed by David when he said, "My heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God?" Or, again, when he exclaims, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God?" May we not consider "this pleasing hope, this fond desire" a part of that soul hunger and soul thirst mentioned in the beatitude? Whence this desire? "'Tis the divinity that stirs within us." It is this immortal man that remains

Unhurt amidst the war of elements,  
The wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds.

Even those who have honestly—as Christian charity would lead us to suppose—doubted and denied immortality to sentient and moral beings have in the more sober and serious reflections of their life acknowledged the presence and potency of this longing for endless and conscious existence. The only rational explanation of that desire is the presence and potency of the fact itself upon which the desire rests. It is impossible that we should think of and long for a nonentity.

Secondly, the recuperative forces of nature suggest and are analogical of immortal existence. Job replied to the rationalism of Zophar, the Naamathite, by saying,

For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again,  
And that the tender branch thereof will not cease.  
Though the root thereof wax old in the earth,  
And the stock thereof die in the ground;  
Yet through the scent of water it will bud,  
And put forth boughs like a plant.

How persistent are the functional forces of nature. Girdle the tree



and it dies hard. Cut it down and it will sprout again. The ax of the woodman does not totally destroy the reproductive forces of the tree, but new forests rise from his ravages. Analogy is not fact. But it does suggest the presence and potency of the fact. In like manner these desires of the soul and their analogies in the silent, unseen recuperative forces of nature are unwritten gospels that help the soul in its aspirations for a better and immortal life:

Thou wilt not leave us in the dust;  
Thou madest man, he knows not why;  
He thinks he was not made to die;  
And thou hast made him, thou art just.

Let him who will deny these facts, these gospels in nature; they are still solid footing for the soul, which circles in its placid round to reach that immortality and that rest which remaineth "to the people of God."

Whiteheath, Ill.

S. R. RENO.

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#### AFTER THE FAMINE, WHAT?

THE cry of famine-stricken India has reached every ear and touched every heart that can be stirred to pity by human anguish. It is impossible to exaggerate the terrible suffering that will probably sweep away twenty millions of our fellow-men before this pitiless destroyer has stayed his hand. The Christian nations are moved with sympathy as never before, and the world is brought nearer together by that exhibition of human kindness which sends a million bushels of corn halfway round the world to feed famished men, most of whom are strangers to every motive that prompts such a deed. What matters it that they are heathen blacks? They are men for whom Christ died, our brothers, and they perish with hunger.

But, after the famine, what? Do the best that can be expected, and a multitude will die of hunger equal to one fourth of the population of the United States. And it is only three years ago that the conditions were the worst in modern India's whole history, except now. Is India to be forever passing from one famine to another, so quickly that there will be scarcely any cessation in the cry for her relief? Are there no lessons to be learned from the past? Is the only remedy for these terrible visitations to be found in letting the famine run its course until the population has been reduced to the level of the food supply? No believer in God the Father can for a moment entertain such a thought. The world is not overpopulated. India is not. God has provided amply for all his children. The trouble is that many are ignorant of how to obtain what Providence has prepared for them. This accounts for the extreme poverty in nearly all heathen lands. The problem is one of the most difficult before philanthropic people to-day. It is high time the question were being seriously asked, What can be done to prevent famine in India? "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound

of cure " is a very trite proverb, but it is distilled wisdom when applied to the Indian situation.

The causes of these famines may be broadly stated as three: First, lack of water; second, great stretches of uncultivated land; third, the poor agricultural methods practiced by the natives. As to the first, this is not noticed in the years of abundant rains, or when the "monsoon breaks" on schedule time and keeps up a steady downpour at the normal rate for the usual season. Then all is well. But unfortunately the monsoon refuses to be governed by the regulations of the weather bureau. It has been particularly contrary of late, and hence all this trouble. But is this state of things irremediable? Some of America's deserts have been changed into gardens of paradise by irrigation. Cannot this be done in India? Already the government has put nineteen million acres under irrigation at a cost of \$125,000,000 gold. This is a splendid showing. Lord Curzon is reported as saying lately that only three and one half million acres more can be irrigated. But authorities differ upon this point. Sir Arthur Cotton, the father of irrigation works in India, claimed that the possible area was several times the viceroy's figures. It might be well for the government of India to call to its aid a few American irrigation engineers before settling down to the gloomy conclusion that the viceroy's figures are correct. Then the pumping of water from wells by windmills as is done in many Western States, or by hand, or cow power, or steam power where fuel is cheap, would greatly enlarge the area of water supply.

The second difficulty is one which the government could probably also do much to remedy. It is said that Indian native princes keep immense tracts of land for tiger hunting. Certainly this abuse could be taken hold of firmly by such a strong government as that of India. It is probable that the experience of the past few years would lead many of these princes voluntarily to reduce their hunting grounds, if their attention were called to it, for the sake of decreasing the probability of a recurrence of the famine. But there are large tracts of unused land that remain so because it is not profitable for the natives to cultivate them with their crude methods. With modern improvements and skill applied to these waste areas large sections could be made productive.

But the chief reason why India never has any surplus grain to tide it over a year of scarcity, is the exceedingly primitive methods of agriculture practiced by the natives. The Hindus are among the poorest cultivators of the soil in the world. Dr. Arthur Smith, of China, has observed that in their neglect to use fertilizers the people of India are in striking contrast to the Chinese farmer, who carefully puts back upon his fields all he takes from them. Rev. W. H. Hollister, of the Kolar Industrial Mission in South India, has proved that the use of a properly made American plow will multiply a wheat crop by from three to five times over the best native plowing. To prevent famines in future it would seem to be necessary only to induce the Indian farmers to adopt a good

plow. But that is not so simple a task as it would at first appear. Most Asiatics are conservative to a degree that an American can scarcely imagine. It might cause a great rebellion for the Indian government to undertake to force the use of foreign plows upon all the peasantry.

But these wasteful methods must be changed, or India will continue to have a famine every time the monsoon fails. It will never be possible to get a grain supply ahead sufficient for even a few months, as long as the old methods of agriculture continue in use. Here is a field for philanthropy that is almost virgin soil. A rich harvest awaits the men and women who will come to India and put forth those Christian influences that will in a generation or two revolutionize their methods of agriculture and give plenty to these starving multitudes. We must bear in mind that the great majority of Hindus are underfed from the cradle to the grave. What they call plenty would be famine anywhere else in the world except in parts of China. Their famine is an acute attack of a disease that is chronic. What is the remedy? Let there be thickly scattered over that vast empire little oases in the form of industrial farms. The government of India is generous in its grants of land for such purposes. It will be more so now than ever before. The millions of famine orphans form an unlimited supply of material to work with. The Christian young men and women who are crowding the splendidly equipped agricultural schools in America and other countries could provide the leaders to bring every such well-planned enterprise to success. The missionary societies furnish the medium through which this great force can be set in motion for the uplifting of one fifth of the race—a consummation devoutly to be wished.

That such a plan is practicable is demonstrated by several successful industrial mission farms already in operation in various parts of India, notably one in the Northwest Provinces at Cherat, Aligarh. There are not less than three million acres of land called "Usar" or "desert," in these provinces alone. The ground has been considered useless for cultivation because of being impregnated with soda salt. For several years the government tried fruit raising and failed. Then Mr. Edward Keventer, a graduate of a Swedish agricultural college, took it up and started a dairy farm. The ground is subsoiled and a fertilizer is put under the surface. Gradually this desert is thus being redeemed. Over thirty acres are now producing vegetables and other crops of the best quality. The dairy is carried on according to the most improved modern methods. The butter is never touched by hand in the making. A ready sale is found for all that they can produce. Thirty orphans from the famine of 1897 do most of the work. Mr. Keventer is taking in a new lot from among the victims of the present famine. And what can be done on one desert farm could be duplicated indefinitely, if the men and women are found with the skill, experience, consecrated common sense, and patience to go there and do it. But if the Christian people do not do it, it will never be done. The government can do a little, but most

of its servants are working for pay. Theirs is not the type of self-surrender that will patiently toil for these little waifs washed up upon the shore of this fathomless sea of famine-stricken humanity. Unless this work is done for the love of Christ, it will not be done at all. Nor can it be accomplished by missionaries of the ordinary type and training. It is to the agricultural colleges, not to the theological seminaries, that the missionary societies must go to find the men who are fitted for this service. If the work is done at all, it must be undertaken in a business-like way. The workers must have had the best scientific training, and should have proven their ability as leaders and managers in their specialty by practical testing in the home land before sent to take charge of new and difficult enterprises so far from home.

Many missionaries in India have opened their doors to these starving orphans. They could not turn them away. They have prayed to the Father for bread for their little wards, and the story of their pitiable condition has brought help from across the sea. But this is only temporary relief. The famine will soon be over, the story will lose its freshness, attention will be withdrawn, the world will move on as before. But what of these multitudes of rescued children? Who will feed them then? Can the missionaries do it out of their meager salaries? They have children of their own to care for. Shall the orphans be turned adrift? That would be positively worse than to have let them starve during the famine. It would make fruitful Christian work among the natives of such a region impossible for a generation to come. It looks as though a divine Providence had brought about a situation that will force the great missionary societies to put these famine wards at work to help earn for themselves a living. At the same time they will learn improved methods of agriculture which in a few years they will take with them out into the villages where they are to spend their lives. These boys who have learned to use a good plow will never go back to the native implement. They will show their neighbors how to treble their crops and lighten their labor. Such a system, carried out upon a vast scale, would in a generation greatly reduce the chances of future famine. And when crops failed for a season, the suffering would not be so severe. The prosperous farmer does not live from hand to mouth. The "old corn of the land" helps tide him over until the next harvest, so that he manages to escape suffering.

The indirect benefits of such mission work upon the moral and spiritual welfare of the community can scarcely be overestimated. In the hands of spiritually minded leaders no line of mission work would produce larger soul-saving results. The living object lesson of the love of Christ before the surrounding heathen would be unmistakable and irresistible. Ought this work to be done? It most certainly ought. Then somebody can do it. And we believe it will be done. "All things are possible to him that believeth."

W. N. BREWSTER.

Hinghua, China.

## THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

### A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

IN order that the purpose which has prompted the formation of the following bibliography may be fully and precisely comprehended, it is necessary to say, by way of explanatory introduction, that it is not intended for the special student in theology, but for the practical, everyday use of the working minister. It does not, therefore, aim at exhaustiveness, though it seeks to be complete so far as really valuable works upon the subjects treated are concerned. Certain limitations, however, will be noted. For example, no attempt has been made to classify the large literature on the work of young people's societies or the Sunday school, however valuable many of the publications in these departments may be. In other cases—that is, in liturgics and catechetics—limitations have been imposed by the lack of good works which are to be found on the subject. In the arrangement the consideration of practical ends has been regarded, rather than scientific method. Under each of the three general divisions, excepting liturgics, a general list of works is given, and this is followed by detailed references under the various subtopics. At the close is appended a short list of books that are specially recommended for purchase to those who must limit their selection. In general, a rough attempt has been made to cite the works somewhat in the order of their value.

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- Blaikie, *For the Work of the Ministry*, chapters 3-11.
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- Gladden, *The Christian Pastor*, chapters 3 and 4.
- Hoppin, *Pastoral Theology*, Part I.
- Simpson, *Lectures on Preaching*, lectures 1 and 2.

## II. Character and Habits of the Minister :

- Ecce Clerus*, chapter 4.
- Blaikie, *For the Work of the Ministry*, chapter 20.
- Bridges, *The Christian Ministry*, Part III.
- Crosby, *The Christian Preacher*, lectures 4 and 5.
- Hoppin, *Pastoral Theology*, Parts II and III.
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- Gladden, *The Christian Pastor*, chapters 7 and 11.
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- Parish Problems*, pp. 179-190.
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- Wells, J. D., D.D., *The Pastor in the Sick Room*. Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board Publication. 1898. 50 cents.

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- Chesebrough, A. S., D.D., *The Culture of Child Piety*. Boston, Congregational Publishing Society. 1886. \$1.25.

Adler, Felix, *The Moral Instruction of Children*. New York, Appleton. 1892. \$1.50.

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Gladden, *The Christian Pastor*, chapter 15.

Reference may also be made here to the many catechetical works, old and new, issued by churches and individuals. Such are *Luther's Shorter Catechism*, *The Westminster Shorter Catechism*, *The Heidelberg Catechism* (that recently issued by the Union of the Nonconformist Churches of England), *An Evangelical Catechism* by Thomas Chalmers, Nast's *Larger Catechism*, Schaff's *Catechism*, *An Elementary Catechism* by M. C. Hazard, *Child's Scripture Catechism* issued by the American Tract Society, *Gospel Truth* by J. W. Cooper, *The Christian Faith* by G. A. Jackson, *Great Truths Simply Told* by G. L. Weed, and *Our Children for Christ* by Doremus Scudder.

#### V. The Prayer Meeting:

Vincent, Bishop J. H., *How to Conduct Prayer Meetings*. Boston, Lothrop. 1880. \$1.25.

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Groat, W. H., *The Ideal Prayer Meeting*. Chicago, Revell. 50 cents.

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Finney, C. G., *Lectures on Revivals*. Boston, Jowett, 1885. \$1.75.

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Porter, Ebenezer, D.D., *Lectures on Homiletics and Preaching, and on Public Prayer.* New York, Collier. 1844. \$1.25.

Spurgeon, C. H., *Lectures to My Students*, lecture 4. New York, Sheldon. \$1.25.

Hungerford, Edward, *The American Book of Church Services, with Selections for Responsive Readings.* Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. \$1.25.

Miller, Samuel, D.D., *Thoughts on Public Prayer.* Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board Publication. 75 cents.

Oosterzee, J. J. van, *Practical Theology*, pp. 408-415. New York, Scribner. \$3.50.

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*Sunday Service and Select Psalms, by John Wesley.* Edited by C. S. Harrower, D.D. New York, Methodist Book Concern. 45 cents.

*Responsive Scripture Lessons*, arranged by J. F. Marley, D.D. New York, Eaton & Mains. 20 cents.

Hungerford, *American Book of Church Services.*

*Parish Problems*, pp. 462-468. New York, Century Co. \$2.50.

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Beecher, *Lectures on Preaching*, Vol. II, chapter 5. New York, Ford. \$1.50.

*Parish Problems*, pp. 422-461.

Bridges, Robert, *A Practical Discourse on Some Principles of Hymn Singing.* Journal of Theological Studies, October, 1899. New York, Macmillan.

Julian, John, M.A., *Dictionary of Hymnology.* New York, Scribner. 1891. \$10.

On the general subject of Christian worship, compare also the following works:

*Parish Problems*, pp. 401-476.

Broadus, *Preparation and Delivery of Sermons*, Part V. New York, Armstrong. \$1.75.

Watson, John, *The Cure of Souls*, chapter 8. New York, Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.

*Christian Worship*, by C. C. Hall, Thomas Hastings, A. V. G. Allen, E. C. Smyth, W. R. Huntington, etc. New York, Scribner. \$1.50.

## SELECT LIST RECOMMENDED FOR PURCHASE.

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- Broadus, John A., D.D., LL.D., *The Preparation and Delivery of Sermons*. New York, Armstrong. \$1.75.
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- Brooks, Bishop Phillips, D.D., *Lectures on Preaching*. New York, Dutton. 1880. \$1.50.
- Hoppin, J. M., D.D., *Homiletics*. New York, Funk & Wagnalls. 1883. \$3.
- Phelps, Austin, D.D., *The Theory of Preaching*. New York, Scribner. 1867. \$2.
- Blaikie, W. G., D.D., LL.D., *For the Work of the Ministry* (Homiletics and Practical Theology). New York, Scribner. 1883. \$2.
- Davies, G. J., *Papers on Preaching*. London, Bell. 1883. 6 shillings.
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- Gladden, Washington, D.D., *The Christian Pastor and the Working Church*. New York, Scribner. 1898. \$2.50.
- Mead, G. W., *Modern Methods of Church Work*. New York, Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.
- Parish Problems*, edited by Washington Gladden, D.D. New York, Century Co. 1887. \$2.50.
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## ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

## BABYLONIAN EXPLORATIONS.

THERE never has been any greater activity in this field of exploration than during the past twelve months, nor have the efforts of these patient toilers ever been crowned with greater success. To dig for antiquities is, at best, but very uncertain work, and often has it been that one has sown and another reaped. Dr. Koldewy has been working diligently, for more than a year, at the supposed site of one of Nebuchadnezzar's palaces with indifferent success, for the number of objects found has been quite few and of no special interest. Quite close to the palace he came across a small temple which belonged to the goddess Ninmah, where fifty or more cuneiform tablets were found, none of them, however, being of any special value to the Bible student.

From the *Sunday School Times* and other sources we learn that the last expedition of the University of Pennsylvania to Nippur was by far the most successful of any archæological exploration of the recent past. Even Dr. Hilprecht himself is exceedingly pleased with the results of the season's work, as the reader may gather from the following extract from his pen. He says: "All the three expeditions—American, French, and German—which have been excavating in northern, central, and southern Babylonia respectively, have had peculiar and valuable results; but the greatest and epoch-making result of this year was obtained by the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania through the discovery of the oldest and foremost Babylonian temple library (destroyed about 2280 B. C.) and the huge pre-Sargonic palace of the fourth pre-Christian millenium, buried under more than seventy feet of *débris*." It is understood that among the many objects discovered there were many vases, a very large number of clay, shoe-shaped coffins, and nearly twenty thousand inscribed tablets of varying ages. This old sanctuary has already yielded nearly one hundred thousand documents of all sorts, and probably when as fully explored as some other archæological remains will yield as many more.

It is too early yet to predict the contents of these venerable clay books, written ages upon ages before Abraham left his native land. It will doubtless take many years to decipher these thousands of tablets, for the number of those capable of reading them may be counted upon one's fingers. One of the fragments already read brings out a new king, En-shag-shur-an-a, who reigned about 6500 B. C. Early as this date is, it was not too early for discontent and war; for we read that this king with a long name made war against the ruler of a neighboring country and defeated him, carrying his treasures as trophies into the temple of Bel.

There was a time when certain Bible critics ridiculed the account given in Gen. xiv of Chedorlaomer and his allies who made a campaign from the distant north through Syria and Palestine to the region south of the Dead Sea. Archæology came to the rescue, and followed Sargon I (about 3800 B. C.) step by step as he marched, nearly a thousand years before the days of Chedorlaomer, along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. And now again comes another mighty conqueror, Lugal-zay-gis-i, who seems "to have been a veritable Alexander." If we can trust the tablets, this ruler, who flourished about 4500 B. C., or fully 700 before Sargon I, also led his victorious armies from Babylonia to Palestine.

#### HIGH PLACE AT PETRA.

THE last number of the *Quarterly Statement*, the organ of the Palestine Exploration Fund, is exceedingly rich in good articles, of which none is more interesting to the Bible student than the paper by Professor Samuel Ives Curtiss, D.D., entitled "High Place and Altar at Petra." The article is elaborately illustrated with photographs taken on the spot, and has a well-executed plan of the "high place" and the surrounding area, as well as an isometric sketch of the altar by Mr. R. A. Macalister, who is widely and creditably known in connection with Dr. Bliss's latest researches in Palestine.

Petra, situated about midway between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba, not far from Mount Hor, is an old Edomite stronghold, known in the Bible by its Hebrew name, "Sela," that is, "rock." (See 2 Kings xiv, 7, and Isa. xvi, 1.) The place has ever been difficult of access, and has been made the more so by the hostile tribes in and around it. But the few travelers who have visited it speak in high terms of the imposing ruins and interesting antiquities. It is, however, a little strange that this high place and altar had escaped the notice of such experienced travelers and archæologists as Seetzen, Burkhardt, Laborde, Robinson, Stanley, Palmer, and many later ones. Even Baedeker's last edition of *Syria and Palestine*, though devoting considerable space to Petra and its ruins, has not a word concerning this old sanctuary, which only emphasizes the fact that many a place in Bible lands has not yet disclosed its secrets or given up its buried treasures. There is reason for expecting great discoveries in the future.

It is also a matter of surprise—though an American traveler, Edward A. Wilson, editor of the *Photographic Magazine*, called attention to the Petra altar as long ago as 1891—that little or no attention was paid to the matter, but that the whole subject was allowed to pass with scarcely a notice from any quarter. Mr. Wilson, it is true, knew the nature of this discovery, for he describes this rock-hewn temple as "one of the altars in high places consecrated to Baal;" but he evidently did not appreciate its importance, possibly because it did not show off to advantage in a photograph. Be that as it may, it was nearly ten years later before

the learned world was fully informed regarding this ancient monument. For it was not till last May that Professor G. L. Robinson, of Chicago, made a trip through the regions west and south of the Dead Sea and announced his important "find" at Wady Musa, or ancient Petra. Whether or not he had ever heard of Mr. Wilson's previous discovery is not stated, nor is it of any great importance, for all students of Semitic religions will thank Professor Robinson for his important contribution to this branch of study. And as he did not have time at his disposal to make a careful examination of this old sanctuary, it was furthermore very fortunate that his friend, Professor Curtiss, was in Palestine at the time, and that this scholar a few weeks later, in company with some friends, repaired to Petra with the intention, which they successfully carried out, of making a thorough study of the altar.

As already stated, the results of his observations are published by Professor Curtiss in the article above mentioned, from which we learn that the altar is situated on a ledge of rocks about five hundred and twenty feet long by ninety feet wide, a little north of Petra's citadel. The ledge itself rises to a height of several hundred feet above the valley, and is the very center of an "amphitheater of hills and mountains which are still much higher." The altar was not built, but was hewn out of the solid rock, from which it is separated on all sides except that on the east, that is, the side from which the priest approached and that on which the interested spectator stood. The altar proper measures nine feet one inch by six feet two inches. Its height at the highest point is exactly three feet. On the top or surface of the altar, very near the center, is cut out a hollow place in the shape of a pan, measuring forty-four inches by fourteen, and having a depth of three and a half inches. This might have been used for the fire. There are also small holes cut into this solid altar on three sides, which, according to a theory advanced by Professor Curtiss, suggest metallic altar horns. Why there were not four of these is impossible to say. Before the altar are four steps of easy ascent, one of these being a large slab over a yard long and about two feet wide. It was on this step, we judge, that the officiating priest in all probability took his stand while he was attending to the sacrificial service.

On the south side and within two feet of the altar is a platform sixteen feet six inches by eleven feet, which is ascended by four steps of unequal size, at the northeast corner. It is almost certain that this platform was used by the priests and those attending them in preparing the victim for the altar. This is made the more probable from the fact that connected with the platform are two "circular and concentric pans with vertical sides, . . . with a conduit leading from the lower pan, which may have served to carry away the blood of the victim." A short distance to the east of the altar is a space forty-seven feet four inches by twenty-four feet four inches, which is cut down to the solid rock some fifteen or eighteen inches. Near the center of this sunken area is a raised

platform only five feet by two feet seven inches, and four inches high. If Mr. Macalister's supposition is correct, this slight elevation in the center was the place upon which the one offering the sacrifice stood during the ceremony, the rest of the area being occupied by other worshipers.

Though high places and religious services connected with them are often mentioned in the Old Testament we have nowhere any description of them such as to afford us any idea of their arrangement. That they had altars we know, but nothing is said of their shape, size, or construction. This article of Professor Curtiss is, therefore, of genuine interest to every student of Semitic antiquities; for, as Petra was within the territory of Moab or Edom, countries having much in common in their religious institutions with other Semitic tribes, including the idolatrous Israelites at various times in their history, this rock altar may have been the exact counterpart of those on the hills of Judea. However that may be, and of course we cannot be entirely sure of the facts, this ancient altar at which a guilty soul tried to appease the wrath of some offended divinity is an object of genuine interest to every intelligent and studious Bible reader.

The professor calls attention also to two large monoliths, a little to the east of the citadel. Both of them are about eighteen feet high, with lateral dimensions varying at the base from five to eleven feet, and about two feet and a half at the top. There is every reason for regarding these as in some way connected with religious worship, for, like the pillars and *mazzebas* of the Hebrew Scriptures, they most likely symbolized the divine presence. Professor Whitehouse, in *Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible*, goes so far as to say that the *mazzeba* was the never-failing accompaniment of the *bamah*, that is, high place, and that in "the primitive sanctuary of the early Semites the upright stone served as altar and divine symbol in one," but that, in the course of time, the altar and *mazzeba* became separated the one from the other. The fact that there are two of these is also significant, for the twin pillars, associated in religious worship, were well known outside of Edom. We find them in the Phœnician *cultus*. The Temple of Melkart, at Tyre, for instance, had two magnificent ones, which are fully described by Herodotus; and the Bible reader is acquainted with the two pillars, Boaz and Jachin, in the temple of Solomon (1 Kings vii, 15-21), which were very probably imitations of those in Phœnician temples. Though the Israelites were clearly commanded, as early as the Exodus (Exod. xxiii, 24), to destroy such pillars, and were absolutely forbidden to erect them near their altars (Deut. xvi, 22), yet it is evident that the injunction remained a dead letter during a good part of the monarchy, especially in the northern kingdom. Hence the denunciations of the prophets, as in Hos. iii, 5, and Mic. v, 13. The existence of Boaz and Jachin in Solomon's temple is difficult to harmonize with the spirit of the Mosaic law. This is surely one of the most inviting fields and subjects for research.



**MISSIONARY REVIEW.****THE BIBLE IN FOREIGN MISSION FIELDS.**

THAT the American Bible Society should take a prominent place in the Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions was not a mere compliment. The society has become, more and more, a foreign missionary society since its issues for other countries now exceed those for use at home. Of the nearly one and one half millions of copies for the year ending in May last, over eight hundred thousand copies were distributed outside of the United States. One of its agents in South America says that the work of their society on that part of the western hemisphere would itself vitiate the now somewhat popular designation of South America as "the neglected continent." The Bible Society has work in eight of the ten great republics into which the continent is divided, having grown from a single agency in a single province of a single republic within thirty-five years, and its itineraries would mark the map from ocean to ocean. Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay, Chili, Peru, Ecuador, and Brazil are all permeated with the operations of this organization. Of course its influence is limited by the heavy percentage of illiterates throughout the territory and by the antagonism of the Roman priests, which, however, seems to be less and less influential. The marked eagerness for the word is still a prominent feature in the general situation, as are the number of cases of conversion from the mere reading of the Scriptures. The discovery of the numerous instances, in all parts of the land, where isolated persons or small communities have found Christ without the known aid of the living teacher is part of a widespread phenomenon, certified to in nearly all heathen lands where the Scriptures have been circulated. There is a marked preparedness for the reception of the Holy Scriptures to which, also, the experience of Bible distribution attests in widely separated communities, and in some cases where it would not have been anticipated. This has been strangely true in East Central Africa, and is being experienced amongst the Filipinos as unaccountable, except "by the preparation and power of the Holy Ghost."

As the Church enters on the work of the twentieth century it must count as among its assets the influence of the three hundred millions of Bibles, Testaments, and other portions of Scripture distributed through the agency of the Bible societies alone in the nineteenth century. It is to the credit of American Christianity that, of these, sixty-seven and one third millions have been issued by the American Bible Society. God's answer to criticisms on the book has been, in the century just closed, the greatest circulation for it of any book in any century. We have now over four hundred translations of the Scriptures, and in

many cases the inspiration to reduce a language to writing was solely the desire to give the people speaking it the word of God. The very alphabet was invented to this end, in these cases. A glance at a list of seventy-two Bible societies shows what Canon Edmonds has said, that "whatever is the share of other lands, America, Germany, and Great Britain are clearly put in trust of the Gospel. They must translate and they must distribute it. . . . The missionary idea is conquering the life of the Churches. The living Churches are alive to it and live by it; but let us be zealous for the stability and authority, as well as the fervor, of our work. The word of God is the most living of all God's oracles, the most evangelical of all evangelists, the most trustworthy of all God's messengers."

#### THE SPREAD OF MOHAMMEDANISM.

THERE is much made of the advance of Islam in several portions of the world; but the fact needs a careful analysis, in order to avoid a false impression being made. One Mr. Oscar Mann, described as "an American student of comparative religion," has written in the *North American Review* without full information, or without regard to it, about the growth of Mohammedanism in India. First, he basis his argument on what he calls the "absolutely reliable publications of the India government in the census of India." That the last census approached a reliability not equal by any previous census is true, but that it was "absolutely" reliable no one who is acquainted with the facts would claim. The trouble with Mr. Mann's argument is that he deals with the census of ten years before as "absolutely" reliable, when its imperfections are so well known that it is regarded, in the matter of religious and some other items, as lacking accuracy, though it was the best that could be taken at the time. There was territory covered in the later census not included in that of the earlier one, and that itself would disturb comparisons. But, taken on its face, the advance of the Moslems is only in the ratio of the increase of population. They numbered one in five in 1881, and the same in 1891. The truth is that this is surprising, considering the announced growth of Moslem in lower Bengal among the non-caste races. We are prepared to believe that the relative increase is greater than Mr. Mann's statistical statements show, for in the aggregate for all India they show none at all.

In China, the showing, as everyone knows who knows anything about it, can be only a happy guess at the best. The record of *Statesman's Year Book* has no confirmation, and even if its computed increase of two millions of Moslems in that empire be accepted, Mr. Mann's hurdle-leaping logic, that this is "considerably more than the proportional increase," is only amusing. Still, the probabilities are that the number of Moslems in China has considerably advanced in the last quarter of a century, even without nullifying the statement, as Mr. Mann does, by accusing the Moslems of compromises with native idolatrous customs. The author

shows himself a neophyte in the study of comparative religions in speaking of these countries as affording an "almost unexampled missionary success," especially when he thinks he has established the fact that Islam has barely maintained its status in the old Moslem lands of Asia and has decreased in some portions even of these.

The extension of Islam in Africa is acknowledged on all hands, as it has followed the Arab extension over the continent. Its reception has been demanded as an alternative of slave-raiding, conversion being the acceptance of the simplest formula—"There is no god but God, and Mohammed is his prophet"—the first part of which is not at war with the underlying belief in all African races of the unity of God, however many subordinate fetiches they may fear. Still, even the progress of Islam along Arab trade routes is scarcely phenomenal, considering that it has been in Africa for a thousand years. The assertion ceases to be astounding, when the facts are viewed in this light, that one half the continent is "dominated by Islam, and of the remaining half one quarter is leavened by it and another threatened by it." Nevertheless, the fact of the extension of Islam over Africa is one to be reckoned with by the Christian propagandist, since it may not be as easy to convert even nominally Moslem communities to Christianity as to evangelize the "raw heathen." The Uganda mission work, however, does not indicate that even the Moslem communities hold very stubbornly to Islam far outside the Sudan. Certainly experience has not proved that it is either dangerous or useless to meddle with Islam in large parts of Africa.

Nor does it appear that this crude Islam is difficult to influence in other quarters of the globe. The extension of Islam in the Malaysian islands, as Java and Borneo, was not long since quoted as an alarming indication of its progress, just as is now said of its growth in lower Bengal and central and west Africa. But the success of the Dutch and Rhenish missions indicates it to be idle for the Church to conclude that these communities are inaccessible to Christian effort. The largest part of the more than thirty thousand Battak Christians are converts from Mohammedanism, and in some parts of Java still larger results are claimed. That the Mohammedans of Java have a mongrel form of that faith, which has made it so distinct as to be called "Javaism," is indicative of the actual nature of many of the crude accessions which are credited to Islam, when it is said to be making great strides over the world. Large portions of the accretions of Islam in India, China, and Africa are merely of the nature of a conglomerate of Islam and the old superstitious faiths and heathen usages of the communities.

The fanaticism of Mohammedanism inheres not so much in its doctrinal system as in the politico-ecclesiastic tenets about the caliphate. It is the doctrine of the sultan as pope or caliph—at once king and ruler of State and Church—that becomes the center of Moslem fanaticism. Great numbers of Moslems would accept Christ if they could be shown protection from the scimitar of the sultan and his political associates.

## FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

## SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

**L. Clasen.** The certainty of our relation to God is a subject that is of perennial interest. Clasen, a pastor, has given so much thought to it that his opinions deserve attention. He has set them forth in a work entitled *Die christliche Heilsgewissheit* (Christian Assurance), published in Halle by E. Strien. To some Clasen's views will be less welcome because he is an out-and-out Ritschlian in his theology. Nevertheless, to Protestants who do not trust in the Church to insure their salvation the subject is one of such profound importance that we should be thankful to anyone who can shed any light on it. For Clasen is probably correct in thinking that the differences of opinion on this matter are in some considerable measure responsible for the lack of assurance on the part of so many Christians. And we agree with him in the affirmation that modern theology has no more important task than to exhibit the nature of Christian assurance, and that the final purpose of all preaching, teaching, and pastoral labor is to implant this assurance in every heart. Clasen holds that assurance is not an externally established, sensible fact, but it is the work of God through Christ. It is fellowship with God; experience of pardon or justification; certitude of a new birth; a new life of love to God and man, together with a new estimate of self and a new attitude to the world. This assurance, which is summed up by Paul in Rom. viii, 38 f., is wrought objectively by Christ, whose power over us is immediate, but subjectively by faith in Jesus Christ as a person. From all this Clasen draws certain conclusions: Assurance is, in reference to God, a state of perfection which shows itself in prayer and in confidence in God's providence; but it is also love to our neighbor, faithfulness in our life-calling, and superiority to the demands of the earthward aspect of our life. Doctrine has only so much value, as if derived from its ability to aid us in the religious life and, in the last analysis, in attaining Christian assurance. This is, in fact, to say that Christian assurance is Christian experience, or, in other words, that one who has a Christian experience has Christian assurance. This is true only within limits. The vast majority find it true, and for the majority nothing further is needed. Yet there is a minority who have had this very experience, but who have gone into the depths of skepticism in spite of it. There are many other facts besides the facts of Christian experience; and it is possible so to conceive these other facts as to render doubtful the divine source of this experience. Whenever this doubt becomes strong the very foundations of assurance, as laid by Clasen, are swept away. Many cannot reconcile these other facts with the facts of Christianity. Hence it is not so simple a matter as Clasen supposes, ex-

cept in those instances when doubts of the divine origin of experience have never arisen. Christian assurance, in other words, has its intellectual as well as its emotional aspects.

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**E. W. Mayer.** Why does the Christian trust in God? To this question Mayer has given us a very interesting answer in *Das christliche Gottvertrauen und der Glaube an Christus* (The Relation of Faith in Christ to Confidence in God), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1899. In some measure people of all religions trust in God, though outside of Christianity there is nothing to elicit the idea of an unconditionally good higher power. Even in Christendom the individual consciousness of sin and the evils of the world somewhat hinders confidence in God. Through Christ these hindrances are removed. But what is the relation of faith in Christ to confidence in God? In the best periods of Christianity faith in Christ is the presupposition and cause of confidence in God, although the faith in Christ here spoken of is not, either according to the New Testament or the principles of the Reformation, connected with any particular theory of Christ's saving work. That which is essential to true faith in Christ is the feeling sense of certainty that Jesus, as the representative of God and the manifestation of the grace and truth of God, has brought to man the external divine gifts of salvation. This does not mean that no work pleasing to God can be done except in cases in which faith in Christ cooperates, but that as a matter of fact such works are performed only within Christendom, while he who does them is more or less conscious of the influence of Christ in his act. Mayer draws certain practical conclusions from all this, especially for those who have to do with the public preaching of the Gospel. The Christian preacher must set the historical Christ before his hearers as the herald and bringer of the kingdom of God—who gave his most loving attention to repentant sinners, to those who hungered and thirsted after righteousness, and to the weary and heavy laden, and who carried through his work, even in the midst of poverty, suffering, and death. But, in order to the effective preaching of Christ in all these aspects, the preacher must show by his words and deeds that he has himself the present experience of the reality of this new life in Jesus Christ. The thoughts which Mayer has given us here are worthy the attention both of professional theologians and practical workers in the Lord's vineyard. It is greatly to be feared that the "preaching of Christ" is neglected in our day, and that this is the principal reason why so few are "converted to God." There is such a thing as preaching about Christ without presenting the one preached about in such a way as to win men to faith in his claims and to labor for him. But there is another aspect of the whole subject not treated by Mayer. Men may have a restful confidence in God as good, because they believe that Christ was the express image

of God's person, and yet be most un-Christlike in that they fail utterly to participate in the sufferings of Christ. Only that is true faith in God which sets men to work on the tasks which God has for all his children in Christ.

#### RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

**Die Bergpredigt nach Matthäus** (The Sermon on the Mount according to Matthew). By Friedrich Grawert. Marburg, N. G. Elwert, 1900. This author does not believe that the Sermon on the Mount as recorded by Matthew is a compilation of the sayings of our Lord, but a unit. He does not believe that it is a didactic address concerning his attitude toward the law, nor a doctrinal address giving the fundamental principles of the kingdom of God, nor an ethical treatise of any kind. He thinks that all such conceptions of the sermon are misleading. On the other hand, he is of the opinion that the discourse had for its occasion a specific situation in which Christ found himself. The Jewish opposition had reached a great height before this sermon was delivered, and had taken the form of an accusation that Jesus was a destroyer of the law. In order to defend himself against this charge and to convince his disciples of its injustice, Christ delivered this address and accompanied it with an accusation that his opponents were themselves violaters of the commandments of God (Matt. v, 17-37). This is followed by instruction to the disciples relative to their conduct toward the unfriendly world (chapter v, 38-48), and this by a warning against the false piety of the Pharisee and a description of true piety (chapter vi, 1-18). Then Jesus gives his disciples instruction concerning their faith and its purpose (chapter vi, 19-34) and the character of a Christian disciple (chapter vii, 1-11). The remainder of the sermon is an epilogue, as what preceded chapter v, 17, is a prologue, the eight blessings of which correspond in reverse order of statement to the principal points of the sermon, as follows: v, 3 = vii, 7-11; v, 4 = vii, 8-9; v, 5 = vii, 1, 2; v, 6 = vi, 1-34; v, 7 = v, 38-48; v, 8 = v, 27-37; v, 9 = v, 17-26; v, 10 = v, 11-16. Grawert confesses that the comparison of the first three blessings with chapter vii, 1-11, is not easy to make, though he thinks the thoughts correspond. Since the quintessence of the sermon is founded in these blessings he thinks the unity of the discourse is demonstrated. The thesis is at least interesting, and perhaps it is not without truth. Still it is strange that along with the difficulty of making the identification he has made there should go the unnatural reversal of order, which the author thinks he has established, though it must be confessed that an exact reverse, if it could be made reasonably sure, would be in favor of his contention of unity. Nevertheless, it rather favors the unity given to the parts by the composer of the Gospel than by Jesus. For, if he spoke under the stress Grawert supposes, he would not likely employ so artificial an arrangement. So that the whole outcome of Grawert's

theory, if proven, would be to confirm the idea that the sermon as Matthew gives it is a compilation of sayings of Jesus, rather than an address of Jesus given at any one time. But, if this be true, then the sermon was not occasioned as Grawert supposes.

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**Ueber den biblischen und kirchlichen Begriff der Anrechnung. Ein Beitrag zur Rechtfertigungslehre** (The Doctrine of Imputation as Taught in Bible and Church. A Contribution to the Doctrine of Justification). By Adolph Zahn. Amsterdam, Scheffer & Co., 1899. The author of this book must not be confused with his cousin, Theodor Zahn, who is an abler man. We call attention to this book for a specific purpose. Adolph Zahn has recently been making a good deal of noise in the theological world, especially by his opposition to the newer views of theology and the Bible. Not a few—among them some Methodists—have hailed him as a scholar who is to lead us back to the truth. That Methodists, at least, should not appeal to him as a leader will be apparent from the teachings of his book above mentioned. According to his views the doctrine of imputed righteousness is the key to the whole of sacred Scripture. The doctrine experienced no development as taught in the Bible. Indeed, the very nature of the word of God is such as to compel the supposition that there can be no development in doctrine in the Bible, but that God said at the beginning what he ever afterward repeated. Hence the Pauline doctrine of imputation is found away back in Gen. xv, 6. It is essential to note that the imputation of righteousness takes place with those who have no righteousness in themselves, but who on the contrary are unrighteous. The Abraham that believed was the godless Abraham, and yet he was looked upon and esteemed in the thought of God as righteous. He was most godless at the time of this imputation of righteousness. The idea of imputation rules both the Old and the New Testament. The relation of Christ to his disciples is one of constant imputation. Paul brings this out with especial force. The *καταραγή* is nothing but one great exchange in which the suffering, death, and resurrection of Christ are imputed to the godless. Christ had to become flesh in order that the sin of Adam could be imputed to him. For fourteen centuries this doctrine was lost, but the reformers restored it to us, and the orthodoxy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries held it fast. But through pietism, rationalism, and modern theology the doctrine has been lost to Protestantism. Revelation is wholly predestinarian. One must either be a biblical theologian—and then he will be a Calvinist—or else must be a synergist and distinguish between God's and man's part in conversion. Man has not and cannot have the slightest part in his own conversion, not even to consent to the same. Every participation of man in conversion, as in sanctification, is excluded. Synergism in every form, whether before or after conversion, is an error, since it destroys the true faith which is one continuous glori-

fication of the power of God and an admission that man can do nothing and foresee nothing. Such is the man whom some Methodists ignorantly hold up to us as a leader. May we be saved from this, as also from the opposite extreme.

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#### RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

**The German Protestant Association.** Representing as it does the extreme left in German theological thought, its members would ordinarily be classed with our so-called freethinkers. But more and more they are coming to see, as are the Unitarians of America, that mere protests against existing conditions can furnish no firm basis for aggressive union. Hence, at the annual meeting of the Association, held in Hamburg, September 26-28, 1899, they emphasized the necessity for adding to their usual plea for liberty of thought and teaching positive, constructive activity, especially since in this lies the strength of Protestantism in contradistinction to the ecclesiasticism of Rome. Among the important resolutions adopted were the following: "1. The antithesis between the traditional doctrine of the Church and the modern view of the world can be overcome only by an entirely new statement of Christian doctrine in which frank recognition shall be given to all the truths of science. 2. We demand of the Church freedom to tell the truth; from theology strict conformity to the truth in her statements of Church doctrine; and from preachers the faithful proclamation of that which is recognized as fact. 3. Such freedom and truth will, in our judgment, secure the existence of the evangelical Church and preserve for her the confidence of the people." The only objection offered, and the principal objection which could be offered to these resolutions was that they appeared to intimate that any who do not hold the modern views are insincere and untruthful. When it was explained that the resolutions carried with them no such implication they were unanimously adopted, as they might be in any Methodist Conference. It is also noteworthy that the Association put itself unequivocally on record as denying the adequacy of the programme of the so-called ethical-culture movement which would do away with all dogma and which would place the ground of morality elsewhere than in God. On the whole the reported proceedings of the meeting indicate a more positive attitude than is generally attributed to the Association.

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**The Struggle for Social Purity in Germany.** Americans are chary of discussing questions in public which our soberer and more earnest cousins of the Fatherland are not unwilling to bring to the front. In October, 1899, the General Conference for Social Purity met and reviewed the work of the preceding and planned for that of the coming year. The Conference numbers among its members university professors, physicians, and philanthropists, both male and female. It was announced that the university professors will issue a tract warning the students that all im-



purity threatens the health. The declaration was made that there are in Germany two hundred thousand women who depend upon unchastity for a livelihood. Some claimed that one of the great causes of social impurity in Germany is the one-sided intellectual aspect of education which neglects the development of character. The principle, also new for Germany, was announced, that there is but one morality for men and women. The white cross, similar to our white ribbon movement, was reported to have about seventeen thousand members. The close connection between the use of inoxicating drinks and unchastity, and the responsibility of women in the elevation of ethical ideals in the family and society were emphasized. The futility of attempting to check the evil by license was clearly proved and the heathenish character of such measures pointed out. The Conference declared that the only aid the state could afford was in repression, or, as we would call it, prohibition.

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**Ancient Theories of Immortality in India.** From the earliest times, according to a recent writer in the *Indian Evangelical Review*, men in that eastern land have speculated about the future. The "venerable sages" there, our author tells us, "thought much about this question, as it presented itself on the banks of the sacred Ganges, and gave very clear expression to their cherished conviction of life after death, so that in the ancient strains of the hymns of the Rig-Veda we find distinct traces of belief in the continuation of life beyond the grave." Inviting us first to look at the Vedanta system, our writer speaks as follows: "It may be said that according to the Vedantists immortality of a kind follows from the very foundation principle of their system. The fundamental idea of this philosophy is that there is only one real being, and that this being is absolutely one. The famous aphorism which our theistic countrymen now adopt as enunciating the unity of the Godhead is the assumption on which Vedantism is based. As used by the Vedantists, it is charged with the pantheistic meaning that individual souls who seem to be distinct personalities are really so many finite manifestations of the universal spirit, Brahm. . . . Since there is really only one *Atman*, or spirit, though there are many minds who are used by the supreme *Atman* as its instruments, different men and women are all truly one, and, of course, the soul of man is immortal, as it is nothing other than the eternal Brahm, the only self-existent, eternal, and changeless one." Still another argument that the Hindu philosophers employed is that all composite things are eventually resolved "into their simple elements," but that the soul—as a simple substance, "above the laws of causality, time, and space"—will escape destruction. Another Hindu argument for immortality is based on the preexistence of the soul. Plato also gave this view a conspicuous place, and to his theories the latter part of the article from which we quote is largely devoted. Altogether, the paper—if it does not state truth particularly new—at least presents the old in an oriental and attractive setting.

### SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

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L. MARILLIER, of Paris, concludes in the November issue of *The International Monthly* (Burlington, Vt.) his scientific discussion of "Primitive Objects of Worship," which was begun in October, the trend and final effect of which may be inferred from a single sentence, "Thus fall at once the theories which make of religion an artificial or semiartificial creation, the conscious work of a priesthood, or a collection of symbols intentionally selected to be the brilliant and mysterious garb of a system of highly metaphysical or moral truths." Professor Sumner's paper on "The Predominant Issue," insists that the United States ought not only to grant independence, but to force it on Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, and that this country should turn its attention to itself, and look for its safety and prosperity only in domestic development, peace, industry, free trade with everybody, low taxes, and industrial power. With this view we are unable to sympathize. An article which continues the homage offered to Ruskin since his death, is by John C. Lafarge, of New York, who writes, to be sure, far more in criticism than in homage, claiming to express the sentiments of the majority of those who paint anything of enduring value, and asserting that Ruskin's long and laborious work as a teacher in art has now no authority with artists. The trouble was that not being himself a practical artist he could not be a practical teacher. It is as an artist in words that he should most be magnified and valued. Lafarge quotes from the close of Ruskin's lectures on art, delivered before the University of Oxford in 1870, a passage in which the lecturer indicates the possible improvement which may come to art in consequence of its introduction among the studies of the university. He says that, in the past, art has not been thoughtful enough, great artists have been too exclusively craftsmen. "Many of the greatest pictures are enigmas; others, beautiful toys; others, harmful and corrupting toys. In the loveliest there is something weak; in the greatest there is something guilty." And then predicting better possibilities, he says, sanguinely: "This is the new thing that may come to pass—that the scholars of England may resolve to teach also with the powers of the arts; and that pictures may be painted which shall not be enigmas any more, but open teachings of what cannot otherwise be so well shown; which shall not be fevered or broken visions any more, but shall be filled with the indwelling light of self-possession imagination; which shall not be stained or enfeebled any more by evil passions, but glorious with the strength and chastity of human love; and which shall no more degrade or disguise the work of God in heaven, but testify of Him as dwelling here with men, and walking with them, not angry, in the garden of the earth."

This prediction an artist regards as about as presumptuous and silly as if a teacher in literature should say to his university class, "This, O young gentlemen, is what will come to pass through our superiority over our predecessors; we shall so teach that works will be done through us, that neither the errors of Homer, nor the fevered and broken visions of Dante, nor the evil passions and lukewarm morality of Shakespeare shall stain or enfeeble, but which shall be glorious with the strength and chastity of noble human love." Professor F. H. Giddings contributes a wise paper on "Modern Sociology," and John W. Foster writes, from intimate knowledge, of the Chinese viceroy and diplomat, Li Hung Chang. This extraordinary man, now seventy-nine years old, is pure Chinese, having no Manchu blood in his veins. He was never out of his own country until his visit to Japan in 1895, and to Europe and America in 1896. Wu Ting-fang, the present Chinese minister at Washington, got his training in diplomacy as one of the viceroy's secretaries for many years, as he got his early education and his knowledge of English in the schools of the missionaries at Canton and Hongkong. When Li Hung Chang was in Japan, and an attempt to assassinate him came near succeeding, the Christians of Nagoya, both Japanese and foreign, sent a message saying they were praying for his recovery. His son sent the following reply: "My father is deeply moved by the solicitude you express for his welfare, and feels that the prayers you have offered cannot have been unheeded by the Power who controls human destinies. He believes that his life has been spared to him for some wise purpose beyond the capacity of man to fathom; but he will venture to interpret his almost miraculous escape as an indication that his lifework is not yet complete; that he may yet do some good in the world, and perhaps render service to his country by endeavoring to restore peace and good will where strife now prevails." While in New York in 1896 the viceroy fully acknowledged the useful labors of Christian missionaries in China and the duty of his government to afford them ample protection. And after his return to Peking he used this language to one of our Methodist bishops: "Ask the American people, for me, to send over more missionaries for the schools and hospitals, and I hope to be in a position both to aid and to protect them." Yet, after all, the missionaries feel that this astute diplomat may need to be watched in order to see whether he will live up to his professions.

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IN that sterling and unmeretricious magazine, *The Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), for December, twenty-two articles, in prose and verse, besides the discussions in The Contributors' Club, offer varied attractions. "The Story of a New England Town" is John Fiske's historical address at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of that most beautiful of college towns, Middletown, Conn. Of it the Harvard professor says: "In the very aspect of these broad, quiet streets,

with their arching trees, their dignified and hospitable, sometimes quaint, homesteads, we see the sweet domesticity of the old New England unimpaired. Nowhere is true worth of character more justly valued or more cordially welcomed, with small regard to mere conventional standards; and this I believe to be one of the surest marks of high civilization." Goldwin Smith writes of "War as a Moral Medicine," criticising and opposing Dean Farrar's article in the *North American Review*, which spoke of war as not only necessary for self-defense and for maintaining international police, but also as a moral tonic promotive of the health of nations and often an agency of human progress. Goldwin Smith thinks that to-day a revived love of war indicates a satiety of the gentle virtues of civilization and a reversion toward the brute passions and rages which befit barbarians; that Christianity, the religion of mild and philanthropic spirit, is declining in its influence over the conduct of nations, and that the physical view of man is ascendant over the moral and spiritual. He refers to a German philosopher, recently deceased, who frankly preached the gospel of force and held that the chief obstacle to progress is morality. He is of opinion that governments which believe themselves to be actuated by ideas about "manifest destiny," the "white man's burden," and the "mission of the Anglo-Saxon race" are led by those mystical fancies far away from the sober dictates of righteousness and humanity. Gerald Stanley Lee finds "The Dominance of the Crowd" manifest even in theology: "The measuring by numbers is found in all belief. Helpless individuals mastered by crowds are bound to believe in a kind of infinitely helpless God. He stands in the midst of the crowd of his laws and the systems of his worlds: to those who are not religious, a pale First Cause; and to those who are, a Great Sentimentality far away in the heavens, who, in a kind of vast weak-mindedness (a Puritan would say), seems to want everybody to be good and hopes they will be, but does not quite know what to do about it if they are not. . . . Every civilization has its typical idea of God. A civilization with sovereign men in it has a sovereign God; and a crowd civilization, reflecting its mood on the heavens, is inclined to a pleasant God, eternally considering everybody and everything, but inefficient withal." But he takes this turn presently: "If the One who called Himself a man and a God had not been born in a crowd, if He had not loved and grappled with crowds, if He had not been worshiped and crucified by crowds, He might have been a Redeemer for the silent, scattered, sparse, ancient world that was before He came, but He would have failed to be a Redeemer for this modern world—a world where the main inspiration and the main discouragement is the crowd, where every great problem and every great hope is one that deals with crowds." Henry L. Abbott writes of "The Best Isthmian Canal," which he forcibly argues must be by Panama and not by Nicaragua. Benjamin Ide Wheeler contributes an acute and needed paper on "Art in Language." He says that in this rattling day of

stenographers and typewriters we sadly "miss the restraining and demulcent influences of the old quill pen;" that, with present methods of education, the next generation will not know how to write or how to spell; that art is superior to the rationalizing intelligence, because the former seeks the vision which is face to face, while the latter knows in part, prophesies in part, and sees in a glass darkly. "Poetry is profounder than psychology, architecture than engineering, painting than the physics of color, literature than philology, faith than criticism; and though these sterner disciplines of the intelligence purge and chasten and correct, they are guideboards and not the way, precepts and not the truth, body and not the life. . . . The judgments of the intelligence judge with part of a soul. But taste abjures the minims and the millimeters, the fragmentary tests and the partial vision, looks full and straight with the whole of the soul, and judges with the whole of the life. The judgment of taste is more than the sum of all the judgments of reason, as home is more than the sum of the rooms of a house, life more than the sum of the members of a body, communion with God more than the sum of all the doctrines. . . . Teaching that imparts knowledge, and fails to supply ideals and inspiration, is notably not education; craft that fires no yearning for the vision of the greater whole is not art. A rift in the veil, a glimpse of that other fair land where the best that is in us divines itself native—that alone is the handiwork and yield of art. . . . The effect of suitable language will always be measured among civilized communities, not by its precise report of concepts and propositions after the manner of algebraic formulæ and equations, but by the spiritual atmosphere of thousandfold suggestion and association which it brings in with it, like the breath of a larger life to quicken the dry bones—the dry bones which lie in the narrow valley of the matter-of-fact. Our response to the forms of verse and the gentle touch of poetry has place among the intimations of immortality. We know that we have part in the larger life, because there is that within us which is more than can be said. . . . The quest for the ideal and the instinct of form are close akin. Form in art, form in literature, form in manners, form in devotion, all are born of one human instinct and desire—the desire to see the common everyday life and its materials now and again dignified to the service of some higher purpose, to participation in some greater plan of the greater whole."

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SUPERLATIVELY doleful in its spirit is Frederic Harrison's funeral wail in the *North American Review* (New York) for December, 1900, over the circumstances which attend the closing of the old year. His article is entitled "Christianity at the Grave of the Nineteenth Century," and, while having primarily to do with conditions that obtain in England, yet discusses principles which are general in their application. "Our immediate generation"—so the author records his conviction—"has

been sinking of late to meaner ideals, to coarser ways of life, to more vulgar types of literature and art, to more open craving after wealth, and a more insolent assertion of pride and force." The causes of the "general debasement of tone" Mr. Harrison regards as "partly material and partly spiritual." The change for the worse began with "the triumph of the Bismarckian policy, by which the map of Europe was transformed thirty years ago." The previous European wars, following the fall of Napoleon, "had all been professedly waged to protect some people from oppression, for defense against aggression, not of avowed offense and conquest." But Bismarck set a new fashion in statesmanship, and did not lack for imitators and rivals. "Russia, from whom perhaps the famous chancellor originally imported his great idea, had an irresistible destiny in that direction, as the largest, most populous, least civilized nation in Europe. Austria, even, added to all her difficulties by another big annexation in the Balkan peninsula. Italy, in spite of her bankruptcy and dynastic weakness, must needs clutch at a province on the Red Sea. France could not be left out, and must make the tri-color wave over part of Siam, Tonquin, Madagascar, the Niger, and at last the Nile. Japan, and even little Greece, took up the imperial mania. And at last the United States forsook their settled rules and policy, and are starting an empire across the ocean." All this has been followed by "gigantic speculations," started "in all parts of the planet," and the effects on the intellectual life of the nation have been degrading. "Compare the early part and the middle of the reign of the queen with the last two or three decades. Who will dare to say that its close can compare with its promise—in poetry, in romance, in literature, in philosophy, or in science? . . . Names will occur to all—Dr. Arnold and his son, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning, Macaulay, Carlyle, Thackeray, Dickens, Bulwer, Disraeli, Hallam, Milman, Freeman, Froude, Ruskin, the Brontës, George Eliot, Kingsley, Trollope. All the work, or all the best and permanent work, of these was completed and had passed into the fabric of English literature before the imperialist era began, some twenty-five years ago. Have their successors quite equaled them?" The same fact, also, the author finds to hold in philosophy, sociology, and pure science. Intellectual and æsthetic aims have become "gross and materialized." The drama "runs not merely to vice, but to morbid, sneaking forms of vice. . . . Popular novels, songs, and plays are composed in the jargon current amongst costermongers and thieves. Romance tends to vignettes of sensationalism, to the more cancerous forms of debauchery, and to prurient maunderings over sex problems." Furthermore, Mr. Harrison finds spiritual and intellectual causes, as well as material, for the deterioration. The philosophy "of evolution and of logical demonstration" has not performed what it promised. "It claimed to explain the world and to direct man. But it left a great blank. That blank was the whole field of religion, of morality, of the sanctions of duty. It left the mystery of the future as mysterious as

ever, and yet as imperative as ever. Whatever philosophy of nature it offered, it gave no adequate philosophy of man. It was busy with physiology of humanity; it propounded inconceivable and repulsive guesses about the origin of humanity." From the hesitations and doubts of such leaders as Darwin, Mill, and Spencer there followed a "general discredit to the entire philosophy of evolution and the entire theology of neo-Christianity." Nor does the writer find encouragement in the religious situation of the day, as the new century dawns. It is true that the Churches were never more "in evidence" than at the present. "Their pretensions were never higher; their rolls never fuller; their patrons never more illustrious." But, continues Mr. Harrison, "is vital religion more general, more effective? Is genuine belief in the creeds more definite and clear? Is Christianity more truly a civilizing, a moralizing force? Who will dare say so? . . . We have been dwelling to-day on the evil things in our modern life, on the chase after money, the rampant love of gambling, the extravagance, the coarseness, the materialistic spirit growing on all sides. What have the Churches done to purify and check all this? Who would care if they did try? Who would believe them in earnest in doing so?" Not a voice comes from the official churches of England in challenge of the justice, good faith, and Christian charity of those who wage the "wanton war of spoliation" in South Africa. "At home our own preparation for war is sounded in slang from drinking saloons, which is echoed back in pale and conventional litanies from the altars of the State Church. This is how Christianity works out in practice at the close of the nineteenth century." Under such gloomy conditions—in the estimate of Mr. Harrison—the world moves out of the old era into the new.

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*The Critical Review* (London) for November, 1900, is weighty, as usual, with critical reviews of numerous books. We quote a part of its notice of the thirtieth Fernley lecture, delivered in Burslem last July by Dr. Charles Joseph Little, President of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.: "It is now published under the title of *Christianity and the Nineteenth Century*. It begins with a somewhat rapid sketch of the Christianity of the czar, the pope, and the people, and then passes on to deal with the Christianity of experience, and what the author describes as the Leaven and the Lump. The lecturer carries us with him and never lets the interest flag. . . . His estimate of the meaning and power of the Reformation is one of the best things in the book. 'The hidden root of the Reformation,' he says, 'was and is the attainment and paramount authority of a living experience of Christ in the soul of the believer.' As to the theology of the Reformation, he rightly claims that, 'like the mechanics of Galileo, it started from experience.' And in well-chosen words he points out how soon theology became something different from that, and what it might have been with us now if it had kept true to its beginnings." The brief discussion of Professor Harnack's lectures, given

last winter at the University of Berlin, on the *Essence of Christianity*, is discriminating in withholding approval of certain views and positions while admitting that portions of the lectures may be helpful to some minds disconcerted and in difficulty with regard to the claims and meaning of the religion of Jesus Christ. To us Harnack's views as to the biblical miracles are extremely unsatisfactory, even though he does not peremptorily reject miracle, and in one place says that the religious man cannot help believing that "the course of nature serves higher ends, and that, by means of an inner divine force, it may be so used that everything shall serve the best." Harnack founds his interpretation of the essence and meaning of Christianity on the Synoptical Gospels alone, and holds the Gospel which they teach to be a very simple thing—a moral message, which stands apart at once from dogma, external Pharisaic rules, and social programmes—a Gospel within the Gospel, which makes love to God and to man the one ground for all action. The better part of the lectures may be inferred from the following words: "What Harnack recognizes as true is that Christ knew Himself to be Messiah, and to have the Father with Him and in Him. And the essence of His work is declared to be this—the impartation to men of that living conviction of the Fatherhood of God which He Himself had. What Christ did was to deliver a message to men which had three circles of ideas, namely, first, the kingdom of God and its coming; secondly, God the Father and the infinite value of the soul of man; and thirdly, higher righteousness and the law of love. His message, therefore, is entirely moral, in no sense dogmatic." Dr. James H. Rigg's *Oxford High Anglicanism and Its Leaders*, written from the view-point of Wesleyan Evangelical faith, now in its second edition, is recognized as "an important contribution to the study of a chapter in the ecclesiastical history of England, which is likely long to retain its interest." A review of more than usual force and interest is that by E. H. Blake-ney of Dr. J. H. Stirling's large octavo, *What is Thought? The Problem of Philosophy by Way of a General Conclusion*, in which a sort of critical parenthesis is this: "Chapter V., 'Philosophy and Science,' is one of the most impressive chapters in the book. And there we may conveniently note one peculiar characteristic of Dr. Stirling's writing, and that is his *instantaneously solemnizing* power. He will be dealing, say, some shrewd hits at Kant's system; or gibing at some idle piece of rationalism more than usually redolent of the new *Aufklärung*; or girding himself to do battle with some fallacy, tossing his opponents to and fro, as he heaps scorn upon solemn quackery, whether canonized by *Aufgeklärter* or not—and then, suddenly (and in this he reminds one of the poet Browning), his words shape themselves into noble order, and a strange sense of harmony, as of some cosmic hymn, breathes through each syllable, making itself felt in living power of spiritual conviction."



**BOOK NOTICES.****RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.**

*The Age of Faith.* By AMORY H. BRADFORD, D.D. 12mo, pp. 306. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

Henry Van Dyke called this an age of doubt, and published a book to show the Gospel's adaptation to such an age. This author describes the same age as one of faith, a time of moral earnestness, and eagerness to believe whatever is approved by the intelligence and the conscience, and thinks that the subjects most needing emphasis in such a time are the Personality of God, the Fatherhood of God, and the fact that all theories about God, man, and the universe should be interpreted in the light of the Fatherhood. These furnish a sure basis for optimism; they show that the brotherhood of man is universal and vital; that suffering and sorrow are means in the hands of love for the perfecting of human character, and indispensable to human progress; that sin is an incident in the upward movement of the race, not necessary, but always possible; that salvation is the sure purpose of omnipotent love; that prayer is the natural and necessary intercourse between parent and child; that what is called punishment is always disciplinary and intended to restore; and that the deathless life follows of necessity, because man is of the same nature as God, and, therefore, must partake of His immortality. But all human interpretations would be fallible and uncertain, however true the principle on which they were based, unless there was an infallible guide. That infallible guide Jesus promised, and the ages are realizing, in the person of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Truth, who will lead into all truth and show things to come. Christians are disciples of the Spirit of Truth, and they wait reverently and expectantly for the disclosures of the future, while they honor and trust the revelations of the past. These are some of the truths which Dr. Bradford believes and emphasizes. The motto of his book may be said to be, "Interpret God by His Fatherhood." Declaring this to be preeminently an age of faith, it must be confessed even by the despondent, that he comes very near to making his statement good, while the more hopeful will feel that he is solidly and firmly right in his thesis and in his proofs. As for science, he shows that it cultivates faith, not doubt. The scientist is of necessity a man of faith. He searches for something in which he believes, although for him, when he begins, the object of his quest has only imaginary existence. Faith, as an intellectual attitude, is the same whether it affirms the law of evolution or the being of God. Darwin used faith as truly as Paul. They had the same mental attitude, although their minds were directed to different objects. An astronomer turns his telescope toward some part of the heavens, not because he has

ever seen a planet in that field, but because the perturbations of another planet have led him to believe that if he searches long enough there his efforts will be rewarded. Science is the affirmation by faith of an undiscovered but discernible reality. Dr. Bradford points out that the proportion of men of science who are deeply religious is very large. "In the British Scientific Association the Christian members maintain a daily prayer meeting. Lord Kelvin is an elder in a Scotch Presbyterian Church; Professor Young, the Princeton astronomer, is, or was, a Presbyterian elder. George J. Romanes, after long wandering in the deserts of agnosticism, came back to a child's faith. Agassiz was a devout believer in God. John L. Gulick, who in the opinion of Romanes has made more original contributions to the doctrine of evolution than any scientist after Darwin, is a missionary of the American Board in Japan. Sir William Dawson finds a divine revelation in the rocks. Asa Gray, the botanist, used to delight in saying that he was a believer in evolution and in the Nicene Creed. Few books have done more to strengthen faith in immortality than the *Unseen Universe*, the joint work of Professors Tate and Balfour Stuart. Henry Drummond was both a professor of physical science and an evangelist. If this is an age of science, it is of necessity an age of faith, since the scientist trusts his own intellectual faculties and processes, which is one act of faith, and believes in a reality behind phenomena, which is another act of faith." In literature, also, the author shows that, while skeptics are prominent, yet faith is a marked characteristic of the age. "Zola, Paul Bourget, and Brunetière in France may be skeptics; John Morley, Frederic Harrison, Mrs. Humphry Ward, and Thomas Hardy, to say nothing of Matthew Arnold and George Eliot, may be agnostics, although some of them would repudiate the title. The Scottish school of fiction is just now most prominent in the literature of the English-speaking world. MacDonald, Stevenson, Barrie, Crockett, Ian Maclaren, all are known as devout believers. The fact that no novels are so popular as those which treat of religious subjects shows where the hearts of the people are. . . . The most potent and enduring literary force in Europe is Tolstoi, a man with the courage of a warrior and the vision of a prophet, who has penetrated deeply into the heart of human life, and found that character is the sublimest thing of which an author can write." As to the poets, our author shows that the greatest voices utter no uncertain sound. Who that remembers what Browning, Tennyson, Lowell, Whittier, Sidney Lanier, and Richard Watson Gilder have written can call this an age of doubt? As a typical utterance of our time Robert Louis Stevenson's Sunday evening prayer, which he wrote in Samoa, is quoted: "We beseech Thee, Lord, to behold us with favor, folk of many families and nations, gathered together in the peace of this roof; weak men and women subsisting under the covert of Thy patience. Be patient still; suffer us a while longer with our broken purposes of good, with our idle endeavors against evil—suffer us a while longer to endure and

(if it may be) help us to do better. Bless to us our extraordinary mercies; if the day come when they must be taken, brace us to play the man under affliction. Be with our friends, be with ourselves. Go with each of us to rest; if any wake, temper to them the dark hours of watching; and when the day returns, return to us our sun and comforter, call us with morning faces, eager to labor, eager to be happy, if happiness shall be our portion, and, if the day be marked for sorrow, strong to endure it. We thank Thee, and praise Thee, and, in the words of Him to whom this day is sacred, close our oblation." Dr. Bradford endeavors to show that the study of comparative religion, the Chicago World's Parliament of Religions, the study of the Bible by what is called criticism, low or high, the new movement in theology, the very fads of the day, like faith healing, Christian science, and the rest, and the crusade of charity and widespread activity of Christian philanthropic agencies, all illustrate and promote the power of faith. He says that the Gospel needed by this age, a Gospel which makes life worth living and rings the knell of pessimism, must begin and end in the revelation of God, who in all the eternities and infinities, in His dealings with this world and all worlds, is truly made known in Jesus Christ, who, in His earthly life, His unwearying service, His matchless teaching, His self-sacrificing death, and His victory over the grave, was "the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of His person." This glorious Gospel is interpreted in this optimistic book and presented as the only rational basis and warrant for optimism. The range and order of the thought are indicated by the chapter headings: "The Age of Faith," "The Conception of God," "God Interpreted by Fatherhood," "The Basis of Optimism," "Brotherhood," "Suffering and Sorrow," "Sin," "Salvation," "Prayer," "Punishment or Discipline," "The Immortal Life," "The Teacher for All Ages." We commend *The Age of Faith* as a stimulating, confirming, and heartening book for all, especially for such as have yielded to gloomy views about the state and prospects of the Church and the world. It is a bracing and most wholesome tonic. We have had of late altogether too much wailing, and lamenting, and desponding in Christian, and even in Methodist, circles. We stoutly affirm that there has been no sufficient and justifying cause for it. Let Mr. Faint-heart keep still, and no longer infect and dispirit the body with his own timidity. Let those have the floor whose souls are brave with courage, buoyant with confidence, mighty with faith in God and in the sure, swift, victory of Jesus Christ.

*Character and Characteristics of William Law, Nonjuror and Mystic.* Selected and Arranged with an Introduction. By ALEXANDER WHYTE, D.D., of St. George's Free Church, Edinburgh. 8vo, pp. 329. London: Hodder & Stoughton. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

What would be the result if one should, for a year, exclude from his mind the miscellaneous flood of light, unseasoned literature pouring from the contemporary press, and shut himself up with an incomparable

old writer like William Law, cannot be precisely guessed; but that twelvemonth would surely be an intellectual and spiritual epoch in one's life. Many well-read men have not read a single line of this great thinker. Yet it is truly said that there is possibly no author in English literature whose works will better delight and reward readers of an original or serious cast of mind than those of Law. To make a volume of selections from the larger mass is not easy, for he is called the most *continuous* writer in the English language. But such a volume is of extraordinary value, because in sheer intellectual strength and brilliancy he ranks with the foremost of his illustrious contemporaries—De Foe, Pope, Addison, Goldsmith, Bishop Butler, Southey, and the rest—while in that fertilizing touch, which is the true test and token of genius, he simply stands supreme and alone. One has said that Canon Mozley at his best would be not unlike Law if there were added to Mozley's style a dash of J. H. Newman to give lucidity, keenness, flexibility, with here and there a subtle touch of wit and satire. Law was one of the mightiest of all polemical writers. An early exercise of this power was his refutation of the abominable doctrines put forth by Mandeville in *The Fable of the Bees*, which taught that the vilest and most diabolical vices are not only natural to man, but necessary to fit him for his life in this world. This book, so cynical and insulting toward virtue, evoked many indignant replies, but none to compare with Law's. Even Gibbon confessed that morality and religion must unite in applauding Law's overwhelming onslaught against Mandeville's licentious doctrines. It is a masterly piece of philosophical polemic, red-hot with passionate indignation and tempestuous with moral fury, showing how human virtue has its origin and seat in the divine virtue; how obligation arises in the reason and conscience of man; how our human idea of God is formed; how and what happiness is the perfection of human nature; and how our liberty and our conduct act upon the formation of character, and on our ultimate desert and destiny—making a treatise which is an essay in moral philosophy and a gem in literature, such as fills the reader's heart with joy. Mandeville was a powerful writer, who saw the seamy side of life, and saw some seams and creases and stains and scars which existed only in his own polluted imagination and corrupt heart. Law's two most famous productions are *A Serious Call to a Holy Life* and *A Practical Treatise upon Christian Perfection*. In the latter he bottoms his book deep in the nature of fallen man, in the nature of sin, and in the nature and design of true religion; and works up from all that to the very highest attainments of Christian experience, and out from all that to the finest fulfillments of Christian obedience. He takes us into a strait gate and along a narrow way, but every step rewards us with new liberty and a nobler prospect, till he lands us at last without spot or blemish before the throne of God. When John Wesley complained that Law's doctrine of Christian perfection was too high to be attainable, Law replied, "We shall do well to aim at the highest degree

of perfection if we may thereby at least attain to mediocrity." Of the painful quarrel that afterward broke out between Wesley and Law, Dr. Whyte says: "The ins and outs of this dispute are set forth with impartiality both by Tyerman in his *Life of Wesley*, and by Canon Overton in his *Life of Law*. It is refreshing and reassuring, and reads us an excellent lesson, to see how Tyerman holds that Wesley was in the wrong, and Overton that Law was wrong. Both biographers show that Wesley's attack on his old oracle and master was inevitable, given the man and given the great change he passed through after he had taken Peter Böhler to be his new master. But it is not the less to be deplored that the two best and most influential men of that whole century should have afforded such a display of acrimony and recrimination. A part, if not the whole, of that controversy lay in this—that Law and Wesley were perhaps as different as two able and good men could well be. Wesley was fitted to be a popular and most impressive preacher, while Law was never allowed to preach, but was early set apart by divine Providence to think, and read, and write. The work of Wesley's life was to preach awakening sermons, whereas Law's equally divine commission was to take already converted men, especially the intellectual and educated, and compel them to a more consecrated life. And surely, if they could only both have seen it, there was ample scope and call enough within the lines of evangelical Christianity for two such signally gifted if singularly individual men. We see now that one of these extraordinary men without the other would have left the religious life and literature of the eighteenth century weak, one-sided, and unsafe. Could they but have seen it, both were indispensable—Wesley to complete Law, and Law to complete Wesley. Even after their long quarrel Wesley said of Law's *Serious Call*, 'It will hardly be excelled, if it be equaled, in the English tongue, either for beauty of expression or for justness and depth of thought. It must remain as long as England endures, an almost unequalled standard of the strength and purity of our language as well as of sound practical divinity.' Dr. Johnson, at Oxford, took it up, expecting to find it dull and perhaps to laugh at it, but found it quite an overmatch for him, so that it set him to thinking in earnest, for the first time, about religion; and he called it the finest piece of hortatory theology in any language. Gibbon said of the *Serious Call*, 'It is a powerful book; and many of its portraits are worthy the pen of La Bruyère.' While in our own time, Augustine Birrell, speaking of Gibbon, says, 'Splendid achievement of learning and industry though the *Decline and Fall* may be, glorious monument though it is, more lasting than marble, yet in sundry moods it seems but a poor and barren thing by the side of a book which, like the *Serious Call*, has proved its power to pierce the heart and tame the will.'" Concerning the production by Law of two golden books in the latter part of his life, the following is written: "Sir James Mackintosh has adduced the memorable instances of Cicero and Milton and Dryden

and Burke in support of his idea that there is some natural tendency in the fire of genius to burn more brightly in the evening than in the morning of human life. This was signally the case with William Law. His seraphic genius blazed up to heaven in the evening of his holy life, till we cannot take up *The Spirit of Prayer* or *The Spirit of Love* into our hands without feeling that we are in the presence of a man whose heart was an absolute altar-fire." Law testified that it was Jacob Behmen, the poor unlettered German shoemaker, who taught him his deepest knowledge of the spiritual life. Thus Behmen took up one of the greatest theologians and practical writers of the eighteenth century and made him the greatest of English mystics. A sample of Law's shrewd portraits in his book on Christian perfection is this: "Patronus is fond of a clergyman that understands music, painting, architecture, and statuary. He is an enemy to the dissenters, and loves the Church of England because of the stateliness and beauty of its buildings; he never comes to the sacrament, but will go forty miles to see a fine altarpiece. He goes to church when there is a new tune to be heard, but never had any more serious thoughts about salvation than about flying. If you visit him when he is dying, you will hear his dying thoughts about architecture." Law died in 1761, aged seventy-five. The volume before us contains pithy extracts from his various works, forty-eight from the *Characteristics*, eleven from *Christian Perfection*, and twenty from the *Serious Call*.

*Christian Life and Theology.* By FRANK HUGH FOSTER, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Theology in the Pacific Theological Seminary. 12mo, pp. 286. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

The precise subject of this book is the contribution of Christian experience to the system of evangelical doctrine. Its chapters are the Stone Lectures for 1900, at Princeton Theological Seminary. As to its aim, Professor Foster says in his preface: "It has not been my intention to advocate experience as a substitute for the Scriptures as a source of Christian doctrine, or to make it the primary source. Personally I prefer the experiential method of introducing the study of Systematic Theology, and employ it in my own instruction as, upon the whole, the best; but I do not deny that other methods of approach are legitimate, nor that they have certain advantages which must be surrendered to gain the greater advantages of the experiential approach. What I have positively sought to do is to promote the accurate study of Christian experience. Under the name of Christian consciousness it has received great attention in recent years, but most of what has been said about it has been so careless and vague as to be of little value. It should be treated with accuracy, as it may be. Two incidental services I have sought to render: 1. One is the development, in a new form, of the old Protestant argument for the Scriptures from the 'Testimony of the Spirit.' It is, I believe, an argument particularly suited to meet the difficulties of the present day. I call attention to it in order to solicit searching examination of its validity and scope. If it can be invalidated, this will be a service to Christian

thinking. If it cannot, it will remain a bulwark of faith in the questionings of our day. 2. Then again, I have sought to secure by theoretical discussion, and to exhibit by practical examples, the true place of Church history in the determination of the voice of experience. The results of a critical history of doctrine have their place among the materials of Christian doctrine. The current histories of doctrine do not seem to be aware, for the most part, that there are any such things as 'results' of their work; and few, if any, modern attempts to construct systems of doctrine make any distinct use of historical materials. Even Principal Fairbairn in his great book, admirably furnished as he is with historical knowledge, has been unable in the constructive part of his work to use the materials he has collected and himself augmented in the historical part. But the history of Christian doctrine should not be a collection of mere annals; it should be a genetic history tracing the true development of the Christian system; and its results ought not to be a collection of learned lumber, but materials for assisting men and ascertaining the mind of the Spirit and the truth of God. Thomasius remains almost alone as an historian of the higher aspects of Christian doctrine. He ought to have a successor who could in our day take the additional material brought together by the labors of Harnack and his school and draw the lessons of history in a form to be used by the Christian thinker." Substituting Christian experience for traditional scholasticism as a base line, and sympathizing with the intention of the German evangelical school, represented by Schleiermacher, Thomasius, Frank, Ritschl, and Kaftan, he goes beyond them all in basing theology directly on Christian life, or what he calls "the rich treasure of accumulated Christian experience of nineteen centuries." The fundamental principle of Christian experience is faith, which our author defines as "*the permanent choice of duty as such.*" In his chapter on "The New Birth" he elucidates and illuminates this with remarkable clearness, simplicity, and convincingness—a practically valuable chapter it is for the minister, the teacher, the convert, or the penitent. We wish we had room for the whole chapter. The attempt is made by careful analysis to bring out the things involved in that ultimate fact of Christian experience, the new birth. In the introductory chapter it is written: "Faith is a mystery to most Christians and a greater mystery to other men. . . . It may be simple, abiding trust, repose of the soul, submission to the care of a perfect Redeemer, the attitude of passive receptivity; or it may be enlistment in a service, as when a warrior girds on his arms and takes his place with firm purpose amid the dangers and terrors of battle. It is like a seed thrown into the earth, capable of growth, producing deeper thoughts, a more enlarged horizon of life and duty, warmer feelings, more profound resolutions, longer and more consistent trains of action. But as faith is the ultimate thing in the Christian life, so it is ultimately one thing, which given, all the rest will develop, which wanting, nothing else can flourish. *It is the permanent choice of duty*

*as duty.* Jesus calls to *duty* embracing both God and man; and conscience affirms obligation and ultimately defines it in the same way. Man in response must take the right attitude toward obligatory duty. When he does, the mental gaze, fixed steadily upon it by conscious effort, acquires new knowledge of its abstract relations and concrete contents. Thus the intellect is enriched. But more, the affections are enriched, for they cannot fail to be stirred by the contemplation of the chosen object, so that duty becomes the center about which gather deep feelings of devotion. Duty cannot omit the relations which we sustain to our Chief Teacher in holy things, and thus the attitude of trust in the Redeemer develops from it." This the author takes to be the core of true Christian experience, apart from all doctrines as to what precedes, environs, follows after, or relates to it. His argument proceeds upon the following facts as a basis. 1. The actuality of a distinctive Christian experience in the world. 2. The new birth as the central and ultimate fact in the Christian life, defined to be, on its human and experiential side, the supreme choice of duty as such. 3. The supremacy of obligation and of the moral faculties in man. 4. The idea of duty conveys and confirms the principle of responsibility. 5. The fact of sin—that is, of failure to obey conscience and perform duty—creates guilt, or liability to moral self-condemnation. 6. Sin is universal in humanity and unrelieved by any personal holiness. 7. The world, as the seat of universal sin, is a kingdom of evil, and lost. At the end of these scholarly, earnest, and intensely practical lectures Professor Foster expresses the hope that two main positions have been clearly established in the estimation of hearers and readers, whatever dissent there may be as to minor matters and mere details. 1. Christian experience is capable of logical analysis and of rigorously scientific treatment. 2. Thus analyzed Christian experience speaks for the system of evangelical doctrine believed in substance by all the great Churches which base their theology upon the Bible. Two great questions present themselves to future investigators and scholars for solution: 1. What particular doctrines are in fact associated in the experience of the Christian Church with genuine, pervasive, and active piety? 2. What precisely is it in those doctrines which actually elicits and promotes this ascertained piety? This book on its side, along with those of E. D. Starbuck and Professor George A. Coe on their side, gives evidence of the intentness and avidity with which our age is concentrating its efforts upon the investigation and interpretation of the facts of Christian experience. The sources and course of the Nile were never so earnestly searched for. Even if a complete rationale of religious experience may not soon be obtained and agreed upon, the search will be endless, for the seeker is immortal. As to Methodism's share in this momentous investigation, the fact of history is that no other communion has laid such emphasis on religious experience or devoted so much attention to its analysis and interpretation.



## PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

*The Complete Poetical Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning.* Crown 8vo, pp. 530. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$2.

This is the eleventh of the volumes of the Cambridge Edition of the Poets, the works of each poet being complete in one volume. Each volume contains a portrait of the author, a full biographical sketch, and all necessary notes, with indexes to titles and first lines. The complete works of Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, Robert Browning, Burns, Tennyson, Milton, Keats, Sir Walter Scott, in one volume, are already issued; Shelley, Byron, and others are to come. Miss Elizabeth Barrett, while making that translation of the *Prometheus Bound* of Æschylus which was published in 1850, conceived the idea of her poem, "The Seraphim," which was the first original work of hers that obtained general recognition. In her preface to that poem she says, "I thought that, had Æschylus lived after the incarnation and crucifixion of our Lord Jesus Christ, he might have turned in poetic faith from the solitudes of Caucasus to the deeper desertness of that crowded Jerusalem where none had any pity, to the rent rocks and darkened sun, to the Victim whose sustaining thought beneath an unexampled agony was not the Titanic, 'I can revenge,' but the celestial, 'I can forgive!'" "Aurora Leigh," Mrs. Browning's longest poem, is, in its main purport, frankly socialistic, and was begun under the immediate impulse of studies in the works of Louis Blanc, Proudhon, and similar theorists. It was, on its publication, demurred to by Thackeray, fiercely condemned by Edward Fitzgerald, and called by Ruskin "the finest poem written in any language in this century." Her "Sonnets from the Portuguese" are, and are likely to remain, matchless among the poetic utterances of woman's love to man. In "Aurora Leigh" the eye catches many passages which fixed themselves in our memory long ago, such as :

You who keep account of crisis and transition in this life,  
Set down the first time Nature says plain "No"  
To some "Yes" in you, and walks over you  
In gorgeous sweeps of scorn. We all begin  
By singing with the birds, and running fast  
With June days, hand in hand: but once, for all,  
The birds must sing against us, and the sun  
Strike down upon us like a friend's sword caught  
By an enemy to slay us, while we read  
The dear name on the blade which bites at us!—  
That's bitter and convincing: after that,  
We seldom doubt that something in the large  
Smooth order of creation, though no more  
Than haply a man's footstep, has gone wrong.

In her girlhood Elizabeth Barrett read the Greek Fathers in the original, under the guidance of the blind scholar, Hugh Stuart Boyd, who could repeat from memory whole pages of their works in prose and verse; and she wrote a series of papers for the *Athenæum* on the Greek Christian poets. Those papers are given us in the Appendix of this volume,

and will be new to many long familiar with her poems. Speaking of the yearning of the Greek Christian poets to write true religious poetry, she says: "Of religious poets, strictly speaking, the earth is very bare. Religious 'parcel-poets' we have, indeed, more than enough: writers of hymns, translators of Scripture into prose, or into rhymes, whose heart-devotion was worthy of a higher faculty. Also there have been poets, not a few, singing as if earth were still Eden; and poets, many, singing as if in the first hour of exile, when the echo of the curse was louder than the whisper of the promise. But the right 'genius of Christianity' has done little up to this moment (1842) even for Chateaubriand. We want the touch of Christ's hand upon our literature, as it touched other dead things—we want the sense of the saturation of Christ's blood upon the souls of our poets, that it may cry *through* them in answer to the ceaseless wall of the sphinx of our humanity, expounding agony into renovation." Of Gregory Nazianzen as an orator, Miss Barrett wrote: "He was not excellent at an artful blowing of the pipes. He spoke grandly, as the wind does, in gusts; and, as in a mighty wind, which combines unequal noises, the creaking of trees and rude swinging of doors as well as the sublime sovereign rush along the valleys, we gather the idea, from his eloquence, less of music than of power. Not that he is cold as the wind is—Gregory cannot be cold. He is various in his oratory, full and rapid in allusion, briefly graphic in metaphor, equally sufficient for indignation or pathos, and gifted peradventure with a keener dagger of sarcasm than should hang at a saint's girdle." Of George Pisida, who lived early in the seventh century, the following is written: "He knew the secret of beauty, and, having noble thoughts, could utter them nobly. But he is unequal; often coldly perplexed when he means to be ingenious, and violent when he seeks to be inspired. He premeditates ecstasies, and is inclined to the attitudes of orators; and he not only sleeps sometimes, but snores." About John of Euchaita we read this: "He was a bishop, but is only a poet now; and we turn to see the voice which speaks to us. It is a voice with a soul in it, clear and sweet and living; and we, who have walked long through desert centuries, leap up to its sound as to the dim flowing of a stream, and would take a deep breath by its side both for the weariness which is gone and the repose which is coming. But it is a rarer thing than a stream in the desert; it is a voice in the desert—the only sound remaining of a city denuded of its multitudes and ruined even of its ruins—a city so deserted and forgotten that the foxes have lost the way to it and the bittern's cry disturbs not the silence of its tombs. Only this Voice remains—one speechful voice, the effluence of the soul of John Mauropas replacing the bittern's cry." John Tzetza's name in the middle of the twelfth century is not a great one. He wrote in meter about crocodiles and flies, Plato's philosophy and Cleopatra's nails, Samson and Phidias, the Caledonian boar and the resurrection from the dead. But as to Poetry, Miss Barrett wrote, "There is

no apparent consciousness of such an entity in the mind of this versifier, no aspiration toward her presence, not so much as a sigh upon her absence. In Tzetzis's work there is no unfolding of faculty; its general level is a dull talkativeness and a slumberousness without a dream." After him is mentioned Manuel Phile in the fourteenth century, and then Miss Barrett fancies her readers saying to her, "Now we have watched out the whole night of the world with you, by no better light than these poetical rushlights, and they fail, and the clock is near upon the stroke of the seventeenth century, and surely you have done." But she finds one more name to notice, Maximus Margunius, of Crete. From one of his hymns she quotes:

I, Saviour, am Thy bird,  
Pecking with an open beak  
At the words that Thou dost speak!  
Leave a breath upon my wings,  
That above these nether things  
I may rise to where Thou art,—  
I may flutter next Thy heart!  
For if a light within me burn,  
It must be darkness in an urn  
Unless, within its crystalline,  
That unbeginning light of Thine  
Shine. O Saviour, let it shine!

And then she writes: "He is the last of our Greeks. The light from Troy city with which all Greek glory began shone into the heart of Greece. The light from Greece kindled beacons onward far along the ridges of time. We have watched them along the cloudy tops of the great centuries, through ages which were dark but for them; and now we stand looking with eyes of farewell upon the last pale sign on the last mist-bound hill. But it is the sixteenth century, and a new light is breaking; above the falling of the dew a great sun is rising; there is a rushing of life and song upward. Shakespeare is in the world! And the Genius of English Poetry, she who alone of all the earth is worthy (Goethe's spirit may hear us say so, and smile), stooping, with a royal gesture, to kiss the dead lips of the Genius of Greece, stands up as her successor in the universe; by virtue of that chrisom and in right of her own crown." The history of the human race thus far leaves Elizabeth Barrett Browning supreme among women poets.

*Studies and Appreciations.* By LEWIS E. GATES. 12mo, pp. 234. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$1.50.

It is not long since we noticed this author's *Three Studies in Literature*, which was a luminous treatment of Francis Jeffrey, the brilliant reviewer; Cardinal Newman, the spiritual rhetorician; and Matthew Arnold, the humanistic critic. The present volume makes a welcome for itself by the same obvious mastery of subjects as its predecessor. The ten chapters give fresh and sparkling treatment of the following themes: "The Romantic Movement," "The Return to Conventional Life," "Tennyson's Relation to Common Life," "Nature in Tennyson's Poetry," "Haw-

thorne," "Edgar Allan Poe," "Charlotte Brontë," "Three Lyrical Modes," "Taine's Influence as a Critic," "Impressionism and Appreciation." One fault we are compelled to mention; the book should have an index. Of freshest interest is the characterization of three most recent newcomers of note into English verse, William Watson, Francis Thompson, and John Davidson. Of Watson it is said that his spirit, like Matthew Arnold's, is Wordsworthian, that his welcome has been large among officials and academic "people of importance," and that the London *Spectator* claims his right to rank with the greatest English poets. In his work as a poet Professor Gates finds much undeniable beauty, but a disappointing quality which he attributes to his excessive subservience to tradition and precedent, saying: "He has subjected a by no means powerful genius to a training and discipline that have brought him exquisite sureness of taste and deftness of technique, but have failed to develop real richness of nature or any novel or distinctive envisagement of life. He is too much of a poetic sacerdotalist; his authenticity has been his ruin; he is vaingloriously traditional; he has the ideal temper for a laureate; he prides himself openly on being heir to a manner and a 'mystery;' his art is intensely sophisticated and almost always self-conscious. He even boasts in good set terms that he is a divinely dowered poet." The relentlessly arrogant pose of this sophomoric self-consciousness is noted in Watson's verses on "The Sovereign Poet:"

He sits above the clang and dust of time,  
With the world's secret trembling on his lip;  
He asks not converse or companionship.  
In the cold starlight where thou canst not climb.

In his spirit and manner there are echoes of Matthew Arnold. Subservient to tradition, his themes and his symbolism have often a reminiscential flavor, if not actually hackneyed and trite. In refreshing and enlivening contrast, our author says, is the work of John Davidson, who is, above all else, modern and individual, with restless sincerity for the prevailing note of his art. He is called "the bard of a new world in process of making," intensely alive and "experienced in this age of contending ideals, perishing creeds, and slowly evolving systems. Everywhere he grasps the rudest facts of modern civilization and finds in the most forbidding externalities an essential spirit of beauty, which he knows words to evoke. The stacks of a factory town that 'lacquer the sooty sky;' the shrieks of steam whistles 'that pipe the morning up before the lark;' the telegraph wire 'taut and lithe, within the wind a core of sound;' the railway train, 'a monster taught to come to hand amain'—these and similar modern realities, because of which Ruskin refused to be comforted, simply challenge Davidson's virile imagination and put it into fierce play in the service of a brave love of life. . . . Nothing modern is foreign to him, and some of his best effects are secured from the most sordid material." One sharp criticism is provoked by Davidson's flaunting treatment of

religious themes, which has caused him to be dubbed "the man who dares." He uses Christianity as a means of fitting himself out with the paraphernalia of art, using its symbols, names, and terms for merely decorative effect. The last of the trio of newcomers is Francis Thompson, who, our author says, offers us beauty far beyond anything that William Watson or John Davidson can produce. In contrast with Davidson, Thompson's spirit "lives within a magic crystal sphere, which gives entrance to but few of the commonplace objects of modern life, but holds afar off its crass immediacy and bewildering insistency of appeal and its coarse and glaring disorder. It is as the poet of an inviolate region of intense personal emotion that he is specially distinguished." His rhythms mark him as preeminently a singer. "Watson's verse is 'frozen music;' Thompson's is the exquisitely modulated utterance of a flexible, vibrant voice. The latter is master of rich and intricate harmonies, of delicate and airily drifting effects, of splendid and audacious metrical effects. . . . Although he is doubtless a virtuoso of the dictionary, making exhibition of his technical command of its pages, yet his imagination keeps pace with his phrasing, and his radical fault in showy passages is, perhaps, not so much luxuriance of language as extravagance of imagery. As a seer of visions Francis Thompson is by all odds the greatest of the younger poets. . . . In the intensity and quality of his passion, as well as in the scope and vividness of his imagination, he is to-day preeminent. Watson, when compared with him, is wan and conventional, and Davidson turbid and murky. . . . Neither in mood nor in treatment is Thompson to be classed with the devotees of art for art's sake. His poetry emancipates and strengthens, whereas theirs unnerves, and is evermore 'wreathing a flowery band to bind us to the earth.' Beauty there is everywhere in his poetry, but it is spiritual as well as sensuous; it is quintessential, primordial, regenerative; it is beauty that stings the spirit into keener activity and more passionate aspiration." These are some of the things which are said in the piquant, suggestive, lucid, and enjoyable book which we now reluctantly lay down.

*The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg.* By MARK TWAIN. Crown 8vo, pp. 398. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, \$1.75.

It is not possible for the name of Samuel L. Clemens to go down to posterity as that of a mere jester. He is moralist as well as humorist. Often a serious purpose runs through his parables, paradoxes, exaggerations, ironies. His shrewdly satirical article in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* last year, on "Christian Science," was possibly the fittest and fatallest treatment which that elusive and delusive subject has anywhere received. There are eighteen stories and essays in this volume, which takes its title from the first of them. One is concerning the Jews, a people who have long been the butt of many baseless, vicious animosities. One of the reproaches against them has been that they were willing to feed upon a

country, but not to fight for it. This essay says that this slur cannot hold up its head in presence of the figures of the War Department. In the civil war the Jews were represented in the armies and navies of both North and South by ten per cent of their numerical strength—the same percentage furnished by the Christian population of both sections. General O. O. Howard says, "Intrinsically there are no more patriotic men to be found in the country than those of Hebrew descent who served with me in parallel commands or directly under me." Fourteen Jewish families contributed, between them, fifty-one soldiers to the war, in one case a father and four sons. But the one thing to be noted now concerning this grizzled veteran of American letters, whose shaggy white head fronts the title-page of this book of which he is the author, is that, though he has never taken on the air of saintship, the royal manhood of him stands to-day before all the world so superior and superb, tall and erect as the Ten Commandments are, that some who have posed as saints would not measure to his loins if subjected to the painful ordeal of comparison with him. Sir Walter Scott toiled to pay debts, the result largely of his own extravagance, and for which he was legally bound. George William Curtis toiled through early manhood to pay debts for which he felt bound, not by law, but by his own self-respect. And now this man, thought of by many only as a jester, suddenly towers up as about the tallest example of the very chivalry of probity to be found among authors. Six years ago a publishing firm, which he was financially backing, failed, owing over \$200,000. Though not legally liable, he announced that he would pay all the debts; and, past sixty years of age, started out to earn the money by a lecturing tour round the world, having previously given up all his property. And his statement, sent to the creditors of the publishing firm before he sailed westward from Vancouver, in August, 1895, is worthy to be graven in gold and have a tablet by itself in the Hall of Fame: "I intend these lectures for the benefit of the creditors. The law recognizes no mortgage on a man's brain, and a merchant who has given up all he has may take advantage of the laws of insolvency and start free for himself again. But I am not a business man, and honor is a harder master than the law. It cannot compromise for less than one hundred cents on the dollar, and its debts never outlaw." The whole world of upright men rejoices that his brave, high undertaking has not only paid the last penny of his self-imposed burden, but placed him once more in comfort and independence. His is "that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honor, which feels a stain like a wound." When you make your list of manliest Americans you cannot omit Mark Twain, who has contributed not alone to the gayety of nations, but to the regal splendor of manhood. Professor Stevens, of Yale, thinks the ethicizing of theology one of the marked features of religious progress in the nineteenth century. The ethicizing of commercial life after the highest standards of honesty and honor is of equal import.

## HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

*History of the Ritual of the Methodist Episcopal Church. With a Commentary on its Offices.* By R. J. COOKE, M.A., D.D. 12mo, pp. 313. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, \$1.20.

The title of this engaging volume hardly suggests to the stranger its wide scope of discussion. It is, in other words, more than a scholarly study of the verbal structure of the Ritual of our Church—with an exact tracing of the processes by which cumbersome and heretical phrases were displaced and the present familiar and hallowed forms adopted for general use. All of this, however important, is found in the second portion of the volume. But, since the record of the development of every great document is not less vital than the finished product itself, Dr. Cooke does well first to consider the story of the origin of the Ritual. This purpose leads to the opening of a chapter in Church history than which none is more thrilling. The time was the vivid and immortal period when English royalty broke with the Romish Church, and out of the strife of tongues and the shedding of martyrs' blood there emerged the virile Protestantism of England, evermore to live its separate existence and cheer the world with its benedictions. Through the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, James I, Charles II, and William of Orange—and with such conspicuous figures engaged in the great struggle as Cranmer, Latimer, Laud, and other prelates of the English Church beyond the enumeration—the process went on to its completion. To marshal these great leaders in succession, with a proper regard for historical perspective, to trace through more than two and a half centuries the gradual development of the Ritual which is now ours, and to do this with an impartiality that shall disarm the antagonism of those who stand for prelatical rights and dignities, is a task which only a master should attempt. Yet from a reasonably careful reading of his volume we are persuaded that Dr. Cooke has well succeeded in this effort. His lead is, in other words, as safe as it is instructive, while he directs us through this fascinating, pregnant, and memorable period of ecclesiastical history. After such a necessary and ample review of the steps that led to the framing of the Ritual, the reader comes to the author's "Commentary," or verbal study of the text, which, as already noticed, makes up the second part of the volume. It may only be said of this, in a word, that it is intelligent and helpful. Take, for instance, the note upon the use of the "*Gloria in Excelsis*," in the observance of the Lord's Supper. Dr. Cooke writes: "If said, then it should be said by all; for, if sung, it would be, or should be, sung by all. But it is more in harmony with the first communion service to sing the '*Gloria in Excelsis*' than to say it, for we read in Matthew that 'when they had sung a hymn they went out,' thus concluding the events of that hour. No liturgy in the world comes to a more solemn or majestic conclusion. All the grandeur and magnificence of language is put into it; the sacred fire of ecstatic love, adoration, thanksgiving,

and praise glows in every ascription of honor and glory, and it is most fitting that all who have partaken of this holy institution should sing their gratitude in this peerless hymn of the universal Church." From this extract the scope of the whole "Commentary" may be inferred. The indebtedness of the Church to Dr. Cooke for its construction is certainly great, and in its use by our ministers there can be only benefit. What a stimulus it is to discover, for illustration, that the germs—or even a considerable portion of our order for the Lord's Supper—is to be found in the form adopted by Parliament in 1548! So do the familiar lines of the eucharistic service take on new dignity and value, while the faces of venerable archbishops and reformers frame themselves upon the page, and the oft-used lines become animate with the life of the long past. Dr. Cooke, we may repeat, has done well a difficult task, and in his story of the development of a great document makes a vigorous call upon the Church for more intelligent worship. In his preface he offers thanks to the friends who have encouraged him in his undertaking, especially to "that eminent layman, Robert T. Miller, Esq., of Covington, Ky., who to business sagacity of a high order has united in leisure hours the ever-deepening love of scholarly pursuits valuable to Methodism."

*The Life of James Dwight Dana*, Scientific Explorer, Mineralogist, Geologist, Zoologist, Professor in Yale University. By DANIEL C. GILMAN, President of the Johns Hopkins University. Crown 8vo, pp. 409. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, \$2.

Well worthy to be written is the life of this distinguished naturalist, explorer, investigator, writer, editor, and teacher, who holds honorable rank alongside such men as Linnæus, Cuvier, Darwin, and Agassiz—men who excelled in special, patient, and prolonged investigation, yet who also had the power to take broad views of nature and her laws, and who thus became to their contemporaries the philosophical interpreters of that small portion of the cosmos which comes within the cognizance of man. Dana was an eminent scientist, whose intellect assented to the doctrines of Christianity and his heart to its precepts, while his life was pervaded from beginning to end with a sincere and unobtrusive religious faith. Among the letters in this volume are included parts of his correspondence with Asa Gray, Guyot, Darwin, Agassiz, Sir Archibald Geikie, Professor Judd, and other collaborators in the field of science. Considerable space is given to the interesting but perilous cruise made by Dana as one of the scientific staff in the United States exploring expedition of three ships which spent four years, from 1838 to 1842, in investigating the coasts and islands of the Pacific Ocean. Dana was mineralogist to a corps which included also botanists, taxidermists, philologists, ethnographers, artists, and various naturalists. Much interest, scientific and other, attaches to Dana's observations during this eventful and often exciting cruise. At Rio de Janeiro he was much impressed by the characteristics of the negroes met everywhere in the city, and



wrote: "They appear to be a grade higher than the negroes of our country. This is owing to the political privileges the free blacks enjoy. They are equally entitled with the whites to the offices under government, and are treated in every way as equals. There is nothing of that prejudice which color excites with us, and black and white are seen mingling together with only those distinctions of rank which must exist in every state of society. The consequence is that the blacks have more self-respect, and, without losing respect for their superiors, seem to feel themselves to be men." The natives of the South Sea Islands gave the explorers no welcome; they did not want to be discovered. To the friendly overtures of the Americans they answered: "Go back to your own lands; this belongs to us, and we do not want anything to do with you." The fleet spent a month in the region of Samoa, then almost unknown, now well known to the world chiefly through Robert Louis Stevenson, who "sought to find the words of vital aptness and animation" for describing its enchanting beauty. Mark Twain, in his *Following the Equator*, tells how to find Samoa: "You will have no trouble about finding it if you follow the directions given by Louis Stevenson to Dr. Conan Doyle and Mr. J. M. Barrie—'You go to America, cross the continent to San Francisco, and then it is the second turning to the left.'"

President Gilman records his belief that Stevenson's writings will be read as long as Sir Walter Scott's. The expedition was at Manila in January, 1842, and Commander Wilkes wrote: "The Philippines, in their capacity for commerce, are certainly among the most favored portions of the globe." On the coast of Terra del Fuego they were long in deadly peril of shipwreck, and Dana wrote: "To avoid all disquietude when death comes so near is scarcely possible; but, thanks to the saving grace of our dear Redeemer, I looked with little dread on its approach. I committed myself to the care of our heavenly Father and retired to rest." There are many signs that his four years at sea were marked by the deepening and confirming of his religious life. No scientific investigations interested him so much as did his examination into the work of the Christian missions he visited in various parts of the world—in the Society Islands, the New Hebrides, the Samoan, and others. He was filled with reverent admiration for the heroically self-denying lives and holy characters of the missionaries in their lonely posts, and with hallowed and joyous wonder at the mighty transformations wrought in savage heathen populations by the mysterious dynamic influence of the Gospel. This great scientist's appreciation of his own favored lot is expressed in a letter written long afterward to a lifelong friend: "I have never failed, as each year has passed, to recognize with gratitude the divine goodness which gave us Christian homes on the same street in the same pleasant Christian city, where Sunday schools were a delight, and other Christian influences pointed heavenward. I still labor on, doubting if this year may not be my last on earth, yet rejoicing in my work and my home, and in that upper home toward which life con-

vergea." President Gilman says: "It is doubtful whether among Christian biographies of this century the like of Dana can be found. Here is a man exclusively devoted to science. To explore the regions of the unknown, to record new facts, to discover better principles of classification, and to reveal, if possible, laws of nature hitherto hidden, is the dominant occupation of his life. But simultaneously the transcendent purpose of his soul is the service of his Master—a fact which is apparent in his letters as a traveler and explorer, constantly manifested in his letters to his mother, often revealed in his scientific writings, and perpetually shown in his daily walk and conversation. 'Lord, I thank thee that I think thy thoughts after thee,' might have been Dana's own utterance. The astronomers and mathematicians for centuries were men of strong religious convictions—Kepler, Galileo, Copernicus, Newton, Leibnitz. So was Linnæus. So in recent days was Clerk Maxwell. So were many of Dana's most distinguished coworkers—Agassiz, Henry, Gray, Pierce, Torrey, Hitchcock. All of them may have been as religious as he; but few of them, if any, have left on record so many expressions of religious devotion. A selection might be made from his letters which would seem to indicate that he was wholly absorbed in his religious duties, like one of the brotherhood in a consecrated order—a Benedictine or Franciscan; and yet one might live near him without ever being annoyed by words not fitly spoken, indeed, without ever hearing any but the most simple and natural allusions to his Christian faith." We must frankly confess that our one dissatisfaction with this valuable biography is that we are too frequently tantalized by being told of illustrations that might be given, and selections that might be made which would reveal to us more completely the inner life of Professor Dana. Our hungry and somewhat impatient comment is, Why were they not given us? In 1851 Dana writes to Professor Guyot: "I have recently endeavored to explain your views upon the harmony of Science and the Mosaic account of the Creation, before a few gentlemen, but wished much that you were here to do the subject justice. Professor Mitchell has also been lecturing on this point, and takes the same basis for his explanations—the nebular theory. But he is only an astronomer—no geologist, chemist, or zoologist—and his views are therefore imperfect in detail and wanting in philosophical spirit. There is something exceedingly sublime in the command, '*Sit lux*,' when we consider that light is the first index of chemical combination and molecular change, and therefore the command is equivalent to 'Let force act.' The vivifying impulse thus given to particles before inert would send a flash of light through the universe." Twenty-five years later he wrote to Guyot: "With regard to species, I am a little off from my old ground and yours. But the more I have thought of late over the first chapter of Genesis, the more ready I have been to believe that the flats were the commencement of a series of productions, through force imparted at the time to nature. Is not this the

true interpretation of the language? This is essentially the view taken by Professor Tayler Lewis, of Schenectady, whom I once criticised on account of it." In one of his last years Dana wrote: "I have all my life found great satisfaction in being virtually an Englishman, rejoicing in and wondering over the grandeur and power of the British nation." This is the story of a life consecrated to the pursuit of exact truth and the service of "the God of things as they are," a life in which is no trace of selfishness, no neglect of opportunities, no unworthy motive. Its motto might have been: THE WORKS OF THE LORD ARE GREAT; SOUGHT OUT OF ALL THEM THAT HAVE PLEASURE THEREIN.

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## MISCELLANEOUS.

*John Wesley.* By FRANK BANFIELD. 16mo, pp. 128. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

Among the many biographies, sketches, and studies of John Wesley this small book has a clear and independent individuality of its own. The author ventures on his well-worn subject, because, though no new facts can be presented, the well-known facts may be susceptible of other constructions than those placed on them by past writers, especially when the founder of Arminian Methodism has been over a century in his grave and unprejudiced judgments concerning him and his work are more possible to all sorts and conditions of men. The most serious criticism of the Methodist movement by Southey, who expressed the moderate Anglican view of his time, is summed up as a deprecation of what is called "enthusiasm;" "but," the author says, "for critics of this type, any serious, earnest concern of the individual in the matter of his eternal destiny would appear to deserve such qualification. Wesley unquestionably was the means of exciting deep concern in tens of thousands of English men and women." And the manifestation of strong religious feeling was not pleasing to "superfine people who could understand a human being who was disturbed over a bad dinner but not if he was disquieted about his soul." For this class of critics Mr. Banfield has little regard, as also for the critics of the more agnostic type, who find in the catch phrases of the materialistic psychology a solution of the problem presented by a great moral and religious movement, of whose pipings in the market place he doubts whether they are entirely reassuring and satisfactory to the agnostic pipers themselves. He looks upon John Wesley as a special instrument of Providence for lifting Anglo-Saxondom out of the paganism in which it was wallowing when he began his work, lifting the English masses out of the mire and slough of brutality and sensuality and indifferentism; and upon the evangelical revival as a great and far-reaching episode in human history. He truly says that it was a powerful "counter movement to the one with which the names of Voltaire and Rousseau are associated, which wrought such appalling mischief in France. While the *bourgeoisie* who

were to rule France were being infected with the corruption of a shallow mockery, the English masses became more distinctly Christian than they had been for several generations. The one movement was toward the heights, the other toward depths where all things were foul, slimy, leprous, and hateful." Mr. Banfield has, as he hoped, told the story of John Wesley in few words, fairly, squarely, and readably. His little book is one more indication of what may be called the Wesley renaissance, which is now witnessed in general literature outside of Methodism.

*The Life of Christ as Represented in Art.* By FREDERIC W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S. Archdeacon and Canon of Westminster, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen and to the House of Commons. 8vo, pp. 507. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, \$3.50.

Canon Farrar's *Life of Christ* has been for years one of the most popular among the many lives of our Saviour. That work is beautifully supplemented in this new volume by reproducing all that the best art has had to say in painting or in sculpture about Christ. The illustrations are a multitude. Art in all the Christian centuries has been fascinated with Christ and has devoted its noblest genius to portraying Him in all phases and incidents of His life. Whatever else art might neglect, it could never be indifferent to the One altogether lovely. And it has hovered reverently about Him, to catch His every look, as if it knew instinctively where and Who is the center of all life. The great painters have preached mighty sermons with their art. The pictures here reproduced reflect the religious tone, temper, and conceptions of many centuries and countries. Ruskin has said, "Great nations write their autobiographies in three manuscripts—the book of their deeds, the book of their words, and the book of their art; but of the three the only quite trustworthy one is the last." Proof of this, the author says, is seen in Westminster Abbey, in the contrast between the eighteenth century piles of incongruous statuary—their meaningless paganism, crude vulgarity, conventional commonplace, and affectation of being terribly at ease in Sion—and, on the other hand, the noble images of the dead Crusaders, their hands humbly folded upon their breast; in the antithesis between the way in which life and death were regarded by an age of belief, however erring, and an age in which skepticism and worldliness were prevalent. The larger part of the pictures herein reproduced are from the great Italian masters of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, whose supremacy is generally acknowledged; a small part from the Dutch, German, and Flemish painters, and very few from the Spanish painters, who, with the exception of Velasques, are far inferior. The history of the changing phases of religious thoughts and feelings cannot be fully known without a chronological study of sacred art, such as this book promotes and assists. It would perhaps be difficult to find anyone whose taste and culture more adequately qualify him to perform satisfactorily the task which is here undertaken than this accomplished and brilliant prelate of the Anglican Church.

# METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, L.H.D., Editor.

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*Charles H. Payne.*

# METHODIST REVIEW.

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MARCH, 1901.

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ART. I.—CHARLES H. PAYNE, D.D., LL.D.

THERE are men of thought, and there are men of achievement. Some characters defy exclusive classification with either type because they belong at once to both. Such a man was Charles Henry Payne. In his case there was the epic of both the inner and the outer life. He was born at Taunton, Mass., October 24, 1830, and entered into rest at Clifton Springs, New York, May 5, 1899. His career falls naturally into four divisions—the period of preparation, the period of pastoral service, the period of his college presidency, and the period of his educational secretaryship.

The first school which he entered was the school of adversity, and “adversity makes men.” He was the youngest of seven children. His father, dying while he was a babe, left the mother in straitened circumstances. The boy grew up under the pinch of poverty. In his early life there was far more of toil than of play. While yet very young he acquired that discipline attained only through limitations. He came to manhood nervy and self-reliant. He was accustomed from the beginning to meet obstacles and to overcome them. He experienced the power of the new birth when eighteen years of age. As has been so often the case with the marked men of history, the Spirit of God found him engaged at the common tasks of life. He was a clerk in a country store at North Dighton, Mass. The effect of his conversion was electric. Its immediate result was a consuming religious zeal and a quickened intellectual activity. He at once joined the Church, under the pastorate of the Rev. William Cone, a devout and

successful minister. He began to take an active part in public meetings. The Church was quick to recognize his zeal and native ability, and granted him a local preacher's license at the beginning of 1850. At that time he was teaching a district school near his native village. The character of his early preaching was influenced largely by reading Finney's *Revival Sermons* and by association with James Caughey, the evangelist. He had a zeal to win men from the first. His first sermon was from the text "Prepare to meet thy God." From time to time he held meetings in schoolhouses and farmhouses, preaching to the rural population—many of whom became Christians through his labors. These early experiences gave color to his entire ministry. To the end his life was strong in evangelistic purpose and power. At once he recognized the ministry as a high calling. It must not be entered upon without due preparation, but the means for an education were lacking. To many a faint-hearted young man this would have proved a fatal discouragement. To him it was nothing. He could make his own way, and he did. Mostly by teaching he worked his way through East Greenwich Seminary and Wesleyan University, with a brief course at Concord Biblical Institute.

Graduating from college in 1856, he was married in 1857 to Miss Eleanor Gardiner, of Wickford, Rhode Island. He joined the Providence Conference and had successful pastorates at Sandwich, East Bridgewater, Fall River, and Broadway Church, Providence. As the result of his strain to secure an education he was hampered in the earlier years of his ministry by wavering health. At the Conference of 1865 he felt compelled to ask for a year of rest, and took a nominal appointment. A few weeks later he happened to be passing through New York. Dr. Cyrus D. Foss had just been appointed to the pastorate of St. Paul's Church, leaving vacant the pulpit of South Fifth Street Church, Brooklyn. Dr. James Porter, Book Agent in New York, was associated with this church. Learning of Dr. Payne's presence in the city, he secured him to preach as the pulpit supply for the Sunday following. On the preceding Friday night President Lincoln had been assassinated. The whole country was in a state of

panic. It is impossible to describe the feelings with which the people gathered in the churches for worship on that memorable Sunday morning. At the South Fifth Street Church the occasion and the man met and fitted each other. The preacher of the day came to his task full-armed. By his sane and masterly treatment of the crisis he completely captivated the large congregation. The officary of the church came together at once and insisted that he should abide among them and be their minister. This leads to the mention of a prominent trait of Dr. Payne's character and ministry. He was ever an ardent patriot. Nothing stirred his soul more quickly or more deeply than civic unrighteousness or disloyalty. Again and again we have seen him under the spell of this noble passion when his whole being was tremulous and dynamic, even to the very tips of his fingers. The last entry in his diary, made but a few days before his departure, was upon a question of national policy.

Dr. Payne yielded to the wishes of the people and became the pastor of South Fifth Street Church. The appointment proved the turning point in his career. From that day to the end he moved upon the top level of opportunity. He justified the confidence of his friends by a series of splendid achievements unsurpassed by any of our leaders in this generation. Before he had been long at South Fifth Street his enterprising spirit conceived a great plan of expansion, and with consummate skill he led his people forth to build St. John's Church on Bedford Avenue, which was, at its completion in 1868, the noblest structure in American Methodism. His fame went abroad. Soon his good name was in all the churches. The Arch Street Church of Philadelphia was considering a similar enterprise, and sought this young Hercules to be its leader. He went to be the pastor of this church in the spring of 1868. Upon the evening of his public reception the sum of \$80,000 was subscribed toward the enterprise. Here again he did heroic service, and led the people on to a remarkable victory. Before the end of the second year of his pastorate the costly and beautiful temple was dedicated. "Thus within five years his magnificent energy built two superb monuments, one of brownstone, the other of marble, which will long stand

as memorials of his intrepid and inspiring leadership and practical power." Two additional pastorates completed his twenty years of pastoral service, one of these being at Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia, the other at St. Paul's Church, Cincinnati.

As a successful pastor Dr. Payne is a model worthy of careful study. Men of his type in the pulpit have done much to make Methodism what it is. He was a striking contradiction of the widespread and harmful notion that no man can be at once a faithful pastor and a great preacher. He considered a thousand pastoral calls per year a moderate achievement. Meantime, his increasing grip upon truth was tremendous, and his pulpit efforts ranked with the best in the land. As a shepherd of the flock none could exceed him in tender ministrations. But his was not merely a mission of insipid sentimentality to the feeble-minded. He led himself the strenuous life. He dealt with great moral problems with a viselike grip. As an administrator of affairs he never flinched at the most costly and disagreeable duty. His undaunted courage in dealing with practical and difficult problems amounted to heroism. Upon the occasion of a social event at the home of one of his members he was surprised to discover that wine was being served. His tract, "The Social Glass and Christian Obligation," was the result, which is one of the most sane and persuasive pleas anywhere to be found for the Christian principle of total abstinence. And yet so considerately was the entire subject handled that this parishioner and his family remained the firm friends of Dr. Payne to the end of his life.

Halfway through a great church-building enterprise he required a man who had subscribed \$50,000 to withdraw from the membership of the church. The material temple might not be completed, but the spiritual temple should be kept pure at any cost. For years afterward Dr. Payne never returned to preach in the city in which this remarkable event occurred but that this man and his family were present to hear him. What a tribute to his preeminently Christian method of dealing with difficult problems! This quality of his ministry is well illustrated by the stirring events of his last pastorate,

thus described by Dr. William V. Kelley, his successor in the pastorate of Spring Garden Street Church, Philadelphia :

His ministry did not lack the gladiatorial passion. The militant spirit burned in his breast and made him fond of the fray. The sight of audacious and insolent wickedness filled him with holy rage. He showed himself a soldier of the cross, a knight of his Master, the King's, Round Table, sworn to "ride abroad redressing human wrong, to break the heathen and uphold the Christ." This is remarkably illustrated in his pastorate in Cincinnati, which began in 1874 in the midst of the excitement of the great temperance revival known as the Women's Crusade in Ohio. He promptly entered the thick of the fight, opening his pulpit battery on his third Sunday there with a volley so damaging that the mayor, whom he arraigned, thought it necessary to defend himself in the press with "An Open Letter to Dr. Payne," to which Dr. Payne at once replied with "An Open Letter to the Mayor," who, as he pointed out was evading his duty and protecting the saloons. In this letter, which shook the city, Dr. Payne was a front-fighter, and his wife was one of forty-three Christian women who were arrested by the police for praying with the liquor-sellers and were hurried off to the station house along with thieves and harlots. When they were brought before the police court the justice dismissed them with the warning that if they committed their awful crime again they would be dealt with severely. Week after week the pulpit of St. Paul discussed the situation fairly but scathingly, exposing the perfidious and cowardly conduct of the city officials; and in all the prolonged excitement and provocation of the conflict Dr. Payne bore himself with such mingled fearlessness and wisdom as earned throughout the city and the State the grateful friendship of all decent people and the no less honoring hatred of the classes whose curse is their only benediction.

It is little wonder that a man with such qualities enjoyed for years the distinction of being one of the foremost ministers of Methodism and of the country. Nor is it strange that, while yet in Brooklyn, he was approached with reference to the pastorate of the old Park Street Congregational Church in Boston. To be summoned to a throne of such power would have proved too much for a man who was interested chiefly in making a career for himself. He declined the advance made, stating modestly that he preferred to remain a Methodist. This he did, not because he was a narrow bigot or an intense sectarian. He was far removed from either of these types. But he believed in the providential mission of Methodism, and he considered it worth while to sacrifice himself if thus

he could contribute somewhat to the fulfillment of this mission. This decision was characteristic of the man. He was ever loyal to the Church of his choice and love. Within a year of the time of his death, in a close heart-to-heart talk, he declared that if he were a young man again he would give his life to the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Our history records no finer instance of intelligent and whole-hearted loyalty than this.

In 1875 Dr. Payne was elected by the unanimous vote of the board of trustees to the presidency of Ohio Wesleyan University. His inauguration took place in June, 1876. The conditions prevailing at the time and the immediate influence of Dr. Payne's personality are thus portrayed by Professor Edward T. Nelson, the university's historian :

Dr. Payne's administration began in the gloomiest days of financial depression; but the growth of the university during his administration was rapid and great. A quickened interest for the university was felt throughout the Church; the patronizing Conferences were stimulated to renewed efforts for the endowment; the school was advertised on a much more liberal scale than before, and the area of its patronage greatly enlarged. The university and the female college were united. As the result of all these influences, both the enrollment and the income of the university were doubled in a few years, and the endowment largely increased. Dr. Payne was always alert for the interests of the institution.

This new field afforded a fine sphere for the exercise of Dr. Payne's distinguished abilities, and he put himself into it with a spirit of *abandon* which was magnificent. No power of body or of brain was withheld. Under the touch of his organizing ability chaos gave way to orderly progress in every department. The momentous task which he immediately imposed upon himself found expression in the motto, "The Ohio Wesleyan University—let us aim to put a thousand students within her walls and a million dollars in her treasury." He gave attention to every detail. He knew every student, and especially took a practical, fatherly interest in those who needed assistance. To each one personally he was the devoted pastor; to the student body in general, the strong disciplinarian and at the same time the winsome evangelist. He was the prophet and leading citizen of the community. No



bishop of the Church or far-famed lecturer could attract such audiences as month after month for years attended his Sunday afternoon lectures in the opera house. It has not been given us to witness a series of greater oratorical masterpieces than these. It was often whispered that the Church's greatest men were in the East. But neither the East nor the West during this generation has produced men who in platform and pulpit ability were able to outrank Dr. Payne at his best.

In addition to his onerous home duties he delivered sermons, lectures, and addresses throughout the State of Ohio and other States north, south, east, and west, traveling without a dollar's expense to the university, though in its interests, twelve thousand miles a year. He poured freely of his own personal savings into the treasury of the institution, giving during his presidency in the aggregate nearly eight thousand dollars. Such devotion won the admiration of all, and all but achieved the ideal with which he began his work. In the first year of his incumbency there were 323 students; in the last year there were 973, while the assets of the institution steadily increased until they were well on toward the million mark.

In his annual report for 1889 President Bashford, in a just and generous reference to the invaluable service of his predecessor, Dr. Payne, said:

His administration marked a great transition in the history of the university. He brought about the union of the college and of the Ohio Wesleyan Female College, and established coeducation upon a permanent basis. He secured additional and able teachers for the faculty. He greatly increased the number of students in attendance at the college. He struggled earnestly and successfully to enlarge the endowments of the university. He transformed and improved the courses of study. He infused new vigor into the administration of the college, and by necessary sternness raised the moral and mental standards of our students. He became the prophet of the community, and led the city in notable civic reform. He became the evangelist of the college, and inaugurated sweeping revivals, thus quickening and elevating the spiritual life of hundreds of young people who have since blessed the world by their influence. Since his call to the secretaryship of the Board of Education he has continued to cooperate heartily and unselfishly with his successor in raising funds for the university. In his wider relations to the educational work of our Church he has lifted the standard of admission to our colleges, unified the educational work of Methodism,

quadrupled the contributions to the Board of Education, and rendered invaluable service to higher education in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Charles H. Payne brought to the discharge of all his duties as pastor, president, and secretary, clear thinking, profound convictions, and a strong, manly, courageous spirit. The Ohio Wesleyan University owes him a debt of gratitude which succeeding generations will recognize increasingly. He builded for the future, and the historian of the university will recognize him as one of the potent factors in molding her destiny. He stands with his noble compeers, Thomson and Merriek, as worthy to rank with Fisk of Middletown, Hopkins of Williams, McCosh of Princeton, Dunster and Mather of Harvard, and Stiles and the elder Dwight of Yale, among the leaders of higher education in America.

However brilliant and gratifying the achievement with regard to the university's material prosperity, Dr. Payne always placed the emphasis upon the spiritual side of the work. Let his own words from his last report to the board of trustees, made in 1888, bear witness. He says:

The most gratifying part of all my work in this university has been that connected with its moral and religious development. Without this feature it would have missed its chief charm, and could by no means have held me as long as it has. It has been a great and intensely interesting pastoral charge, and no pastor in the Church could have felt, and borne up under the burden, the weight of responsibility for the religious welfare of his charge more than I have felt as a perpetual care upon my heart. That these hundreds of young men and women might come into early and intimate fellowship with Christ, the ideal man; that they might pattern after his perfect character and imitate his unselfish life; that they might seek all noblest ends, and be swayed by all highest motives and impulses, this has been ever the object of my constant prayer and unceasing endeavor. And it has been a constant source of marvel, as well as of gratification, that so large a number of youths, gathered from all classes in society, should maintain such a high average of good order and pure morals and religious character as have been exhibited in this institution. The specifically religious aspects of my work have occupied much of my time, and brought abundant and gratifying rewards. The monthly Sabbath lecture, continued through all these years, most of the time in the City Opera House, with seldom other than a crowded audience of citizens and students, has given me the opportunity, highly prized, of meeting both these classes, of neighbors and of pupils, as a religious teacher. The weekly prayer meeting with the students, in which I have met them as a pastor, and the gracious revival seasons, with their protracted services, have all furnished me with full pastoral work of the most important character, and have

yielded most gratifying results. In the twelve years of my active connection with the university, very nearly, or quite, one thousand students, the flower of this land and of other lands, have professed faith in Christ. It is impossible rightly to estimate the broad sweep of influence resulting from this work.

Dr. Payne was elected by the General Conference of 1888 to the position of Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Education. "The transition from his college presidency to this office was a natural and fitting one, and for the work of his new sphere his experience at Delaware was a fine preparation. He entered on his new duties not as an amateur, but as a master in educational matters. The versatility with which he applied his faculties to all parts of his work amazed his friends. Year after year he devised fresh programmes for Children's Day with remarkable fertility of invention. Though not an artist, he designed pictures, and, though not known as a poet, he wrote hymns. But, while he handled these details ingeniously and skillfully, his more important work was large enough and substantial enough to be called monumental." His grasp upon the general educational problems of the Church was clear and comprehensive. To him very much is due for what has been accomplished in the coordination of our schools and colleges and in the adoption of a high standard common to all our higher institutions. It was he who sounded the cry "Ten Millions for our Educational Institutions for the New Century." The imperativeness of Christian education had burned itself so deeply into his soul that it had become the ruling passion of his life. Of his efficiency as Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Education his successor in office, Dr. W. F. McDowell, thus writes:

As student, teacher, pastor, college president, corresponding secretary, Dr. Payne won well-deserved distinction. As a student he touched all phases of school life as seen in the public school, the academy, the college, and the theological school. As pastor he became familiar with church life in towns and cities. As president of Ohio Wesleyan University he came to know practically the life and problems of our Christian colleges. As corresponding secretary of this Board he broadened his field both of observation and usefulness until he touched the entire Church with his influence.

His devotion to education was thorough and lifelong, beginning in his early struggle to obtain an education in spite of limited means, poor

health, and manifold obstacles. His devotion to Christian education developed at last into a passion. To this cause he gave the last twenty-five years of his life; for it he spake and wrote his most burning and eloquent words; to further it on every field he spared not himself. He stood ever and everywhere for sound learning; sham culture was hateful to his very soul. But he stood especially for Christian culture. During his presidency he increased endowments, raised the standards, enlarged the courses of study, multiplied the attendance of students, and represented the Ohio Wesleyan far and wide; but his chief joy at the last was that more than a thousand students were converted there during his administration. It is doubtful whether the argument for the Christian college was ever more forcefully stated than in his last tract, "The Christian College a Necessity." His voice was heard often in the Church; it was never heard advocating anything unworthy or unmanly or unrighteous. Two words were frequently on his lips—"character" and "manliness." He obtained his ideas of each not in the "ivory palaces of kings," but in the heroic New England of a half century ago, from his Puritan ancestry and from the two Testaments.

On many a platform and in many a pulpit he spoke like a master. He was a commanding preacher, ranking with the greatest our later Church has produced. He was a radical, having the blood and spirit of a reformer.

For eleven years he was Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Education. His work in this great office is seen in a score of ways, and has been felt throughout our entire educational system. He left the affairs of the office in perfect order. His records needed neither explanation nor adjustment. They were without spot or blemish.

He was a deeply religious man. He lived the white life. His public prayers and daily conduct convinced men that he knew the way into the secret place of the Most High. He honored the King and loved the Church. He enthroned the Christ in his life and sought to enthrone him in society. He leaves an unstained name, a noble record of large service, and has gone with clean hands to receive a rich reward.

Regarding his character and services to the Church let those speak who know the facts, and who have a right to be heard :

Dr. W. V. Kelley: A tremendous sort of man was this Charles H. Payne.

Dr. J. M. Buckley: His office is vacant and may be filled; his place is greater than his office—that must remain vacant.

Dr. C. E. Jefferson: He was one of the giants; in many ways a phenomenal man, one of the greatest teachers of the century, one of the most eloquent preachers that ever filled a pulpit, a man of indomitable and unflinching courage, who has left his mark in every city in which he has ever worked.

Dr. A. B. Leonard : In the pulpit and on the platform he had few equals. He has gone, but he has left to his family and to the Church of his love and choice a stainless record.

Dr. S. F. Upham: I knew Dr. Payne intimately. We were classmates in college, associates in Conference relations, and close personal friends for forty-five years. He was a genuine man, frank and open as the day. He attained deserved distinction in many lines, but it was in the pulpit that he shone with a bright, steady, and commanding light. He was preeminently a preacher. The Gospel which he preached was not a puny and inefficient sentimentalism, but the Gospel of a divine deliverance from sin. I heard his last public address. . . . How he pleaded that morning for a consecrated ministry! He went from the Conference room to die, but his work lives, and he lives, for "he that doeth the will of God abideth forever."

Bishop W. F. Mallalieu: Forty-eight years ago and a little more I first met Dr. Payne. From then till now we have been the closest friends. In all these years I never knew him to do or say anything that was wrong. "Mark the perfect man" may be said of him as truthfully as of any man I ever saw or ever expect to see. These last days have been days of silent grief and heartache. True friends that are perfectly trusted are so rare that it is an unspeakable loss when one departs from us. No man on earth was so near my heart as Dr. Payne. He was without fear and without reproach.

Bishop D. A. Goodsell: Dr. Payne brought knowledge, enterprise, and great ability to the work which went from my hands to his. I was startled at his activity and success. Whatever he did, he did with all his might. In God's service his hot heart burned itself out of this earthly life, and was exhaled to God.

Bishop C. D. Foss: He was a great preacher, a tireless worker, and a transparently true and faithful man. Few men have done so much for the Church as he.

Bishop J. H. Vincent: He was an earnest, intense, consecrated, and faithful man. He had many kinds of power, and he used all well. He was an extraordinary preacher, an ideal pastor, an able teacher, a powerful platform speaker, an efficient administrator, a true friend, and an uncompromising Christian.

Bishop E. G. Andrews: As the successor of Dr. Payne in the pastorate of St. John's Church, Brooklyn, I quickly came to know and value his character and work. The things notable in these were the strength of his convictions and his loyalty to them, his ability and faithfulness as preacher and pastor, his wise forecast of church opportunities and duties, and the strenuous will with which he wrought. After 1888, when he was made Secretary of the Board of Education, I came to know him still better. The qualities conspicuous in earlier years now appeared modified and heightened by large experience as pastor and educator. He had become a powerful and attractive preacher and platform speaker,

a wise counselor in the general life of the Church, a progressive theologian, a courageous yet cautious reformer in Church and State. To his new work he gave untiring industry, capacity for broad schemes, a luminous and effective advocacy, and an energy which neither indifference, opposition, nor his own imperfect health could abate. He believed in God, and therefore attempted and achieved great things.

As is very often the case with good men, Dr. Payne was frequently misunderstood. He was never a man of robust physical health. Throughout his career, he wrought under the disadvantages of physical weakness. The effect of this was sometimes to give a wrong impression as to the real spirit of the man. There were those who thought that the scalpel was his favorite instrument. But he never used it so mercilessly upon any other man as upon himself. He had lofty ideals for himself and for everybody else, and insisted upon a high measure of excellence everywhere. He despised shams. No man ever had a better right. He was himself absolutely transparent and sincere. He knew not how to fawn for favors. To balance the truth against self-interest was not in him. God's eternal law of righteousness was his pole star. He always steered by this, without fear of man or devil.

He was individual throughout. His gait upon the street, his laugh, his hand shake, his method of using his voice, his gestures—all were unique and inimitable. Personality throbbed at every point of contact. A man of so many angles, so insistent upon his ideals, so pertinacious in his purpose, so aggressive in his action, must now and then of necessity come into collision with men of similarly pronounced convictions. It has been said that he was ambitious. Naturally he was, but he ever held his ambition in check by the taut rein of conscience. The central figure of his ambition was not Charles H. Payne but Jesus Christ, his Lord and Master.

His versatility was remarkable. As a writer he excelled. His style was a happy combination of the forceful and the ornate. If the question in hand were one of morals or reform, he was incisive and luminous. He could write in words that burned and in sentences that breathed. He was a great reader all his life, and kept fully abreast of the times. The latest great book was frequently the subject of remark in his con-

versations and public addresses. Theologically he was progressive, in the best sense of the word. He did not allow himself to be tied to the old simply because it was old, nor yet to the new because new. What he demanded was the true and therefore the best, whether old or new. Thus he was related vitally, as every man of like spirit must be, to the achievements of the past and the progress of the present. It has been an open secret among the younger men of the Church for years that no man, young or old, in Methodism was more open-minded than Dr. Payne. The larger hope beat in his heart, and the larger vision charmed his soul.

To his other accomplishments he added in later years that of an expert money-raiser for church-building purposes. He had reduced that business to a science, and had many calls from all parts of the country, from Methodist and non-Methodist churches, to do that kind of work. His power in prayer has well been the subject of comment. He knew how to enter into the secret place of the Most High. And this—because he walked with God. If there were those who thought that his character was lacking in heart quality, it was because they did not know or failed to appreciate the man. Dr. Payne loved all men with Christian affection. The colored man never had a truer friend. None who knew his spirit were surprised that he bequeathed his splendid library to Gammon Theological Seminary. His love for his former students was intense and touching. No more was he the rigid disciplinarian, when once college walls had been left behind. He was now the interested friend and helpful brother. Their devotion to him was equally marked. To-day he is enshrined in the hearts of thousands. The home life was beautiful. To the loyal companion of his years he delighted to attribute the largest measure of his success, and upon each member of his family he bestowed a tender affection. If the Gospel standard of service be the criterion by which men shall be awarded their place in the history of our Church, then must high rank be given to Charles Henry Payne.

*Wm. L. Anderson.*

## ART. II.—SHAKESPEARE'S MEN.

IN Shakespeare was an abundant love of life. The vital streams had not run dry in the channels of his spirit, but were in spring freshet, overflowing the banks and inundating meadow lands and fields. When Shakespeare touches us we feel a vital shock, as if an electrode of the lightning had in passing grasped our wrists. He is no dyspeptic, with hung head and dolorous voice and mendacious replies and invective speech. He does not rage as Walter Savage Landor did, is not bellicose with sword at play as Shelley was, nor mild and remote as Wordsworth. He was impassioned as the storm, but sane and wholesome; he was like contact with the earth.

Charles Lamb—pale, slender, cloaked, nervous, stammering, playful, a delightful sort of human kitten, on his way now from the East India countinghouse to his half-mad, crabbed old father and Mary his sister, with insanity haunting her eyes—is loitering a moment buying at the Strand a volume of old plays and hiding it like miser's treasure beneath his cloak. Coleridge is complaisant, ethereal, discursive, bland, imperturbable, mild, with thought-orbit like the sweep of a planet, and is dreaming aloud in a conversation in which there are no associates. Keats—pale, reticent, invalid, a sensitive plant among poets and men, of classic thought, a Greek born centuries after the days of Greek intellectual supremacy—is holding dialogue with Endymion and Hyperion and Lamia until his pale cheek flushes like a girl's. Byron—tyrannical, scowling, revengeful, riding hard like an angry bandit—is cursing till his breath is spent. Chaucer—observant, buoyant, piquant, clad in the garment of a king's follower—drinks his wine which comes as part of his laureate stipend, mixes with courtier and soldier, well content, hearing, seeing, enjoying, rejoicing. Spenser is prisoner in the land of lotus-eaters, and sees the drift of blue smoke over distant hills, and hears the calling of the sea and of the wind, and thinks this world a picture. Tennyson—sad, dreamy, remote, feeling the world he does not see, looking eagerly "to where beyond these voices there is peace"—chants to himself and not to us,



And may there be no moaning of the bar  
When I put out to sea.

Shakespeare—radiant, delighted, amused, careering like a yacht with favoring wind, laughing aloud without assigning reason for his laughter, intoxicated with the world he wanders in, as if it were old wine—is pleased with everything as on a holiday. He is as a country boy in town. Everything interests him. Flower, schoolboy with “morning face,” beggar, prince, king, knave, slattern, fool, the pure, the debauched, the railer, the madman, the ingrate, the intriguer, the proud pine, the dim violet, an accusing conscience, the cliff that leans seaward and lifts heavenward, Falstaff and Pistol and Prince Hal, the lad Arthur and the bawd, Mistress Quickly, the moonlit bank, the “sere, the yellow leaf,” the whiteness of Imogen and the black darkness of Iachimo—Shakespeare saw them all and was interested in them all. So it is nature or man or ghost, all is well with him, for he belonged to the brood of discoverers, Gilbert and Drake and Cabot and Raleigh and Hudson; only he discovered men—they, island and river and continent and inland sea. Not one among that glorious company was more adventurous than he. Like them he adventured on the uncharted seas. He sails on all waters, enters all harbors, lands at all ports, his pennant floating at the mast far as adventure dares to sail. Shakespeare's coat of arms would be, were I his herald, an archer with quiver full and the bow bent with arrow fitted on the string and all the air full of a shower of arrows. That should be his coat of arms and appear upon his banner. At every port of soul, however late one visits it or early, will be found Shakespeare's gonfalon floating there. He seems ubiquitous. His knowledge of the soul dazzles us like some great light. I feel more and more, as I consort with him, that he saw everything and that his scrutiny cannot be eluded. He does not need to look to see, but sees without that crude contrivance. A study of “Henry IV” will convince any skeptic that nothing is hidden from Shakespeare's eyes, whether he look or not. In this play and its successor, “Henry V,” we are let into the very privacy of kings. We look them full in the face, and answer word for word. What they are we know. Shakespeare tells us. Do we not see

Henry Bolingbroke and Prince Hal? Are they not in truth become among the familiars of our household? Their cares, ambitions, anguishes, fears, tremors, stratagema, policies, alliances, court manners, privacies, and publicities; their glowing patriotism and barren selfishness; their thought's prologue, monologue, epilogue; their coronation gladness and gasping advices on a dying bed—were we not made privy to them all, as if we were gentlemen of the king's bedchamber? These two plays are dramas of royalty, and are hung about with kings' banners and helmets and shields. True as this observation is, more is to be said, if all the truth is to be uttered. England's two worlds are in these plays. The king's world of court, palace, queenly women, courtier, battlefield, debaucheries, royal wooing, waving banners, and the march—this king's world is here; and, besides, here is an underworld of Justice Shallow, with his farming and turnip crops and old beau speech and justice court and money-loaning and the tavern with its sack and bawds and bullies and grim humors and rollicking laughter and drunken quarrels—this underworld with shabby patriots and enlistments and cowardice and lechery, inanity, animosities, braggart speech, and craven retreats, contumacies, arrogancies, conceits. This England, too, is seen, not as through the dust of a summer's highway, but clearly as through air after a rain. I know not which is more admirable, Shakespeare's etching of the court or the tavern, his king's antechamber or his justice court. This double world that always lives and will live—Shakespeare is its biographer, and a sturdy Boswell he proves himself to be. The entire landscape is his. Nature, man, patrician, plebeian, honor, disgrace—this writer of plays knows them all, and calls each by name as if each were comrade. All zones are his. He loved every sign in the zodiac, and claimed each season as his favorite. Everything and everybody reported to him; he was receiving station for the world.

And he loved human kind. While not physicist nor psychologist nor politician, he was interested. Everybody impressed him. His was the art of extracting secrets, of inspiring confidences. Everybody told him his story, for this, among other reasons, he was a royal listener, and into this willing ear

Juliet sobbed her story, and Timon of Athens trumpeted his hate. Falstaff swaggered and drank and swore and lied to Shakespeare as to Prince Hal or carbuncle-nosed Bardolph; Marc Antony made no secret of his passion, such as made a scepter inconsequential; Macbeth stamped out his ravings in Shakespeare's presence; and Lady Macbeth walked with her lit candle in her hand so close to the poet he might have touched her; and Hamlet heeds him not what time he makes soliloquy; Lear curses his two daughters with scarce an intermission; Regan speaks her flint-hard words, nor cares that Shakespeare hears; Pericles weeps before him—he is the confidant of this divergent company. Dogberry and Malvolio and King Lear's fool and Launce and Justice Shallow and Iago and Leontes and Pandarus, Bassanio and Antonio and Shylock, Nym, Pistol, Bottom, Oberon, Angelo—besides all that sweet company of fair womanhood whispering or sobbing their story forth—they are every one voluble with him, showing no reticence or next to none; and he hears, sees all, and forgets nothing.

Shakespeare loves men and women, though, as for loving women, what man does not? I think no man has ever loved women more than he, and am quite sure no poet has. He has loved them so as to make many of them queens regnant forever, and has joyed to lift them into the heaven of the heroic and leave them there. My wonder is not at this, but that he so evidently loved men, and with such tropic warmth. He straitly enjoys them, sees their strength, applauds them so you can hear him crying, "Bravo, bravo," as one who watches a wrestler's skill, but strangely enough has not a hero among them, which is one of the strangest things in strange Shakespeare. His women have many heroines, his men have no heroes, howbeit he loves them both. How is this condition to be explained? Mayhap Shakespeare's vast chivalry is key to this exclusiveness of elevation in womanhood. Even Mistress Quickly he has dignified by making her in many regards the most bewildering feminine character his genius has produced. She is not admirable, but is anomalous and marvelous, and is in genius of execution sister to Falstaff. To explain this partiality in Shakespeare puts us at our wits' ends,

and to no avail. The fact remains, however, the explanation halts. Among his men, giants as many of them are, is not a hero, so far as I have found; and certainly, if we were writing a biography of heroes, not one of Shakespeare's men would find a place in the book. When the *Odyssey* is read, Ulysses is seen an intended hero. For his statue, the poem is pedestal; but does any man in Shakespeare impress us so? Sometimes we are told that Faulconbridge and King Henry V are heroes. They may be. No absolute rule for determining a hero has been prescribed. Here we wander at will, as butterflies do on sunny days. No one can say us nay to our claims, be they what they may. In both the men named possess some heroic, notable qualities, but I would never think of them as heroes. Henry is a soldier, outward bound for conquest, and is brusque and soldierlike in war and wooing, as Shakespeare has him, while the drama is fairly chanted to the tune of battle marches. All this I cheerfully concede, at the same breath insisting that Henry is somewhat lost on the field of England's growing greatness; we feel not Henry so much as we feel England, he being sword and voice, but England's sword and England's voice. For myself I cannot feel him. He never grasps me as a warrior grasps an enemy and bears him down. Columbus and Magellan and Raleigh dig their spurs into my sides till the blood starts, but Henry might be a paper man for all his might with me. He sailed with England over seas and conspired with her triumph, but Shakespeare is playing a triumphal march, not for the king but for the kingdom. Henry is not so impressive as king as he was as Prince Hal. The king has lost in blood and heart, and gained in statesmanship. My feeling, as well as my thinking, dissent to Henry being counted Shakespeare's hero or any other body's hero, for that matter. He is soldier like Marc Antony saving in this, Antony stirs the blood, while Henry is almost sedative. He is aware he is now a king, and his self-consciousness warps his courtesy and manlier parts, and he wears it like his crown and royal garment. His dismissal of Falstaff is so cold, so kingly in its heartlessness as to make us resent it for Falstaff's sake, not as loving him, but that we feel the perfidy of the king even as the sad Falstaff did. His

forgetfulness is so utilitarian that his face is in eclipse. He may not rank as hero for the heart.

One might have expected Julius Cæsar to be hero, since he was most apt for such a part of all the men who take rank in these dramas, when, digging deep into the play, we find our theory disconcerted by the presentation in that most of Cæsar's career is presented in epilogues, Antony or Cassius telling of it in strict seclusions or on the house top of the Forum; and on the face of this past master of the Roman world is scarce the glow of triumph, not to say the prond light of a premeditated hero. Or, if there be a hero among his men, not Hamlet nor Faulconbridge nor Henry V nor Prospero is he, but Falstaff, whom, if Shakespeare did not love and linger over as over no other man he has fashioned, I miss his bearing utterly.

If Shakespeare, however, exalted no man into the heaven of heroes, neither did he show antipathy toward any man. He was without favorites, so far as touches his ecstasy over any or special pleading for any. We may put the case thus—Shakespeare enjoyed all almost alike and was disinterested in attitude toward all his creations, unless there be a shadow of favor for Falstaff, for I cannot drown my conviction that, into the minute working out of the jesting Sir John, Shakespeare put an enjoyment unknown to any male character in his plays. He is without favorites in the sense that he was unfair with none, representing each as he was. He enjoyed men and women, and admired genius, achievement, thought, love; but I defy anybody to say whether he loved Othello or Iago more. I lean to believing he loved Iago more. Yet, why waste guesses? This is simple surmise. Thackeray loved Becky Sharpe better than anyone in *Vanity Fair*, she being the one and only one at whom he did not poke fun. She was dangerous as a poisoned stiletto. Can we tell what thing he created pleased Michael Angelo most? His frescoes, or his David, or Moses, or Dawn, or the sky-dome of St. Peter's? So we cannot tell with any assurance what man Shakespeare liked most. He treats all fairly, and is as courteous as Raleigh to each of them; but bias toward any is barely visible, if at all—certainly not so visible as that any may assert, "This man

he favors and this he dislikes." He detests nobody, not Iachimo nor Angelon or Iago. In Shakespeare is nothing vindictive as in Dante, who with a grim urbanity lifts his friends into heaven and drops his enemies into hell—a procedure touched with a baleful humor, though Dante was not cognizant of it. He was too severe to be just. Those who expatriated him must be damned as certainly as if God had decreed the sentence. That unsmiling poet had made a grim potentate whose ears had been deaf to petitions for mercy and whose acts had been maledictions. Shakespeare has neither hell nor paradise; he has earth, and his men are here and only here, for King Hamlet is a ghost at best, and his voice is husky and his words inept and sorely uncertain. Shakespeare is no advocate; he is fashioner. What does he think of Hamlet? Nobody knows. Is he making sport of him, or castigating him, or pitying him, or enthroning him? Does he think Marc Antony a fool to barter away a world for a woman's kiss, or does he envy him? Who knows? What does he think of Shylock? Does he favor Shylock or Antonio? This Shakespearean faculty of expressing no preference is astonishing and without parallel. Ask him to tell whom he prefers and he will smile at us, as at a foolish child, and will make no answer. The truth is, the artist is dominant in him, and he enjoys his men because they are men and for no other reason. Life delights him, as it does kittens and birds. The self-explication of a soul is what charms him. Momsen hates Cicero, and deifies Cæsar; but Shakespeare will have no demigods, and will maintain so absolute an impartiality as that we cannot break through his reserve. What he at any moment has delights him as a child is delighted alternately with doll and picture book and drawing with colored chalks and playing school and writing expectant letters to Santa Claus; and that is the end of what we may safely say of Shakespeare's preference. Caliban and Ariel and Prospero and shipwrecked king and raging seas flecked with *débris* of wreck and Miranda and Ferdinand—all are dear to him as children to a sire.

In "Henry VIII" strict impartiality and absolute truthfulness are exemplified in a striking manner. Whether the drama was written during the life of Elizabeth or in the reign of

James is not material, inasmuch as to neither of these sovereigns would extolling Katharine be palatable. Plainly a courtier's task would have been to have glossed the ruffian coarseness of Henry VIII, for he was Elizabeth's father, and to have painted in colors unfadingly glowing the character of Anne Boleyn, for she was Elizabeth's mother. Who composed this play was not a courtier, meant though it is to glorify Elizabeth. If ever a poet was under bonds to be fulsome in praise and full of innuendo toward those who were antagonists to the reigning sovereign, Shakespeare was such poet, when he wrote this triumphal ode to Queen Elizabeth. What to expect under the circumstances we readily see, which expected thing is precisely what does not happen, for Henry is not lauded, but stands out all but totally unlovely. His vices announce themselves in his face. His brutality, heartlessness, concupiscence, repugnant egotism, and autocracy all blossomed in him, so that to even an imperfect sight they are apparent. Shakespeare does neither adorn nor praise him, but holds him up in naked blameworthiness, to speak and answer for himself. We had supposed Katharine had been blamed, would be belittled by look or gesture, for such treatment the case apparently imperatively demands, whereas, instead, she is pictured one of the sweetest women whose heart ever knelt to kiss a husband's hand. Her words, soaked with tears, are honey-sweet, and she stands as if she were the queen of grief, nor ever in her days of pomp and circumstance was she so queenly. How more than strange such presentation in one who is telling a story for the ears of those whose fortunes are grown out of the grave of her calamities. And Anne Boleyn is not lauded; rather she is discovered to be a weak, vain woman, selfish and lacking in moral stamina, yet human and feminine, and she stands in shamed contrast with Katharine. If this be not anomalous in him who is lauding her daughter, I do not know the meaning of anomaly. In painting Wolsey, we who loathed him when Queen Katharine turns her tear-dimmed eyes full on his face and with her quivering woman's lips calls him her enemy set to do her hurt—this spent glory that once was premier puissant we pity, and execrate his master as ingrate and unkingly; and this Elizabeth's father so dethroned

from our respect and love. These remarks may serve to justify the claim that Shakespeare was "without partiality and without hypocrisy."

Nor has Shakespeare a specifically good man. Edgar, Pericles, Prospero, Valentine of the "Two Gentlemen of Verona," Kent, Horatio, Leonatus are clean men and wholesome. So is Hamlet. That they are contrived for good men, however, would never suggest itself to a careful reader. Shakespeare has bad men, weak men, execrable men, men of prodigal genius, dominant personalities, whirlwinds of power and conquest, laudable men, men not evil, negatively good men; but good men, such as might sit for a picture of goodness, as Colonel Newcome, there is not one of, or, if there be, I know not who he is. Shakespeare is not in this sense moral in purpose. The great moral contentions never wrought havoc in his soul, as fierce armies on a battle ground. The Puritan rectitude and duty did not thrill him to the center. Milton, poet of duty, had not been palatable to Shakespeare, I think, and certainly had not been comprehensible; while, to have pivoted two epics on sin and sin's conquest over man, or sin and man's conquest over sin, as Milton did in "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained," or as Bunyan did in "Pilgrim's Progress," is unthinkable of him. Intense moral earnestness is not apparent in him. Those throes which make the travail of a mountain's birth frivolous in comparison belong not to this wide-horized dramatist. Raleigh and Shakespeare are brothers of one house in their reflection of their generation, and they glow as a city illuminated on a gala night. They did not take religion too much to heart, leastwise not in such fashion as to create earthquake shocks of moral and political upheavals and revolutions and renovations, or lead them with laughing hearts to the martyr's flames. They are, in short, children of their era, and look as if they had been fathered by the Greek gods. I do not suggest that Shakespeare's dramatic bias was immoral. That is remotest from what he is. His was a genius-perception that evil told against the evildoer; but, whether he ever approved goodness as goodness and for its own sake, I for one cannot tell, but gravely doubt. He is the exact contrary of being immoral.



I have found him one of the cleanest writers in all literature. He has no rejoicing in filth and pruriency and debauchery. Coarse he was, when measured by our higher standards, because he did not wholly rise—though he rose far—above his age in this regard. He is no voluptuary; is always sensuous—as Milton would have the poet be—but never sensual. I do not impugn Shakespeare nor his motive; I only hold to the atmosphere of his poetry in insisting on his inability to conceive goodness in such measure and with such regard as appears in the literature of our century; for indeed, that view-point belongs to our century and not to his. Free will he knew and believed in; vice he saw and knew; virtue he beheld and pictured; but, as to what he thought of the two, his reticence remains, and a good man like Job there is no trace of in Shakespeare, or that he ever thought of such a man is dubious. By this phrase “good man” I understand a man whose controlling impulse is God and who would honestly translate him into the common vernacular of life. Such a man Shakespeare never did portray, nor in my judgment, could have done so, had he tried. In him is always apparent a tidal movement against vice and for virtue. He knew the soul’s life too intimately to defy conscience or deny a single stab of its envenomed sword, but such attitude is far removed from a determinate and glowing allegiance to love and God and a career of human betterment. Nor must we confound his justice element with the question now under consideration. To this justice idea he was always true, just as sunlight would be true to tell the whole story of any figure taken in a picture. In *Angelo*, of “*Measure for Measure*,” we note this love of and fealty to justice. In *Richard III*, whose conscience, pinioned and gagged by day, is free and tempest-toned by night; in *Macbeth*’s growing and childish credulity on the one side and his bloody tournament with murdered Banquo on the other; in the grim soldier justice with which Bardolph and Nym are hung as common thieves, while enlisted soldiers fighting for England in foreign wars—though we have spent many an idle hour in hearing and seeing them in revels with obese Sir John—and Pistol, the braggart coward, is let slink home a pimp and vagabond and parasite; and most of all in

Falstaff—lord of laughter and penetrative jest—who by and by falls to the shamed level of being a booby tricked by country wives, in these we see how just as fate Shakespeare was. He would not sin against the central verities; though to love a man like Bunyan or even Edmund Spenser—idealizing virtue in his music-making rhymes—is not in him. No man of simple, sweet, human goodness ever walked onto Shakespeare's stage and had his coronation.

Shakespeare's men are sufficient to the point of greatness. As characters they are superb. He has slighted no one of them, having done like the builders of mediæval cathedrals, who finished every part, however remote, concealed, insignificant, with laborious detail and skill. Each man stands full height himself. This is true of his women as well, as will witness any of the delineations, selecting at random. Are not the merry wives of Windsor as clearly disclosed in personality as Ophelia or as complete a portrait as Rosalind? This accuracy goes further. Launce and his dog Crab are as minute engravings as Romeo. Never was beast more completely identified with man than here, and as between owner and dog we are apt to enjoy the scrubby dog the more, and—as not unfrequently occurs—whatever we think of the master, we admire the cur. Shakespeare was as painstaking as Balzac, with this difference—the difference between talent and genius. Balzac is always taking pains, Shakespeare is never taking pains, yet is as encyclopedic in attention to details of finish as if he has passed years in study of that single object of creation. Shakespeare is as a gifted speaker whose words flow out beautiful and abundant as light and with no more effort. A painter could, as I suppose, paint a likeness of any person validly introduced into the plays as readily as if the subject sat before him, so sufficient are the lines of face and figure of character; as, for instance, the murderers in *Macbeth*, who are much more than voice and shadow, with murderous intent and execution, with spiteless but venomous thrust. Two murderers have this cursed business in their hands, when, at the bloody tryst, appears an unanticipated third, and, though he is in darkness and his face is hid and name unknown, and his voice never poised above a hoarse whisper, we see him as in a lurid light.

Whoever he is, leadership and a stony, settled purpose are in him, and his face is hard, his eyes cold, his lips tightened together in spiteless and unpitying determination when the horses' hoofs make merry on the darkened road up which the unsuspecting victim rides. And Hubert in "King John," premeditated ruffian to burn out sweet Arthur's eyes—why he is visible as dawn, so that an artist could paint him as if a hundred sittings had been afforded. In Shakespeare is the efficiency of the mighty artists, who, with a few strokes of the brush, limn a face with accuracy and illumination. Kipling has this gift in a high degree; but Shakespeare is without peer in this field, as in many others. Cordelia, in the tragedy of "King Lear," is given slighter heed than the king's fool. She appears, is angered at her sisters' hypocritical protestations of love, speaks to the angering of her father, is driven from his presence by the whirlwind of his wrath, is wedded to the king of France, comes back with an army to win back Lear's crown for him, bends above her father's sleeping face what time she woos him back from madness, and is borne dead by the decrepit, winter-white Lear back from her death. "The rest is silence," and yet she suffuses the play as crimson light, the skies and clouds and waves on summer evenings. Any artist can see her, and, if he fail in painting her, the failure arises not because he does not see her with all sufficiency. She sits as throned in sunlight, and she was only a fair, girl shadow passing across our path in timorous haste.

And the grave diggers in "Hamlet," yokels as they are, we feel acquainted with them as if they had been our neighbors many years. Their pithy and unfeeling words might drop from lips much more modern than themselves. The scene is unique, and they preempt the scene as a bride preempts attention at a marriage, for Hamlet is a lesser figure than they while he holds converse with them, they filling the hour even as they occupy the grave. The grave making ready for the fair Ophelia, the growing mound of damp earth their spades are making; their jesting talk, their cloddy indifference to the heartbreak of the occasion; their decision gravely reached that, seeing "the crowner hath set on her, and finds it Christian burial," they may with clear conscience dig her grave; the

apostrophe to the spade and to themselves; the proposal of a conundrum—which in anybody should be accounted one of the cardinal sins; one calling to the other in mandatory voice, “Fetch a stoup of liquor,” his singing a rude love ditty while he lightly throws out the earth and therewith a skull which, after much badinage, Hamlet finds to be “Yorick’s skull, the king’s jester”—have done, do we not know the grave diggers so as to hear, see, feel them? Or the witches in “Macbeth,” with their hellbroth brewing, their hairy chins, their crooked beaks, their ferret eyes, their maudlin, devilish words, their crafty imposition on superstitious, gullible general Macbeth fresh from his rout of the king’s enemies, ugh! they make us shudder; come away! Shakespeare, thou art the chief magician, and thy revels are never ended.

The contagious quality for Shakespeare is mastery. I do not think we can mistake him here. He wants characters to be princes in what they do, demands imperiously that each be masterful. Competency, control, and sufficiency are his trinity of character virtues. He enjoys, as Phidias might, the frame and muscles of Hercules and the beauty-dower of lovely Venus, each adequate and satisfactory. Characters must be at one with themselves; nothing must be out of joint. Be they bad as king Claudius or foolish, mooning, and simpering as Malvolio, or friend like Friar Laurence, or coarse like the old nurse to Juliet, or vociferously churlish as Apemantus, or envious as Cassius, or idealizing and duped as Brutus, or sycophant like Oswald, or king’s tool like Rosencrantz, or politic as Polonius, or scheming and wicked as Cymbeline’s queen, or fond like Bianca, or sultry in passion like Cleopatra, or vile like Boult, or chaste like Marina, or just like Duke Vincento, or rebellious as Caliban, or headstrong and rash as Harry Hotspur, or crushed into the sheer poesy of sorrow like Richard II, or consequential as Dogberry, or fool as Quince, or fantastical like Don Armado, or melancholy, as Jaques, or witty as Touchstone, or poetic like Lorenzo, or patriotic as Faulconbridge, or shrewd like Petruchio, or unlovely like Bertram, or insanelly jealous like king Leontes—each is coherent. No one falsifies himself, no one is obscure. Each stands a chief personality in the delineation. Shakespeare demands of each

that he be himself, full-grown. The idiotic magistrate as Dogberry must be full idiot, the swashbucket as Sir Toddy must be roystering as a carnival night. Shakespeare will have all his men and women life-size. Is not his unrevealed motto—and we can fairly hear him now command as in a general's imperious tone—"Show what you are ;" from which there is no appeal?

In a crude way the following groups may include Shakespeare's men : The fool, the child, the statesman, the politician, the soldier, the aristocrat, Falstaff, the pessimist, the optimist, men of the baser sort, the men of pathos, the men of honor, the friend, the lover, the man of duty, the men in whom conscience, after one fashion or another, operates. Under the caption of "fools" are to be included the clown in "Twelfth Night," Touchstone, Malvolio, Quince, Bottom, Dogberry, Sir Andrew Aguecheek, Launce, Justice Shallow, and Justice Silence, with the fool in "Lear" and Hamlet as jester. Now the calling these names shows two classes of fools, namely, the intentional and the unintentional, or the fool from plenty of sense, and the fool from paucity of sense. Nobody is so humorous and ludicrous as the person who never sees himself humorous nor feels himself ridiculous. He is solemn as a ghost, he never goes, as the pitcher's balls are sometimes said to, in curves, but in straight lines and, like the leading carriage in a funeral procession, turns street corners at abrupt angles. We feel as if we were chummy with a hearse, when he is near. He eschews jest as an irrelevancy, and espouses seriousness as a profession. He is funnier than jokes, and never suspects it, nor could be persuaded. Some are humorous because they do not know to be sensible—as a youth enamored of himself with pompous egotism wedging himself into all occasions, with stilted speech and foppish manners and excess of style in make-up, with monocle and jejune mustache and bull terrier following as if himself cast a shadow, rouses all our risibilities, gives us fits of laughter from which we fear we may not recover, while he remains sober as a photograph, never doubting that he excites wonder akin to awe. With this unintentionally jocose soul belong Quince and Bottom and Dogberry and Sir Toby and Sir Andrew and Malvolio and Justice Shallow and Justice Silence. The other class of

fools is never fool, but always brainy, alert as an Indian on guard in war time, keen as a razor-edged sword. Such fools make laughter, as a skilled artificer. They use us, we cannot use them. They are edged tools, with which to meddle is probably to lose some blood. Call him by what name we will—wit, humorist, laughter-monger, merryman, the cause or the excuse of laughter—he is still our superior and in part our enemy. In him is an intellectual ascendancy and a meaning we know not quite what. The one class was fool from scarcity, the other from excess, of brains. In this latter class belong the clown in "Twelfth Night," King Lear's fool, Hamlet in his saturnine humor, and, as I think, Touchstone.

Singularly enough, among Shakespeare's women are no fools, nor on the contrary are there any humorists, unless Beatrice in "Much Ado about Nothing" be a single exception. Beatrice and Benedick are constantly crossing swords in repartee, but, for myself, I confess to seeing in her only an excess of what I may term feminine priggishness. She does not, as appears to me, so much say cute things, merry things, as pert things, tart things. Instead of a fund of good humor, with its fine bead on the liquor of her words and laughter, there is rather in her soul an unconscious discontent looking for vent. What she has not, namely, a lover, she affects to despise—a trick some women have not forgotten to this hour. I may be wrong, for these are so largely matters of opinion for which no solid reason can be given, but I am not entertained nor yet stung to laughter by her jest. She impresses me as ill-supplied with good nature, though entirely unconscious that she is so, and is studied in her rejoinders, as one who plays a part without the art to hide that she is conscious. She had the repute of being witty, and felt she must live up to her reputation at whatever hazard, but when in love she has found her heart and ceases to rail, and her sarcasm sleeps, being possessor of a happy heart. Beatrice is not therefore an exception to the rule of Shakespeare's presentation of women without humor. Benedick's words have by far the finer flavor; they are always in admirable temper, and he is parrying, not making, thrusts, is spontaneous as laughter, and full of good humor as Democritus.

The child is Arthur in "King John," and we love him and cannot help it. Shakespeare's children were girls, and possibly in his secret heart was a man's longing for a son, a "lyttel tyke" to follow him along the Avon lanes and through the bustle of the London streets. Certain we are that upon the child Arthur he has poured a very sky of tenderness. Arthur with his child's treble, his winsome ways and words, his art to worm his way into our heart and we not know it, his soft and tearful and unsophisticated childish pleading, his persuasiveness, his cogency of argument, because he is a child and gifted a pleader by the God of little children—these are portrayed with such economy of words and lavishness of idea and suggestion as are indigenous to Shakespeare. Small wonder, therefore, if the child by the tears in his voice and the dear pleading of his arms about Hubert's neck puts out the glow upon the iron and makes it passionless as earth. That Shakespeare loved little children, and that his eyes carressed them as they passed him on the street or lane, no reader of "King John" can ever question.

The statesman is Cardinal Wolsey. Cæsar, though the chief statesman of the Roman race, is not pictured as statesman in Shakespeare's play. Wolsey is alone, lacking in the politic, stalwart in his power and genius, the dominator of kings, haughty, imperious, opulent, sagacious, ambitious, and yet a creature to be put down or up at a gross king's whim, and in his fall more the prince than in his pomp of premiership.

The politicians are Henry Bolingbroke, Marc Antony in his harangue at Cæsar's funeral, and Polonius. The character of Bolingbroke is luminously sketched. Bowing low from his prancing steed, saying, "Your servant, countrymen," selfish, peevish, courting favor assiduously as any lover, veneered, being all things to all men if by all means he might fool some—that was Bolingbroke. Polonius is the shrewd soul, not quite statesman but full-grown politician, skilled in diplomacy, a magazine of precedents, lacking the creative faculty and instinct, whose business is politics rather than policies, crafty but not astute, never doubting himself, penetrating all others, never guessing he is looked through like glass, intent on subserviency to his chief, and, when he hides in the queen's

boudoir to ravish Hamlet of his secret, is slain by the quick, chance thrust of Hamlet's suspicious and angry sword. So ends this politician.

The soldier is Henry V, rather than Antony or Faulconbridge, though Faulconbridge rather than Antony, and Edmund rather than either. Military prowess and accomplishment are in Edmund. He is aglitter like a knight in battle harness, and is possessed of fire, audacity, ability to mass men and hurl them on to victory and lead them back with spoils and banners and captives, but is lost in the movement of the tragedy of which he is so bad and great a part. Henry is the truer soldier portrait. No defeat clouds his campaigns; his trophies are crowns and wife and kingdoms. Henry thinks himself a soldier, and as a soldier woos. The soldier at home in the infernal din of battle, groans, and charge, and wild huzza is what Shakespeare has made Henry to appear.

Falstaff is a class by himself. He has no brothers. No hint can do him justice. His case must be argued at length, like a pending treaty. He is king of laughter, so that when he jests the whole world must keep silent. He is the American humorist, before America gave a jester birth. As himself saw, he was cause of humor in others, provoking brilliancy from very clods, the versatile, ten-thousand-sided man whose huge bulk "lards the lean earth as he walks along" and whose amazing wit plays on all about him as if they were pipes whose every stop he knew and was full master of. Huge in boast and impudence and laughers and bestialities and persuasions with men and women, say now for this arch-jester only this—Nobody has ever come in bowshot of his humor. Even yet the world's sides ache with laughter at his jests and him.

The pessimists are Gloucester, in "King Lear," and Shylock and Timon and Apemantus and Cassius, hater of Cæsar, and Jaques, in "As You Like It." Practically, all shades of pessimist mood are presented in these persons. Jaques is incipient pessimistic, being melancholy and suspicious and dreamy in his views of things; he sees, or thinks he sees, the shadows chasing sunlight from the hills. If he change not nor die, he will by and by be misanthrope. Gloucester is in



nothing amiable. A coarse man, speaking lewdly of the mother of his son, steered by no governing motive pure and strong, he becomes attempted suicide in his calamities. Apemantus raves to hear himself, Timon curses because he does not hear himself. He had been lavish and foolish; now he is splenetic, turbulent, unreasoning, revengeful, and misanthropist. Both moods are insane. Shylock hates them that despise him, and his heart so pants for vengeance as that his hand plays with the knife for utter love of it. He had occasion for his anger, but vengeance is best left to God; and vengeance is pessimism grown to fruit. Cassius is cold as ice, bitter as winter, and using every man in range of him as hand and knife to stab his enemy, whom he hates for the good reason that this Cæsar has won applause and popularity and glory and Cassius plays a lesser part. Cassius is egotism that exalts itself to heaven in estimation, and is selfishness in full and poisonous flower. In this company legitimately fall the suicides, who are Romeo, Cassius, Brutus, and Othello. Romeo had with his equatorial nature loved to distraction, had wedded, and now, standing at the tomb of his beloved Juliet, finds the day pitch-dark about him. His broken heart says the day is dead with Juliet—there can be no more light—and that is the full mood of pessimism. Lost hope is a life in ruins. Hope must not die. Duty Romeo had not seen, for he was one to whom that word had made no loud appeal, and such a man is blighted while in gorgeous bloom; so it happens his impulse controls him and goads him to drink the poisoned cup. Cassius—stoic and pessimist, his plans defeated, his ambition slain but not dead, his envy in nothing abated—thinks death a lesser evil than to meet his conqueror. In pessimism is little real courage. To live under adverse stars is odds harder than to die. Suicide is rank moral cowardice. Brutus, carried away with his enthusiasm for liberty, finds himself the dupe of Cassius who has used him as his dagger to work his envy's spite, finds Cæsar truly "dead as earth" but the republic as dead as Cæsar, finds Antony his conqueror, and, what is worse, far worse, finds his dreams all dead; and his eyes are dim, he can see no whither save only the road for his dagger to his heart. Othello had lost faith, then Desdemona,

then had found himself poor dupe of cunning Iago, and leaps toward his suicide as swimmer toward the flood. When God has died to any soul, suicide is the quick way out of life's tragedy.

Shakespeare's optimists are really one, and he, Prospero. Faulconbridge might pass for company, if one would stretch a point, but he was rather loyal, unquestioning soldier-follower than schooled optimist. What Hamlet missed of being by his scowling attitude, that Prospero was. Robbed of his kingdom, he had his daughter and his books, and therein found a kingdom spacious as the skies. He had outlived hate, was calm, and so a calmer of the angry waters, scientist, and knew the art to make Caliban and Ariel do his bidding, schooled to endure adversity with a smiling face and beat back ruin with a laughing heart, self-poised, mage, master of himself and so of others, a man who refused to be conquered or handicapped by fate, but with his undaunted courage and his books found recovery and kingdom.

Shakespeare's aristocrat is Coriolanus, and is aristocrat life-size. He is a glowing portrait. His stout words of hate against the canaille are still hot in the air. Coriolanus was a soldier, a hero scarred with many battles for the State, and he hates the crowd nor loves their cheers, nor feels their curses. He is a graphic working out of this attitude toward society, the attitude that calls folks cads and lavishes fulsome love upon itself. Never was aristocrat so clearly seen, so aptly delineated. Into this character, I take it, Shakespeare poured the acidity himself had seen in aristocracies. Doubtless he had felt the lash of that inferiority that boasts itself in blood, and a great name not made but inherited. He is very caustic in that he lets the littleness and bigotry of Coriolanus blaze out so as to obscure his valor and exploits and hurl him headlong to treason. Aristocratic pride is cheap and little. Worth is God's merit mark. Coriolanus should have known that worth makes the man—himself or another—and that aristocracies and democracies both have their weaknesses and wickedness, and as between the two the common man is the conservator of the safety of the world. He was hysterical and self-conscious as a foolish girl.

The men of the baser sort are Cloten, Pandarus, Claudio, Angelo, Iachimo, King John, Richard III, Claudius, Oswald, Edmund the bastard, and Iago—not to mention those moral scullions, Falstaff, Nym, Pistol, and their ilk. Macbeth shall be mentioned in another company, though he belongs here too. Bad men belong in many classes. Iago was pessimist, and might have found classification there, but that his more legitimate ranking was with the basest of the base. Cassius belongs here; but, among pessimists, he felt so altogether at home, I thought to make him cheerful after his gloomy fashion, and so placed him there. Cymbeline was perilously near being a base man because weakness, culpable weakness, differentiates itself with difficulty from badness and baseness. A word to these brothers in wickedness. Cloten, son of Cymbeline's queen, is first coarse, then ambitious in what requires no manliness nor manly effort, then criminally weak, then base and brutal. Pandarus is paid go-between of lust and love, and has come to such shamed eminence as that his name is written in the world's lexicon as "pander," a minister to lust. Claudio is brother to the chaste, immaculate Isabella; and when his sister's virtue is assailed by Angelo, the duke's deputy, and this foul ruler makes the sister's virtue the price of the brother's freedom and life, Claudio, fearing death, asks Isabella to prostitute herself that he may live. Few conceptions in Shakespeare are more fiercely and mightily wrought out than this, and Claudio is damned to all the ages. Angelo is ruler who makes rigid laws against vice, and himself holds not back from any lust, and will stop at no violence to compass his will, and is so base as that no pleading from chaste lips nor tears from chaste eyes nor eloquence of purity and heartbreak can move him; and he is dead and his name rots. Iachimo is in some regards, to my fancy, the vilest man in Shakespeare, in that he, without a shadow of reason, does the foulest thing possible to a man, namely, blemishes a spotless woman's name, and that with her husband. A wager did it. Wagers are vicious and vice-producing. Iachimo affects to have access to Imogen's room and person, describes her boudoir and her breast so that silly and mean Leonatus—for in this he was less than man that he would put his wife's vir-

true to a wager, but so still does gambling hold nothing sacred—is deceived, and Iachimo lets him stay deceived and rest in the belief his wife is lewd. Can any man be viler than Iachimo? King John is the impotent meanness and rage of a small mind set in high places. Richard III—as Shakespeare fashions him, I do not now raise the question of the historical accuracy of the portrait—is a powerful and wicked mind turning all its resources of statecraft, cunning, courage, and imperial will toward the single task of self-aggrandizement. King Claudius is a man weak in all but wickedness. Oswald is sycophant and pusillanimous. Edmund is a man of military carriage, fascinating to women, dissatisfied, ambitious, villainous, heartless when his own interests are jeopardized by kindness, a self-sympathizer, a murderer of a brother's good name so that he may become his father's favorite and heir, giver-over of his father to the charge of treason so he may seize his estates and this with a courtly semblance of virtue which might make Iago envious; and, dying, spitting out with his life's blood

Some good I mean to do,  
Despite of mine own nature,

and with his selfishness still regnant in him, seeing by report that Goneril and Regan are dead, and for love of him,

Yet Edmund was beloved:  
The one the other poisoned for my sake,  
And after slew herself.

Iago is patron saint of villains and hypocrites. Words are lost on him. His guilt is black like Erebus. He is so deep a hypocrite as to deceive himself, which is the last infamy of hypocrisy and becomes its suicide. Only Guido in Browning's powerful drama is worse than Iago. So stands he in a foul preeminence.

The men of pathos are such as Wolsey—for whom no words now—and Lear and Richard II and Henry VI; and they three are kings! Is this design of Shakespeare to make his men of tears all sovereigns? Can kings weep and come to ashes as their sweetest morsel? So say these kings with broken voices and humbled looks, that used to be so high. Richard moaning,

I am sworn brother, sweet,  
To grim Necessity, and he and I  
Will keep a league till death.

And must I ravel out  
My weaved-up folly?

Mine eyes are full of tears, I cannot see,

is very pitiful. And Henry is full brother in this grief. As Henry's father's father had uncrowned Richard, so now he is uncrowned, and Richard and Henry across the years reach trembling and unsceptered hands and say with tear-choked voice, "Brothers we, kinsmen in grief." And Lear—with his eighty years and past of snowfall on him and his dear, misprized Cordelia in his arms and he with voice metal-hard rasping, "Cordelia, stay a little," and then sobbing, with a drooping voice,

She's dead as earth.

Now she's gone forever!  
Cordelia, Cordelia! stay a little.

Thou'lt come no more,  
Never, never, never, never, never!—

well may Edgar say—no words of ours—"Very bootless."

Hamlet and Othello and Valentine are Shakespeare's men of honor. Hamlet was eager to be honor's self, but knew not how. Othello is not the tragedy of jealousy, as many think, but is the tragedy of wounded honor. He was a soldier, and soldiers hold honor above all beside. Othello loved with a wild, true heart, it is true, but behind this is his sense of being shamed in Desdemona, and his hot haste of honor slew him and her. He presents the fatuity of honor. His soldier mind upset his husband sense and fidelity of love. Valentine's is honor's noble and spotless self.

Some sweet friends are shaped in Shakespeare; and no wonder, if he who wrote the "Sonnets" for love of friend should from his heart's deep loves make friendship beautiful upon the stage. Enobarbus, in "Antony and Cleopatra," friend to Antony; Menenius, friend to hot-blood Coriolanus; Pisanio at once servant and fast, true friend of posthumous

Leonatus and Imogen; Marc Antony, Cæsar's friend and eulogist—and for such a eulogium from such a friend who might not endure to die?—and Horatio. And Horatio? Who that loves loves not.

Horatio? Hamlet trusted him as I fear me he did not trust God, and left him legacy

Absent thee from felicity awhile  
To tell my story.

. . . . .  
Had I but time—as this fell sergeant, death,  
Is strict in his arrest—O I could tell you—  
But let be. Horatio, I am dead;  
Thou livest; report me and my cause aright  
To the unsatisfied.

The rest is silence, and his last look lingers on Horatio's face, and with a voice stained with tears Horatio whispers, "Now cracks a noble heart; good night, sweet prince."

The lovers are Duke Orsino, seeming fickle but surely true; Orlando, lover of Rosalind, and a more welcome and comely lover woman never would wish to love; Valentine, spotless gentleman from Verona, whose love was like himself true as the stars and white like their light; Romeo, a tempest of bewildered passion; Marc Antony, mad with love, checkmated by his heart, slave of that haunting voluptuousness named Cleopatra, fond enough to lose an empire and think nothing lost, and feeling his wounded way to Cleopatra's tower to die upon her heart and with her kisses on his lips; posthumous Leonatus, true in love to lovely Imogen, but weak in trust of her; King Leontes, ridiculous in his distrust of stately Hermione; Othello, who loved Desdemona with all the fervor of his tropic race; Lorenzo with his poet speech—these are royal lovers, and glow like crimson skies that will not fade.

Hamlet is the man of duty, and essentially he is the one man who is so presented, unless we except Kent in "Lear," who to my thought is rather the faithfulness of the courtier than the worker out of sober duty. But Hamlet is trying to find out what his duty is and do it. He did not find it out, and did not do it; but the man's futile endeavors, his colloquies with ghost and king and queen and himself to find where duty lay are sufficient to wake my pity and my tears.

He haunts me as his father's ghost does not. His was a solitary search for duty, and only in his dying throes did he behold his opportunity for which his life had waited. Pity Hamlet for his endeavor's sake.

In strident tones, like wind on winter seas driving through rigging of a ship scudding before the gale, conscience speaks in Richard III and in Macbeth. When Richard sleeps, conscience menaces him like lightning swords; when Macbeth wakes, conscience turns the intrepid soldier into a quaking voice and fear-whitened face and ghastly look at the empty but bloody chair of Banquo, and he calls so that the dinner feast is quite undone, calls with pallor in his very words,

You cannot say I did it:  
Shake not your gory locks at me.

In Lady Macbeth and King Macbeth conscience rises to its noon.

The time is spent, and more. This Shakespeare's world of men cannot be summoned and arrayed, as in a line of march, in such brief space. But they are mighty, and their name is legion, and they grow on the imagination like the height of midnight skies.

*W. A. Doyle.*

**ART. III.—SCHOLASTIC REALISM AND SOME OF ITS  
BEQUESTS TO THEOLOGICAL THINKING.**

As every student of philosophy knows, "realism" in the scholastic sense is not properly antithetic to "idealism" but to "nominalism." It stands for the conclusion that we are not dealing with mere names or conventional signs when we mention "universals"—general terms, designations of classes, names significant of species and genera, such as "wisdom," "man," "bird," "animal," "body," "color." In all instances of this kind, it holds, we are dealing with objective realities. To speak succinctly, scholastic realism has to do with the nature and functions of universals, and represents an emphatic position in favor of their reality, their actual existence in an objective range or apart from the human mind in its act of contemplating them.

The mediæval scholastics found an historic basis for their realistic doctrine in Platonism, or in Aristotelianism, or in a combination of the two. As commonly understood, Plato was an advocate of the most emphatic and unqualified realism. Before the individuals of like name he placed the universal; before concrete entities, the ideas. He regarded the latter as eternal and imperishable archetypes, uniform and self-identical realities; whereas, individual things belong to the sphere of mutation, and depend for the measure of reality which they do possess, as well as for their cognizability, upon participation in the universal essences, the ideas. So Plato has been generally understood to have taught. Lotze makes the suggestion that Plato was badly served in this relation by the Greek language, as failing to afford suitable means of discrimination between "validity" and "subsistence;" that what he wished to insist upon was not the independent subsistence of ideas, but their unconditioned validity—the fact of an ideal order or system which abides in its truth quite independent of any expression in the sphere of sensible and concrete reality, the perfect and unassailable integrity of thought-distinctions over against the flux characteristic of all finite things.\* However,

\**Logik*, pp. 501-506.



the verdict that Plato conceived of the ideas as substantial entities can claim a pretty good ground in the fact that a philosopher as near to him as Aristotle so judged, and also in the fact that historical critics as competent as Zeller, Erdmann, and others have pronounced very decidedly for the same conclusion.

Aristotle repudiated the theory of the independent and substantial existence of universals. The individual alone, he maintained, is entitled to be called substance. A general name is a predicate-term, not a subject-term. It is significant of an attribute, or of a complex of attributes, viewed as common to a greater or less number of individuals. There is no whiteness apart from individual white objects, and no humanity save in individual men. To name universals, therefore, is to express the common or resembling qualities of a plurality of objects. In this line of statements Aristotle seems to stand essentially on the basis of conceptualism, or the theory which makes universals expressive of concepts—mental representations of the common or (more strictly) similar in a plurality of objects. But, on the other hand, Aristotle made statements which were capable of being understood in a sense approximating not a little to Platonic realism. With Plato he taught both that individuals are known in their essential character in and through universals, and that the objects of genuine knowledge must be supposed to be real. In this way, notwithstanding his ascription of substantiality solely to individuals, he gave occasion to emphasize the superior reality of universals. A chance was afforded to one who was disposed to interpret Aristotle in favor of a somewhat stanch type of realism to do so without appearing to go far afield. If not fairly invited, this order of interpretation was not distinctly excluded. Platonism was undoubtedly the more congenial basis for a pronounced realism, but it could also find harborage among those who reckoned themselves disciples of Aristotle.

The essence of the Platonic doctrine came to be expressed in the formula *universalia ante rem*, while the characteristic feature of Aristotle's teaching in this relation was set forth in the formula *universalia in re*. These formulas may be credited with a measure of propriety as applied to the

respective ways of thinking of the two Greek philosophers. But evidently they are not fitted in themselves to serve as means of an accurate classification of realistic doctrine. It is necessary to inquire in what sense the universal is supposed to be prior to the individual thing, and in what sense it is supposed to be in the individual thing. As a matter of fact, pronounced realists in the middle ages had no objection to either formula. If they did not hold that universals are before the things in the manner of strictly independent entities, they did hold that they have a prior existence as the forms or patterns of things contained in the divine mind from eternity; and they were also agreed in maintaining that in an important sense they are in things. A discriminating exegesis must therefore look beyond the mere formula with which the teaching of a writer may have been associated.

It is commonly admitted that Erigena reproduced substantially the Platonic realism. He conceived of universals as real essences, superior in rank to individuals, logically prior to them, and containing the fundament of their being. As Ueberweg remarks, he seems to have hypostatized the *tabula logica*, making the degrees of abstraction to correspond with the degrees in the scale of real existence. A close approximation to the realistic teaching of Erigena was made by Anselm. He reproached contemporary nominalists for estimating *universales substantias* as mere words, and for showing themselves incapable of understanding by color anything distinct from body, or by wisdom anything distinct from the soul, being so merged in sense as to be disqualified from contemplating things sole and pure. He also represented the ideas which God thinks in the Logos as a veritable basis of the creature universe, the unchanging grounds of changing things, originals to which the things of the time-world but feebly correspond. Anselm did not indeed define his position very precisely, but such hints as he has given leave no reason to doubt that his thinking was emphatically of the realistic order. Among those who followed, William of Champeaux strongly asserted the objective reality of universals, and reduced individuals to the rank of accidental distinctions superinduced upon a common base. Fundamentally

Socrates, Plato, and the rest, as he represented, are one and the same entity, the universal, humanity, which in manifestation is diversified by certain accidental forms or characteristics. In the list of emphatic realists may be mentioned also Odo of Cambrai, Bernard of Chartres, Walter of Mortagne, and William of Auvergne.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was somewhat of a tendency to curtail the realistic theory. This tendency may have been due in part to the growing ascendancy of Aristotle in the thinking of that period. Abelard and John of Salisbury are understood to have espoused essentially the platform of conceptualism. Even such masters of orthodoxy as Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas indulged in statements which make for conceptualism rather than for any type of realism. When the former said, *Non est universale nisi dum intelligitur*,\* he was certainly very far from giving expression to a realistic tenet. Language that looks in the same direction may be found with Aquinas.† However, the teaching of Aquinas shows also traces of realistic leaven. For instance, in his theory of cognition he seems to assume in things, as in some sense separable from their matter, a real existence of forms, that is, of universals in the sense of the realists. A fervent admirer thus construes the theory of the "angelic doctor" relative to the process of knowledge:

The thing effects by means of the image-like in itself, that is the thought element, its entrance into the inner world of images, that is the circle of our thinking. Through the species as an element in the being of the thing, which element is conformable to the soul, the subject [of cognition] is placed in the soul. The soul receives the foreign form

\* *Metaphys.*, Lib. v, tract. vi, cap. vii. Cited by Hauréau, *Histoire de la Philosophie Scolastique*, II, 325.

† *Dicendum, quod licet quaelibet scientia et definitio sit solum entium, non tamen oportet quod res eundem modum habeant in essendo, quem intellectus habet in intelligendo. Nos enim per virtutem intellectus agentis abstrahimus species universales a particularibus conditionibus: non tamen oportet quod universalia praeter particularia subsistant, ut particularium exemplaria.*—*Sum. Theol.*, Pars I, quaest. xlii, art. lii.

*Creatio non dicitur constitutionem rei compositae ex principiis praeeistentibus: sed compositum sic dicitur creari, quod simul cum omnibus suis principiis in esse producit.*—*Sum. Theol.*, Pars I, quaest. xlv, art. iv.

*Nomina abstracta non important res per se existentes in genere substantiae; ut humanitas nomen abstractum est, non tamen per se existit.*—Cited by Hauréau, II, 414.

without losing its own, and that is the preeminence of the cognitive being.\*

Rather more explicitly than Aquinas, Duns Scotus and the Scotists paid tribute to realistic doctrine. It is true that on the one hand Scotus reproduced the Aristotelian stress upon the individual; but it is also true that he brought to the front the other side of Aristotle's teaching—his stress upon the two facts that individuals are known in their essential character through universals, and that the objects of knowledge must be supposed to be real. In construing this order of representation the "subtle doctor" seems to have assumed that, corresponding to the names of genera and species, there are objectively subsistent forms, prior in the order of generation to the individual, and constituting a nature which without detriment to its unity may be in any number of individuals. "Universal natures," says Stöckl in exposition of Scotist doctrine, "would exist, even if the understanding which thinks them should not exist. . . . Universal natures are constituted through the union of the generic and the specific form, and these forms present themselves to the understanding as objects located in nature itself, objects which are independent of the act of thinking on the part of the understanding."† Scotus may have said some things which look in the direction of a modification of this decisively realistic teaching, but it must at least be admitted that realistic doctrine finds very congenial ground in his representations.‡

In the fourteenth century a distinct revolt against realism was inaugurated by William Occam and his school. The Occamist teaching has been styled "nominalism;" but it is a fair question whether it would not be more justly denominated "conceptualism." For a time it ruled a good part of

\* Otto Willmann, *Geschichte des Idealismus*, II, 386, 387. The following is a part of the statement of Aquinas: *Cognoscentia a non-cognoscentibus in hoc distinguuntur, quia non-cognoscentia nihil habent nisi formam suam tantum, sed cognoscens natum est habere formam, etiam rei alterius; nam species cogniti est in cognoscente.*

† *Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, II, 789.

‡ Stöckl, Hauréau, and Willmann agree in the conclusion that in the Scotistic formalism a very considerable approach was made to the Platonic hypostasizing of universals. Some other interpreters have understood Scotus in the sense of a less pronounced realism.

the ecclesiastical domain. Realism, however, was not effectually displaced. In a general view it appears as a prominent element in mediæval scholasticism. Even in quarters where it was not inculcated in the most open and unequivocal manner there was a tendency to admit more or less of its implications.

What now is to be thought of scholastic realism? It must be pronounced philosophically unsound. It may point to truths, but it is not true. There is absolutely no rational warrant for the real objective existence of universals, and all the analogies which are pertinent to the subject are distinctly opposed to such existence. Suppose there were in the mind of God from eternity generic and specific patterns of things to be made, what connection could these have had with real subsistence? Analogy would lead us to say not a whit more connection than a rule of action has with the act which it forecasts, or a picture with the object which it represents. A man purposing to make clothespins and ball clubs naturally fashions in his mind patterns of these things. What relation in such a case do the patterns hold to the things? Just simply that of antecedent thought-forms. They stand for a purely subjective mental function. They are in the mind and of the mind, and can no more get out of the mind into the things in any real sense than a part of the mind can be cut off and inserted into a lump of matter. The things correspond in certain respects to the patterns, because the will uses the patterns as standards or rules of action in making the things. In no proper sense are the mental patterns moved into the things, or made to reside in them, or to serve as a constitutive element of their being. The being of the things is due to the shaping, energizing will—the mental patterns serving simply as the rational antecedent, the governing rule for the agency of the will which effectuates the things. Such is the dictate of any analogy to which we can appeal. Out of the range of finite experience we can get no warrant whatever for the making of any supposed ideas or patterns in the divine mind anything more than rules of procedure for the creative divine will. For aught we know there may be in the divine mind ideas which serve as the rational antecedents of things ;

there may be even ideas of as general a cast as one may be pleased to imagine; but that these ideas enter literally into the being of things, or are to be credited with any sort of objective or extra-mental subsistence, with any subsistence other than purely conceptual, there is no reason to suppose. It is slipshod thinking which ignores or minimizes the gulf between the mere notions of things and things themselves.

But, it will be asked, is it not true, as Plato and Aristotle assumed, that individuals are known through universals, and that the objects of genuine knowledge must be supposed to be real? This is to be granted. If we look carefully, however, at the import of the facts in question, we shall find no justification therein of the realistic doctrine. To say that individuals are known through universals is simply to say that nothing is known in the way of absolute isolation, but rather in the way of connection or comparison with the known. Having on hand, as understood categories, such general or class terms as "animal," "rational," "volitional," "moral," "spiritual," "corporeal," "mortal," and "immortal," we proceed to define a given individual that is introduced to our attention by applying to the same these terms or as many of them as are suitable to the case. What does that signify? That the individual is veritably compounded of universals corresponding to the list of general terms mentioned? Nothing of the sort. It signifies merely that the individual is capable of being viewed in class relations and is defined to our minds by being so viewed. Intrinsically he may be individual in every atom of his being; yet if he has points of resemblance to other individuals, he can be set in relation to them on the score of these points of resemblance—in other words, be associated with them under class terms. The resemblances being real, the act of association or classification is not arbitrary, but correspondent to fact. The Platonic and Aristotelian propositions under consideration reduce, therefore, to this: The individual is defined to our thought by being viewed in class relations, and a genuine basis for so viewing him or it is supplied in his actual resemblances to other individuals. In the individual there is and can be nothing universal. Rationality in John is

purely John's capacity for rational activity. But, in so far as John is rational, he has a distinct resemblance to James and Nathan and the rest, and so in the comparing mind can be brought under a common designation with them. The universal is a matter of concept or mental representation. Conceptualism must be pronounced the true theory, it being at the same time understood that the concept expressed in a general term is not arbitrarily formed, but has respect to actual resemblances of individuals.

Using language with customary freedom, one may indeed speak of ideas as being immanent in things. As a matter of fact, philosophical writers who confess no allegiance to scholastic realism are not unaccustomed to define the continuous identity of changing things by saying that through all their changes they remain true to their immanent ideas. The language is excusable, but in strictness, as no one should need to be told, there are no ideas in the things. What is meant is that the shaping and conserving power back of things secures their conformity throughout their history to certain types or patterns.

The substance of the above discussion may be embraced in the following summary :

A general notion is no actual or possible metaphysical existence. All real existence is necessarily singular and individual. The only way to give the notion any metaphysical significance is to turn it into a law inherent in reality, and this attempt will fail unless we finally conceive this law as a rule according to which a basal intelligence proceeds in positing individuals.\*

Scholastic realism being at fault in its fundamental contention, any theological structure which has been built upon it as a necessary basis must be accounted worthless. Of these structures the most notable has been reared in connection with the problem of original sin. Not all of the scholastics by any means made any direct use of the realistic postulate in their attempt to solve this problem. But some of them did. Anselm, for instance, proceeding on the common assumption of the Latin Church in that age, that Adam's sin was not merely the beginning of the depravation of the human family,

\* Bowne, *Theory of Thought and Knowledge*, p. 134.

but chargeable as a matter of guilt to all the members of the race, endeavored to explain this universal guiltiness by reference to the subsistence of the whole race in the first transgressor. He admitted that the descendants of Adam were not in him in their proper personal character. But human nature, he argued, was one; it was in Adam in its entirety when he sinned; it was corrupted in its entirety by that trespass; and, as each man that is born has this nature from the start, he is justly accounted from the start a guilty sinner.\* To whatever skirmishing Anselm may have resorted, he evidently assumed in this construction the substantial existence of a universal, a human nature in Adam, which was not merely Adam's nature, but literally the nature as well of his remotest descendant. Representations quite parallel to those of Anselm appear in a treatise by Odo of Cambrai.† Nor did this order of theological construction end with the palmy days of scholastic realism. Survivals of the same marvelous scheme for making men into responsible sinners in and through a transaction occurring thousands of years before their birth appear up to date. In at least two of the prominent dogmatic works published in this country within the last fifteen years a full equivalent of the Anselmic representation has place.

What has already been said may serve to indicate how this realistic doctrine of original sin rebels against philosophical interpretation. The real existence of the species, or of a general human nature in Adam—a human nature which is literally the property of all the descendants of Adam—is an artificial and unmanageable conception. How can the same identical nature, regarded as substantially existent, be literally present in a plurality of individuals? If it is counted indivisible, then we have the problem as to the possible multipresence of a finite entity—its simultaneous subsistence whole and entire in any number of subjects. Nor is this all. We have the question as to whether distinctions of personality

\* *De Concept. Virg.*, vii, xxiii. *Quia natura subsistit in personis et personæ non sunt sine natura, facit natura personas infantium peccatrices. Sic spoliavit persona naturam bono justitiæ in Adam; et natura egens facta omnes personas quas ipsa de se procreat, eadem egestate peccatrices et injustos facit.*

† *De Peccato Originali*, Lib. ii.



amount to anything more than diversities in accidental properties. If human nature taken as a real entity, one and self-identical, is in every man, then it would seem to follow that any given individual of the human race is, in the whole foundation and core of his being, identical with any other individual and is distinguished from the same only superficially—the outcome to which William of Champeaux was led by his realistic premises. On that basis one ought not to say with emphasis, “I am myself,” but, rather, “I am any other man plus a little surface difference.” This flattening down of the significance of personality, we need not say, is something which a sober philosophy cannot regard favorably. It is the presupposition of all earnest thinking of a theistic and Christian order, that distinctions of personality are the most fundamental in the world. Men may be said to have a common nature in the sense that they are resembling personalities. To affirm that in the fundament and core of their being they are all one and the same entity styled “human nature” is to deny to them the proper uniqueness and significance of distinct personalities. If, on the other hand, the human nature primarily resident in Adam is supposed to pass literally into his descendants through partition, we have a conceit second to none in its strangeness and repulsion against all rational construction. This conceit, we judge, has not often come to open and explicit expression. The marvel is that it should ever have been entertained. Yet we find it distinctly announced by a distinguished advocate of the realistic interpretation of original sin. He makes this formal definition, “An individual is a fractional part of human nature separated from the common mass.” This identifies human nature with a divisible stuff, and suggests the question how many basketfuls the pieces would make if they should be gathered up. More than this, it implies that human nature is a stuff characterized by a low degree of organization, for even sensible bodies that have any high degree of organization cannot be cut to pieces without being condemned to utter disintegration. Then, too, the question arises how a fractional part of human nature can be counted a real human nature. One would hesitate to dignify with the title of “man” a thumb which had been severed

from a human hand. By what analogy, then, shall one justify the regarding of a fractional part of human nature as a real human nature? The most drastic materialism in its attempts to construe psychical facts never made resort to a cruder conception than this of a partition of human nature into real substantial portions.

With these metaphysical shortcomings of the realistic doctrine of original sin must be joined other grounds of objection which can never cease to be weighty in the sight of a practical mind. It affronts common sense to suppose that human beings can have a responsible part in a transaction occurring before their personal conscious subsistence. The sober judgment of men leads them to except the first *stadium* even of conscious life from accountability, on the ground that newly born children have too small a dower of intelligence and self-direction to provide for responsible agency. How then shall sober judgment tolerate the notion of the responsible participation of an individual in an event that happened ages prior to his birth and which he had no more power to prevent than he had to veto the fiat of creation? Furthermore, if on realistic grounds Adam's sin is chargeable to the newly born child of this generation, then the same child is chargeable on precisely the same grounds with all the sins of those preceding him in the direct line of his ancestry; for, in any real sense in which the child was in Adam, he was in every one of his ancestors. If he bears the guilt of Adam's sin and does not bear the whole accumulated load of ancestral transgressions, it must be in virtue of a perfectly arbitrary ruling.

As not being a book of metaphysics the Bible of course gives no direct sanction to the philosophical postulate back of the realistic interpretation of original sin. Much more may be affirmed. The Bible affords no proper occasion for such an interpretation, since it does not by any means enforce belief in a responsible or guilty participation of the race in Adam's trespass. Only three or four sentences of a single biblical writer afford even a verbal basis for a belief of that sort. And one may reasonably regard himself as warned against taking these Pauline sentences in a literal fashion, when he finds that a like style of interpretation applied to parallel expressions

would shut up exegesis to the conclusion that all men actually died with Christ and have at the moment of birth in veritable possession and process of fulfillment a tolerably full ethical and religious code. The apostle, using the prerogatives of vivid religious oratory, did not stop to discriminate closely between tendency and the goal of tendency. The bad beginning in Adam tended to make men sinners, as the glorious consummation of righteous obedience in the dying Christ tended to make men die to sin. Men are born with tendencies which, left unchecked and unconquered, are quite certain to issue into the character and conduct which invite wrath, just as they are born with tendencies which in anything like a normal unfoldment lead to a recognition of the cardinal demands of the divine law.\* An emphatic expression of these thoughts, an oratorical putting of tendency for a natural though not strictly necessary result is all that needs to be found in Paul's statements. To make his words go on all fours, and thus to put a meaning into them that affronts common sense, is quite gratuitous.

To guard against misunderstanding, let it be said that heredity may be a very considerable fact. Conduct, as respects one or another of its conditions, may be placed at a disadvantage in any given case by reason of some transmitted tendency. But an unavoidable inheritance, apart from a consideration of what is done with it, is never a ground for condemnation. What less than heathenish arbitrariness is it to condemn a child on the score of congenital lameness? And what difference does it make, so far as blameworthiness is concerned, whether the adverse entail appears in the visible members or is hidden among the invisible conditions of the soul's activity? Whether it be in the one range or the other, since it is not present by any choice or invitation of its subject, no man of sane judgment can blame its subject for the mere fact of its presence; and surely God's judgment ought not to be imagined to be less regardful of the truth and reason of things than that of men.

Another application of realistic speculation somewhat less distinct than that which we have been considering appears in

\* Compare Rom. v, 12, with 2 Cor. v, 14; Eph. ii, 3, with Rom. ii, 14, 15.

connection with the subject of Christ's person and work. Advocates of the mystical theory of the atonement have sometimes represented that Christ's manhood was not simply an individual manhood, but rather generic or universal, and thus capable, as in a real manner embracing the race, to have its doing and suffering rated as the doing and suffering of men generally. Now it is to be admitted that the completeness of Christ's manhood, with its marvelous balance of perfections, and the uniqueness of historical position which belonged to Christ provide for him as man an extraordinary breadth and fullness of relationships. It is also to be admitted that Christ's transcendence of human measures, his possession of a nature spiritual and divine, legitimates the notion of a possible mystical union between himself and those who adhere to him in living faith. But in all this there is nothing to suggest that, in a proper philosophical use of terms, the manhood of Christ is not to be regarded as concrete and individual as is manhood in any other namable instance. The supposition of a veritable universality, as involving the person of Christ in mist and vagueness, tends, so far as it is taken seriously, to embarrass Christian contemplation of the Son of man. It is a supposition, too, which is loaded down with difficulties for rational thinking. No less than the kindred supposition of an all-inclusive Adam, this notion of an all-inclusive Christ assails the proper conception of distinctions of personality. It needs to be inquired, too, in connection with such a notion, whether the universal humanity of Christ embraces all men continually, so as to harbor equally the good and the bad, the saved and the damned; also, whether, in case a portion of the race is dissevered and given an outside standing, this is to be counted prejudicial to the integrity of Christ's manhood. Still, further, it will be pertinent to inquire how, if we are to accept the conclusion that all men were in Christ so as to participate in his dying, we are to construe the fact that so large a portion of the race must have died before they were born. Again, if it is so easy to identify all with one, it may be asked why would not a respectable benevolence insist upon the identification of all with Christ in his earning of eternal and heavenly reward, and so abolish outright all painful con-

tingencies as to the destiny of souls. Once more, a rational desire for insight into the subject may prompt one to ask what the generality of the race were doing in the interval between sinning in Adam and dying in Christ. Surely, if that space is to be regarded as occupied with any serious business, men could fitly be pardoned for being born tired. Beauty and charm belong to the thought of union with Christ by the bonds of faith and love. The notion that there is in Christ a universal manhood, a manhood absorbent or inclusive of men generally, is barren, confusing, fantastic.

Scholastic realism may be credited with a certain service in emphasizing the truth that knowledge rejects the isolation of its objects, and that in the great system of reality there are means for something more than an arbitrary association or grouping of objects. In its characteristic tenet, however, it appropriated from antique philosophy products of immature thinking. The doctrine of the real existence of universals is an unmanageable figment. The coming age will show wisdom in excluding from its theological structure anything which rests upon the realistic postulate as a necessary basis.

*H. C. Sheldon.*

## ART. IV.—FAITH AND BELIEF.

A GLANCE at Cruden's Concordance will show considerable difference in the use of the words "faith" and "belief" in the Bible. The latter word is quoted only once—in 2 Thess. ii, 13—"through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth." Having in mind the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the faith of the ancients is repeatedly mentioned, we are surprised to find that faith is quoted only twice from the Old Testament—Hab. ii, 4, "But the just shall live by his faith," and Deut. xxxii, 20, "For they are a very froward generation, children in whom is no faith." Aside from the one occurrence of the word "belief," forms of the word—"believe," "believing," and "believer"—occur two hundred and eighty-five times in about two hundred and seventy independent statements, the same statement in several instances having been recorded by different writers. About forty of the occurrences are in the Old Testament, leaving about two hundred and thirty for the New Testament.

The word "faith" occurs two hundred and twenty-six times in the New Testament—twice in half a dozen passages—but the number of independent statements is somewhat less than two hundred. To this number are to be added "faithful" (thirty-nine in the Old Testament; forty in the New Testament), "faithfully" (seven in the Old Testament; one in the New Testament), and "faithfulness" (twenty-one in the Old Testament, nearly all instances being in the Psalms), making three hundred and thirty-six occurrences in the Bible of affirmative forms of the word "faith." This number does not differ greatly from the number of occurrences of the word "belief," though there is considerable difference in the usage of individual writers. St. John's gospel, which has forms of "belief" eighty-six times, does not have "faith" at all. In the epistles, excepting St. John's ("belief" occurring seven times and "faith" once), the word "faith" is largely predominant, especially in the epistles of St. Paul. The frequency of occurrence is also very noticeable in the Epistle to the Hebrews and in the

Epistle of James, this being due to the general subject which is presented.

The negative forms of these words are much less commonly used. Thus it is that the expression "faithless" occurs four times, in two independent statements, while the word "unbelief" is found seventeen times, the term "unbelieving" six times, and the word "unbelievers" four times—all of these cases being in the New Testament. These instances, added to the various occurrences of the affirmative forms of the word "belief," make the number nearly the same for forms of the words "faith" and "belief."

Looked at from the standpoint of the Greek nearly all, both affirmative and negative forms, are translations of some form of one Greek word, so that in the mind of the Greek there could not be any opposition or even contrast between "faith" and "belief." In English there is no verb "to faith," and the translators have taken the verb "believe" to represent the Greek verb corresponding to the noun which is translated "faith." For the affirmative noun the Greek has *πίστις*, which is also, in the Authorized Version, translated "belief," as in 2 Thess. ii, 13, already quoted. Translating here by the word "faith," as *πίστις* is translated in other passages in the New Testament, the word "belief" would altogether disappear from the Bible.

Both in the New Testament and in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament the verb *πιστεύω* is used; in the New Testament the present participle of this verb and the verbal adjective *πιστός* are translated "faithful," "believing," and "believer," the latter term being used to translate the Greek adjective and participle once each. Perhaps the most noticeable expression is Rom. xv, 13, "With all joy and peace in believing," which in Greek contains the infinitive with the article, *πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ εἰρήνης ἐν τῷ πιστεῦν*. Though the Greek adjective is translated in three different ways, in some passages different terms are used in the translation merely for variety of expression, as in John xx, 27: "Be not faithless, but believing," *μὴ γίνου ἀπιστος ἀλλὰ πιστός*. In this Greek one term is merely the negative of the other, and a parallel translation in the two parts would give, "Be not un-

believing, but believing." The same variation is shown in Rom. iii, 8, "Shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect?" the Greek being, *μή ἡ ἀπιστία αὐτῶν τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ καταργήσῃ*. Another instance, also, is found in Rom. xi, 20, "Well; because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith," *Καλῶς τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ἐξεκλάσθησαν, σὺ δὲ τῇ πίστει ἑστηκας*. In these the affirmative and negative nouns *πίστις* and *ἀπιστία*, "faith" and "unfaith," are contrasted, though in the translation not the latter term, but "unbelief" is used. The Greek form of expression does not in all parts correspond so closely to the English translation. In addition to the Greek forms used in the New Testament, the Hebrew expressions rendered "faithful," "faithfully," and "faithfulness" are also translated by forms of *ἀλήθεια*, "truth," which is used in all passages in the Psalms and Isaiah where "faithfulness" occurs in the English translation.

While nearly all the affirmative Greek terms translated into English by "faith" and "belief" are merely varied forms of one Greek word, this is not so in the case of the negative terms. These are expressed by *πιστεύω* with a negative—the negative formations *ἀπιστέω*, *ἀπιστία*, and *ἀπιστος*—and in addition by *ἀπειθέω* and *ἀπειθεία*, in which the element of persuasion is predominant. "Unbelievers" and "unbelieving," four times each, are the translations of *ἀπιστοι*; and *ἀπειθήσαντες* is also translated "unbelieving" in Acts xiv, 2: "But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles." This verb is also used in Acts xvii, 5; xix, 9; Rom. xi, 30, 31; Heb. iii, 18; xi, 31, where the translation is "believed not," though the negative of "believe" is generally *πιστεύω* with a negative. *Ἀπιστέω* is used in Luke xxiv, 41; Rom. iii, 3; and 2 Tim. ii, 13. "Unbelief" is used to translate *ἀπιστία*, the regular negative of *πίστις*, twelve times, and *ἀπειθεία* is employed five times. The latter term is also rendered by "disobedience" in four passages, and the corresponding verb and verbal are translated in the same way. The Latin translation has a variety of expressions for these terms, but in one passage, Eph. ii, 2, *insuasibilitas*, "unpersuadableness," gives the force of the Greek. Both the verb and noun forms are used in Rom. xi, 30: "For as ye in times past have not believed God, *ἠπειθήσατε*, yet have



now obtained mercy through their unbelief, ἀπειθεία.” Forms of the word occur also in verses 31 and 32, or four times in three verses. The participial form is used in Heb. xi, 31, “With them that believed not, τοῖς ἀπειθήσασιν,” and in 1 Pet. iii, 20, “To the sometimes disobedient spirits, ἀπειθήσασιν ποτε.” The force of the terms, as in some other negative expressions, is in the negation of the willingness to believe, and so the denial of an attitude inclining toward belief. Yet this difference between unbelief and unpersuadedness must not be pressed too far, for we read in Heb. iii, 18, 19, “And to whom swear he that they should not enter into his rest, but to them that believed not? So we see that they could not enter in because of unbelief.” These expressions for unbelief are apparently synonymous; yet the latter is ἀπιστία, “unfaith,” while the former is εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἀπειθήσασιν, “if not to the unpersuaded.” In the parallel statement, found in Heb. iv, 6, ἀπειδεία, “unpersuadedness,” takes the place of ἀπιστία, “unfaith.”

Though there is no verb form in English corresponding to the noun “faith,” use is sometimes made of the equivalent periphrasis “to have faith,” πιστὶν ἔχειν. This expression occurs in three gospels five times, in Acts once, and in the Epistles of St. Paul and of St. James three times each. A comparison of Matt. xxi, 21, with Mark xi, 22, 23, shows that this is a variation of the verbal expression usually translated “believe.” The equivalent of the Greek *periphrasis* is found in Latin also, and judging by passages quoted in the lexicons, it occurs most frequently in Roman legal writings, and its appearance in the New Testament may perhaps be an indication of Roman influence over the users of Greek.

*A. B. Steele*

ART. V.—SPIRITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE  
“DIVINE COMEDY.”

THE great increase of the influence of Dante has been one of the most notable features of the intellectual life of the nineteenth century. At the morning of the twentieth “the voice of ten silent centuries” is sounding through the world as never before. The first English translation of the “Inferno” was published in 1770. Fifteen years later the same translator\* published a version of the whole of the *Divine Comedy*. But neither this translation nor one of the “Inferno” which appeared in 1782† gained either the interest of the English public or any great measure of the commendation of critics. The translation by H. F. Cary—of which the “Inferno” appeared in 1805 and the whole poem in 1812—was languidly received at first, but won its way rapidly after it had been eulogized by Coleridge. It passed through several editions in a generation, and is still widely read. Many popular editions of it have been issued. During the last half century English translations of the *Divine Comedy* have been numerous; and now many English and American students are realizing that no other poet suffers so much in even the most faithful translation as Dante, and are mastering Italian in order to fully enjoy the incomparable music and beauty of the greatest of spiritual poems. Among the nineteenth century expositors of Dante, France has two or three great names and Germany many, though it is only a little more than a hundred years since Goethe pronounced the “Inferno” abominable, the “Purgatorio” doubtful, and the “Paradiso” tiresome. Schiller gives no token of any acquaintance with Dante. There has been more progress in the study of Dante in the last seventy-five years than in the previous five hundred, and the interest in the three of his works which have an orderly and vital relation to each other—*La Vita Nuova*, *Il Convito*, and *La Divina Commedia*—is constantly increasing.

The *Vita Nuova* tells the story of his youthful love for Beatrice—his pure passion for one who seemed to him a mira-

\* The Rev. Henry Boyd.

† By Charles Rogers.

cle from heaven, whose beauty moved none to envy but all to gentleness and faith and love. The *Convito* relates how afterward human philosophy won his devotion and intellectual pride blinded him to the beauty of spiritual faith. The *Divine Comedy* begins with his conversion. Beatrice has now become to him the embodiment of divine grace and truth. Through her comes the gracious summons by which he is led to spiritual freedom and rest in God. No other great poem has so personal an interest, no other is so autobiographic; but Dante's journey through hell, his toil upward from cornice to cornice of the mount of cleansing, and his ascent from glory to glory in the "Paradiso" were not for himself alone. He represented the race. In form the *Divine Comedy* is a literal vision of the world beyond the grave. Nothing can be more realistic than the poet's description of every incident of his difficult, perilous, and awful journey through hell, his climb up the purgatorial mountain, and his flight from heaven to heaven under the guidance of Beatrice; his interviews with all varieties of sinners and of saints; his first sight of the city of Dis, with its domes made red by the eternal fire; his morning vision of the trembling sea from the steep mountain of Purgatory; his countless etchings of picturesque details; his portraits of fiends, angels, and men and women, lost or glorified. He makes us see the boiling pitch of Malebolge, the bubbles that arise in the slime of the Styx from the sobs of the sullen who lie immersed in the black mire, the ruined souls fleeing like frogs before the face of the heavenly messenger, the traitors glimmering through the ice of Cocytus like straws in glass.

But, while the vision is so literal in form, it has an allegorical meaning. Dante, the pilgrim, represents man, whose salvation is a threefold process: (1) The realization of the guilt and doom of sin; (2) The attainment of spiritual purity and freedom; (3) Union with God. In his dedicatory letter to Can Grande della Scala, Dante says:

The aim of the whole and of the individual parts is to bring those who are living in this life out of a state of misery, and to guide them to a state of happiness. . . . The subject of the whole work, then, taken literally, is the state of souls after death regarded as matter of fact; for the action of the whole work deals with this, and is about this. But, if

the work be taken allegorically, its subject is man, in so far as by merit or demerit in the exercise of free will he is exposed to the rewards or punishment of justice.

Henry Hart Milman calls Dante "the one authorized topographer of the mediæval hell." The "Inferno" of Dante is nevertheless his own creation; perhaps it would be better to say, his own vision of the guilt and punishment of sin. Its significance is not in its resemblance to mediæval notions of hell, but in the features that are original with him. Current mediæval conceptions of hell were as unreasonable as they were grotesque and horrible. Dante's hell also has abundance of grotesqueness and horror, but is never irrational. Sin and punishment closely correspond. Grotesqueness, horror, and cruelty are essential traits of sin.

Dante's supreme contempt was for those who had not sufficient courage and will power to qualify themselves even for hell, "those who lived without infamy or praise," the caitiff wretches hateful to God and to his enemies, who never were alive, who endlessly follow a whirling banner and are perpetually stung by gadflies and hornets:

These have no longer any hope of death;  
And this blind life of theirs is so debased,  
They envious are of every other fate.  
No fame of them the world permits to be;  
Misericord and justice both disdain them.  
Let us not speak of them, but look, and pass.\*

Thus he emphasizes his respect for the sovereignty of the human will. In the descending circles of the "Inferno" are those who have been masters of their own fate. The infinite justice built hell, not supreme caprice. Its foundations and those of heaven are both laid in the will of man, who determines his own destiny, being the free architect of his own character. In the "Inferno" are those who "have foregone the good of intellect." They have made their own choice:

Celestial justice spurs them on,  
So that their fear is turned into desire.  
This way there never passes a good soul.

The order of degrees of guilt in the "Inferno" is significant. The incontinent are in the upper circle; the violent are

\* *Inf.*, III, 46-51. The metrical quotations are from Longfellow's translation.

far down; below the violent are the fraudulent, seducers, flatterers, fortune tellers, those who make merchandise of justice, hypocrites, thieves, falsifiers; lowest of all are traitors. This order is determined by the relative effect of the various sins upon society. The man of appetites mainly wrongs himself; the violent imperil society; the fraudulent destroy the bond of social confidence; universal treachery would annihilate society—the traitor can have no mutual fellowship, he isolates himself in ice. The intemperate or gluttonous man may make himself little better than a beast; but the traitor dehumanizes himself and becomes a fiend. He can have no home, no friend, no country, no God. Even treachery, the worst of sins, has its different degrees, ranging downward from those who betray their kindred, country, or friends to Lucifer, "the emperor of the kingdom dolorous."

Many on superficial acquaintance with the "Inferno" have been repelled by its horrors, its seemingly cruel torments. But in reality Dante represents sin as its own punishment. His material representations — doleful, grotesque, horrible, terrible—are all the fruit of the respective sins. Each works its own punishment. Its doom is in its nature. The essence of sin is selfishness, which is destructive of real selfhood. The weary, naked, ruined souls blaspheme God, the human race, their progenitors, and their own birth. Lustful passion is a hurricane that never rests, driving the soul in darkness "hither, thither, downward, upward." Intemperance and gluttony make men beastly and drench them in filth. The avaricious and the prodigal both have an ignoble and fruitless slavery to material things, and their hell is simply the perpetuation of their ill-giving and ill-taking. Anger fills the soul with sluggish smoke and mire.\* Political corruption is like boiling pitch. Hypocrites are a painted people, whose cloak, outwardly gilded, is heavy, "a weary mantle" in time and eternity. The thief in taking the property of others loses his own personality and is transformed into a snake. Evil counselors are tongues of flame, self-consumed with the

\* In the third chapter of *Kim*, Rudyard Kipling's story now in course of publication in *McClure's Magazine*, the lama says, "He was led to speak harshly by the red mist of anger."

mischievous whereby they injure others. Liars get to believe their own falsehoods; their sin is like a burning and delirious fever. Treachery makes the heart as cold and lifeless as ice. All of the grotesqueness and shame and horror of Dante's "Inferno" are visible about us. All of its torments are being suffered in the life that now is. Every sinner has a hell in his own heart. The doom of the miser is in his frenzy for mere accumulation. Beastliness is found in palaces, as well as in slums. Every edition of a daily paper tells us of the serpents of fraud, the pitch of corruption, the weariness of those who lead a double life. The living traitor is as isolated as though he were frozen into the eternal ice of the farthest north or Dante's Cocytus. In picturing the punishments of hell Dante has only told us of the actual and inevitable reaction of sin on its subject. The "Paradiso" may be an unknown country to all but a few; but the world of wickedness is the "Inferno." It is all around us. Even those who are not of it live in it. We need the guidance of the reason and the protection of angels, if we would safely traverse its marshes and mire and pitfalls, its realms of fire and filth and blood.

In the "Purgatorio" we have Dante's conception of personal salvation. This is nothing less than the winning of holy self-control. Salvation is character. Character is an achievement. The infinite grace has provided a mount of purification. He that would be clean and free must climb, and he cannot begin his arduous endeavor till he has girded himself with the rush of humility. The prayers of others will aid him by increasing his consciousness and receptiveness of divine sympathy and help, but they do not take a single step from the upward journey. In patience and persistence the upward toiling pilgrim must win his soul. The agony of his endeavor is immeasurable; but it is not intolerable, for the atmosphere is full of light and hope and vocal with music. A new life is in his heart, for the resurrection has become to him an inward reality. It is the dawn of Easter when he comes to the foot of the purifying mountain. When he enters on that "realm where the spirit is purified and becomes worthy to ascend to heaven," a soft color of oriental sapphire, gathered in the serene aspect of the pure air, renews delight to his

eyes. The air of sin is dead ; but to the penitent the heavens appear to rejoice in their flamelets. Even the wormwood of his torments is sweet. All the ministries of art, nature, and human society promote his progress.

The beginning of spiritual development is confession, contrition, and the sacrifice of self. The first step to the portal of the mount of purification is a mirror in which the sinner sees his real condition ; the second is rough and scorched, cracked lengthwise and across ; the third is porphyry, flaming red as blood. The angel who sits on the diamond threshold is clad with raiment of the color of ashes, and to the pleading penitent he opens the door with the golden key of authority and the silver key of knowledge. The toil and pain of the successive circles of the mount are not penal, nor are they merely penances ; they are a moral gymnastic, a spiritual discipline. The pilgrim comes to realize the nature of the deadly sins, and when his discipline in each circle has done its perfect work he rises by free volition to "a better seat,"

And aye the more one climbs, the less it hurts.

He practices humility till it becomes a habit ; is conscious of the blindness of envy till he learns to rejoice in the welfare of others ; endures the stifling smoke of anger till his heart is filled with peace and mercy ; contends against sloth till his spirit is aflame with zeal and energy ; is taught the groveling nature of avarice till he is completely purged from it ; is cured of gluttony and intemperance by abstinence while in sight of the most tempting fruits, meanwhile praying for spiritual longings ; and plunges eagerly into the fire that purifies from lustful passions, a fire so fierce that Dante says of it, "I would have flung myself into boiling glass to cool me, so immeasurable was the degree of heat." As he rises from terrace to terrace of moral purification celestial voices celebrate his victory by singing a beatitude. Thus, by practice of virtue he becomes morally free and king over himself :

Free and upright and sound is thy free will,  
And error were it not to do its bidding ;  
Thee o'er thyself I therefore crown and miter.

Thus he is prepared, not only to die, but to live. He is ready

to enter the terrestrial paradise, a life of active holiness. Dante's description of this terrestrial paradise is of marvelous beauty. The living forest, the soil everywhere breathing fragrance, the sweet breeze, the birds singing in the trembling branches, the stream so pure that it hid nothing though moving along dusky under the perpetual shadow, the "solitary lady who was going along, singing, and culling flower from flower, wherewith all her path was painted," form a peerless picture. Here the memory ceases to remember evil, here it becomes quick to recall every good deed. The real continuity of life is not in its worst, but in its best. Here is allegory within allegory, the pageant of the Church's triumph, the vision of divine grace in the person of Beatrice, "the splendor of the living light eternal." Here the pilgrim, revived by the sweet draught of Eunoë, becomes

Pure and disposed to mount unto the stars.

Made free, realizing his union with the social whole, instructed and trained in both contemplative and active spiritual virtue, the pilgrim proceeds "from glory to glory." Dante's "Paradiso," though divided into ten heavens, is not a place but a state. The "Purgatorio" sets forth the achievement of character, the training of man for right relationship with his kind; the "Paradiso" represents the relationship of the saved soul to God. The direct vision of God is not a matter of location in space. It is the privilege of the pure in heart. Holiness is of different degrees, but all holiness is heavenly:

The seraphim most absorbed in God,  
Moses and Samuel, and whichever John  
Thou mayst select, I say, and even Mary  
Have not in any other heaven their seats  
Than have those spirits that just appeared to thee,  
Nor of existence more or fewer years;  
But all make beautiful the primal circle,  
And have sweet life in different degrees,  
By feeling more or less the eternal breath.\*

The "perfect life of love and peacefulness" has no limitations of space. It is the same on earth or beyond the sun. In the "Convito" Dante tells us:

\* *Par.*, IV, 28-36.



The empyrean heaven by its peace signifies the divine science of theology, which is full of peace and unperturbed by strife of opinion or of sophistical arguments, by reason of the preeminent certitude of its subject, God himself. . . . The human soul, ennobled by the highest power, that is by reason, partakes of the divine nature in the manner of an eternal Intelligence; because the soul is so ennobled by the sovereign power, and denuded of matter, that the divine light shines in it as an angel; and therefore man has been called by the philosophers a divine animal.

Dante's scheme of ten heavens enables him to continue the realism of his allegory while exhibiting different degrees of holiness. In the unity of the perfect society there is endless individual diversity. The lowest degree of the heavenly life is that of those whose conformity to the divine will is formal and variable. In the second heaven are those whose love of God is alloyed with love of fame. The third heaven is that of those who have found their joy in human affection, whose life has been absorbed in the love of kindred, or friend, or lover. In the fourth are the lovers of divine truth, theologians, whose light and ardor proceed from the vision of God, a vision ever growing clearer and brighter, spirits seraphic and splendid with "light cherubical." Still more glorious is the fifth heaven, the home of heroes and martyrs, whose self-sacrifice has been unto death; they form a living cross, and they sing "Arise and conquer." The sixth heaven is that of just rulers, those whose greatness has been mercy and service. Each appears a burning ruby; all are united to form

The beautiful image that in sweet fruition  
Made jubilant the interwoven souls.

No good deed is solitary. The complete self-realization is that which comes by union with our fellow-men. Righteous rulers are all vitally related. The seventh heaven is that of the mystics. In the eighth Dante beholds the triumph of Christ. In the *primum mobile*, the crystalline heaven, are the concentric circles of the angelic hierarchy, all gazing upward to God, and all attracting others to him. Then the pilgrim comes to the Empyrean, where is the river of light flowing between banks of eternal spring. From the river issue living sparks, that on all sides sink down into the flowers, "like unto rubies that are set in gold:"

In fashion then as of a snow-white rose  
 Displayed itself to me the saintly host,  
 Whom Christ in his own blood had made his bride;  
 But the other host, that flying sees and sings  
 The glory of Him who doth enamor it,  
 And the goodness that created it so noble,  
 Even as a swarm of bees that sinks in flowers  
 One moment, and the next returns again  
 To where its labor is to sweetness turned,  
 Sank into the great flower, that is adorned  
 With leaves so many, and thence reascended  
 To where its love abideth evermore.  
 Their faces had they all of living flame,  
 And wings of gold, and all the rest so white  
 No snow unto that limit doth attain.\*

The vision of the mystic rose, whose petals are the ranks of the glorified saints and heroes, is succeeded by the unveiling of the mystery of the holy Trinity, the pilgrim's mind being illumined by "a flash of lightning wherein came its wish." His desire and will are now completely possessed by

The love which moves the sun and the other stars.

Man has reached his goal. His pilgrimage is ended. The vision of God inspires the life of perfect love. The lowest heaven is that of love limited and imperfect; the supreme heaven is that of love universal and perfect. Personality is completed and glorified by divine union. The Empyrean is

The heaven that is pure light,  
 Light intellectual, replete with love,  
 Love of true good replete with ecstasy,  
 Ecstasy that transcendeth every sweetness.

Thus from love formal and inconstant there is progress through the successive heavens till perfect vision of God creates perfect oneness with the divine will. In the "Paradiso" there is no sensuous delight. Its progress is constant increase of light, increase of knowledge, and increase of love. The nearer Dante comes to the Empyrean, the more rapid is his movement, which at the beginning is like the flight of an arrow. The increasing glory is suggested by the increasing splendor in the face of Beatrice,

\* *Par.*, XXI, 1-15.

That along the stairs  
Of the eternal palace more enkindles,  
... the farther we ascend.

In hell there was no light, no music, all movement was difficult. In the "Purgatorio" there is light and music; but motion is impeded, progress is an achievement of the determined will that fights for cleansing and freedom, looking not back, inspired by the hope that moral freedom shall at last be attained, though ages be spent in the agony of the endeavor. In the "Paradiso" motion forward and upward has become the very law of the being; the soul ascends as naturally as a rivulet descends from a mountain to the lowland:

There is a light above, which visible  
Makes the Creator unto every creature  
Who only in beholding him has peace.

The *Divine Comedy* contains the photograph of the mediæval world. Dante believed himself divinely commissioned to show his own age its sin and to reveal to it the way of reform and salvation. But that is a very shallow view of Dante which finds in him only the theology of the mediæval Church, or the dualism of the empire and the papacy. The teaching of his wonderful poem is a living Gospel still. Its cardinal truths he did not receive, either from Romanism or from the scholastic philosophy with which he was so familiar. He was even more familiar with the Bible than with Aristotle, Boethius and Aquinas, St. Francis of Assisi, Bonaventura, and Joachim di Fiori. His reason was as transcendent as his imagination, and his spiritual vision was that of a seer and a saint. The spirit of the *Divine Comedy* is essentially modern. Only within the last half century has the Christian pulpit come up to Dante's view that the punishment of the sinner is the reaction of his own sin upon him. The distinction between a religious nature and a religious character, which he makes so clear, is still practically unknown to the majority of Christendom. The race is still progressing toward his conception of the greatness of man. The truth as well as the music of the following peerless line will never be outgrown:

In la sua voluntate è nostra pace.

In this age we still need Dante's conception of the sov-

ereignty of the human will, his vision of the infinite value of the soul. His great poem pictures the whole world, time, and eternity, but he finds it all in the individual man. Personal freedom, progress, and purity are the essentials to a perfect society. Neither heredity nor environment determines character and destiny, unless God be regarded as the supreme element in both the former. Every soul must somehow come to its free choice, its supreme opportunity.

With the inexorable justice of the poem there is mingled marvelous beauty of human nature, even in the sinful. Dante's hell is no indiscriminating lake of fire and brimstone. The lost are human still. They have traits of appealing loveliness or colossal greatness. What womanly charm in Francesca, notwithstanding the greatness of her sin! What noble dignity in Farinata, standing erect in his burning tomb! What paternal love in old Cavalcanti! What scornful kingliness in Capaneus! With what matchless pathos Ugolino renews his desperate grief! Dante in a line can make us see the whole drama of a human life. No other poem so exalts human nature. There was in this lofty spirit a profound sympathy with the sorrows, aspirations, and emotions of the multitude. In a remarkable passage on Dante in his *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy* Frederick Denison Maurice says:

The transcendental metaphysician never for an instant forgets the sorrows of the actual world in which he is living; the student sustains the patriot. Drenched in the school lore, it is still the vulgar eloquence, the speech of the people, that is dear to him. Virgil is his master because Virgil was a Mantuan and sang of Italy. And neither theology, politics, nor the study of ancient song crushes the life of the individual man. Fervent human love was the commencement to the poet of a new life. Through the little child of nine years old he rises to the contemplation of the divine charity which governs all things in heaven and subdues earth to itself.

While no other poem so depicts the unnaturalness, the wretchedness, the inevitable doom of sin, no other is so hopeful. There is no hope for those who voluntarily continue sinful; there is infinite hope for those who will repent. "While hope hath speck of green" the eternal love is within reach. Browning, a kindred spirit, calls Dante a "plucker of amaranths grown

beneath God's eye." This is surely a juster characterization than that of Macaulay, who says of the *Divine Comedy* :

There is perhaps no work in the world so deeply and uniformly sorrowful. The melancholy of Dante was no fantastic caprice. . . . It was from within. Neither love nor glory, neither the conflict of earth nor the hope of heaven could dispel it. . . . The gloom of his character discolors all the passions of man and all the face of nature, and tinges with its own livid hue the flowers of Paradise and the glories of the eternal throne.

Macaulay could not have been really familiar with the "Purgatorio" and the "Paradiso." He seems, moreover, to have interpreted the character of Dante from his portraits, of which he had then seen only the sterner ones.\* In the "Purgatorio" hope is triumphant, and the "Paradiso" is all life, light, and music. The *Divine Comedy* shows how the perfection open to the individual is prophetic of a universal human society. The virtue of one is the pledge of the unity and happiness of all. Man becomes thoroughly human by becoming filled with God. Dante called his "mystic, unfathomable song" a "Comedy," because it ends well. Its final scene is the transformation of human nature by the vision of God. Sun, moon, and stars are under the feet of the penitent, who beholds the glory of God and is filled with his love.

The *Divine Comedy* is as contemporaneous as Browning or Rudyard Kipling; for its keynote, like theirs, is the infinite value of the human nature that is in every man. Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise are actual in the life of to-day. Sin is degradation and suffering in any world; but man can do God's will freely, joyously, eternally. He that wrestles and climbs may attain. The "fruition of the divine countenance" is not conditioned upon disembodiment, but upon faith.

\* Macaulay's "Essay on Milton," which contains his characterization of Dante, was published in 1825. The beautiful Bargello portrait of Dante, by Giotto, was not discovered till 1841.

*J. E. C. Sanger.*

**ART. VI.—ARISTOTELIANISM IN MODERN THOUGHT;  
A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.**

In the history of philosophy antiquity reveals two figures distinct and dominant, Plato and Aristotle. The one was imaginative and idealistic; the other, practical and material. The one, metaphysical and mystical; the other, realistic and logical. "Plato stands with upturned finger, pointing to the one perfect Good beyond the clouds; Aristotle, with down-turned hand outstretched toward the complex details of earth."\* In all the development of thought no two men have had such directing power. The Academy and the Lyceum marked the channels for the movement of minds for hundreds of years, and even in this day a careful student can easily discover a seepage from the old channels into some which have been pronounced absolutely new and original. The believer in originality is startled by the philosophic foreshadowings of antiquity. In the primitive system of Anaximander, for instance, can be seen the rudiments of the evolutionary theory. Many of the terms of modern materialism are found in the system of Anaximenes. The leading tenets of Pythagoras are closely allied to modern theosophical speculation. The heliocentric doctrine is embryonic in Pythagoreanism. The pessimism of Schopenhauer is foreshadowed by the "typical pessimist of antiquity," Heraclitus. An incipient Darwinism can be read in Empedocles. Anaxagoras, in some matters, anticipates Buffon and La Place.

In the philosophic syncretism which reigned in Rome at the beginning of our era it is interesting to notice the apparent inability of thought to get away from the methods of Plato and Aristotle. Neoplatonism and the degenerate philosophy of this time proves the truth of the statement. Christian thought could not altogether escape from the influences which radiated from Athens. "The breath of expiring Hellenism passed into Christianity. The doctrines of Plato and his latest interpreters continue to influence the ablest thinkers among the followers of the Gospel, and the

\* Hyde, *God's Education of Man*, p. 215.

philosophy of the Church during the entire Middle Ages merely reechoes the teaching of the great Athenian philosophers." \* Even to-day there are some systems in which the influence of Plato's "idea as a reality" can be traced. The horror of matter, the utter godlessness of the material, held through the ages, is born out of Platonic doctrine.

To the student of history it is scarcely necessary to speak of the adjustments and the modifications of thought which took place at Alexandria between the Greek and the Semite. Extreme schemes of thought, even, are not in perpetual conflict. There is going on continually an effort to discover points of similarity. It were impossible that the systems current in the empire exist and not modify each other in some degree. An illustration is furnished by Tertullian, a great heresy hunter, but who ended by becoming, himself, a heretic. Justin Martyr, the author of the *Apologies*, did draw from Plato in his discussion of the Logos doctrine; and who shall say that the beloved apostle was not influenced by the prevailing philosophic thought during his contact with the Greek mind, particularly at Ephesus? Tatian, St. Clement, and Origen, were all moved by Greek conceptions of things. St. Augustine could not get away from them. His theodicy is essentially Platonic. In fact, Augustine seems to be permeated by the subtle power of Plato. Had Plato not lived, the ontological argument of Anselm would never have been put in logical terms. In the famous discussions between the realists and the nominalists the "idea as a reality" is prominently set forth by one party. To accept the opposite view at this juncture would have been to change the whole current of speculation. It would have modified theology, and history would have been very far different. Plato's "idea" favored the established order of things, because the stream had thus far been influenced by this force. "The Church must be realistic, and declare with the Academy, *Universalia sunt realia*. Catholicism is synonymous with realism." The metaphysics of the early Church are built on Platonic foundations.

While Plato controlled the thinking of men on the lines of the ideal, Aristotle quickened the thought of men in the

\* Weber, *History of Philosophy*, p. 185.

practical and the positivistic. It is especially with the latter that we have to do. In the philosophy of nature is the genius of the Stagirite revealed. His doctrines of space and movement are not, to any great extent, suggestive, but in his teleology of nature he is especially rich. His differentiation of thought and instinct is careful and fruitful. His doctrine of "ends" in nature reminds one of our own Fiske. When the reaction came in philosophy; when, toward the latter end of the Middle Ages, its *a priori* element was bitterly arraigned; when men began to interrogate nature herself, Aristotle rather than Plato naturally received the first place.

When Aristotle was introduced into Europe, *via* Alexandria and Arabia; when the trend of thinking was toward him, it was quite natural that the Church accept him with open arms as her "official philosopher." The balance of power she was determined to maintain. Was not the Church in danger from the discriminations of the profound? If Catholicism could quiet the fears of these thinkers, it would be well; and to do so she did not hesitate to receive Aristotle in great fullness. Platonism was relegated to the rear, and Peripateticism was enthroned. Thus Aristotle and his system obtained a grip on the later thinking of the world; thus he came to control the thought channels in which philosophy long moved.

Aristotle said that the "sphere of becoming was the stage of nature proper, as distinguished from the sky, which is the abode of the supernatural, that is, of the unchangeable and everlasting." His "dualistic conception of an earth placed in the center of the world and a God placed at the periphery, as far from the earth as possible," says one authority, "caused the Church to adopt the Aristotelian system, and led to its being forced upon the minds of men as revealed truth, even after the great majority of scientists had taken sides with Copernicus." \* Our modern philosophical vocabulary comes, in part, from Thomas of Aquino, who was largely influenced by Aristotle; and it is thus not difficult to see how the Church came to have a vitiated view of the Copernican system.

The Ptolemaic astronomy was regnant for nearly fifteen hundred years. The cosmography of this famous thinker threat-

\* Weber, *History of Philosophy*, p. 124.



ened the philosophy of the Church. It endangered the whole institution. The Church had accepted Aristotle. If she should be proven in the wrong, would it not make her a very material and fallible institution? Would it not militate against the Bible? The theory of Ptolemy was supported by great names in the past. It had received the sanction of the authorities of the Church, therefore it must be true. Aristotle was right. The earth was the center of things:

If the sun is the center of the planetary orbits, if the earth moves, then, so they held, Joshua did not perform his miracle, then the Bible is in error, and the Church fallible. If the earth is a planet, then it moves in heaven, and is no longer the antithesis of heaven; then heaven and earth are no longer opposed, as tradition assumed, but form one indivisible universe.\*

The Church suppressed Galileo, but she struggled against fate:

On the ruins of its ivy-grown cathedrals ecclesiasticism, surprised and blinded by the breaking day, sat solemnly blinking at the life and light about it, absorbed in the recollection of the night that had passed, dreaming of new phantoms and delusion in its wished-for return, and vindictively striking its talons at any derisive assailant who incautiously approached too near. †

While the author of the above is somewhat prejudiced, the attitude of the Church toward Aristotle and the traditions of the past is not pleasant to dwell upon. Her support, her strength was given to the theory of "the here and the beyond." Her hesitancy to accept truth caused incalculable mischief. It bred the conflict with science and religion. It colored theological thinking for scores of years. The apologetics of Christianity were sent out on misleading lines. It bred a transcendentalism not helpful to thinkers; and it, in its turn, developed a practical infidelity. It threw philosophy into a vain and profitless discussion, and originated volumes which, in the light of a better day, are among the "curiosities of literature." The results are not yet absent from the world. Men talk about "the here and the beyond," forgetting that they are not indebted to the Christ system so much as to Aristotle and the Church of the Middle Ages.

\* Weber, *History of Philosophy*, p. 224.

† Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, vol. II, p. 284.

The doctrine which is gaining ground to-day does not partake of Aristotelianism. It is in opposition to that proclaimed by the dominant power of the Middle Ages. It is rationally deducible from the Bible—the doctrine of the immanency of the Divine. The discursions on law, which are characteristic of this age, are the expression of this idea. The philosophical readjustments, the modification of types of theology, the unrest, the strife tell the story of a movement away from the dogmatism of Aristotle. A recent writer suggestively says:

The Copernican astronomy made men dizzy for a time, and they held on to the Ptolemaic system to escape vertigo. In like manner the conception of God, as revealing himself in a great historical movement and process, in the consciences and lives of holy men, in the unfolding life of the Church makes dizzy the believer in a dictated book, and he longs for some fixed word which shall be sure and steadfast.\*

The swing of thought from transcendence to immanence is to make noticeable, in the history of philosophy, this present period. The whole realm of thought will be affected by it. Some effete systems may have to look to their foundations; some philosophies and theologies will need reconstruction; but the end will mean the broadening of life, superior views of the universe, and finer conceptions of duty. It will mean the banishment of mere authority and the insistence of basic truth as the first requisite of metaphysical, ethical, and religious superstructure. It will mean no name dominant except by the force on truth, and thus it will bring about the annihilation of the metaphysical errors of Aristotle and the liberation of the mind from the slavery of mere authority.

\* Professor B. P. Bowne, *Independent*, April 19, 1900.

Benjamin Young.

## ART. VII.—KESWICK AND ITS TEACHING.

THIS little English town of some three thousand inhabitants nestling at the foot of Skiddaw, on the lovely shores of Derwentwater—in the very center of that lake country whose beauty fired the souls of Southey, Coleridge, and Wordsworth, and attracts thousands of tourists—has come in late years to stand for a movement in spiritual things deserving of the most critical examination. Prolonged gatherings for devotional, as distinguished from theological or ecclesiastical, purposes are one of the most encouraging characteristics of the present day. They are not confined to Christians of any one school of thought, but under various names—"Retreats," "Quiet Days," "Conventions," "Conferences," "Camp Meetings"—have been widely utilized to quicken spiritual life; and they seem to be imperatively demanded because of the unsatisfactory experience of the average Christian, who is largely destitute of real power and hampered by many weights—not to say sins—in the running of the heavenly race. When such a believer becomes conscious of his poverty, he feels the needs of warm sympathy and competent instruction, neither of which, perhaps, he finds at hand; and hence the call for a place where those like-minded may assemble and mutually minister to each other's faith.

Of all such places Keswick is unsurpassed in the way of natural scenery, which, though a minor matter, has nevertheless an appreciable influence in lifting the soul to the glories of the unseen world. The towering mountain, the glassy lake, the winding stream, the falling cascade, the wooded glen, with luxuriant pasture lands and fruitful gardens, lend an inspiration to one who is in communion with their Maker, and furnish a fit setting for fervent prayer and holy speech. No other place has for so long a time attracted such multitudes; the assembly during the last week of the coming July will be the twenty-seventh consecutive meeting in this favored spot. The people in attendance at Keswick are of the best—those whose associations and intelligence demand and appreciate a clear, forceful, intellectual presentation of the truth, those least

likely to be ephemeral in their purpose or narrowly restricted in their opinions. A measure of strength resides also in their numbers. From eight to ten thousand are usually there during the week. Yet there is no confusion. Quietness combined with prayerfulness distinguishes the throng. It is, perhaps, the calmest assembly ever convened for spiritual advancement. There are no attempts to work upon the feelings, but happiness beams in every eye and abiding peace pervades all faces. There is marked courtesy and thoughtfulness for others, the chastened chivalry of Christian gentlefolk. The attire of all present is simple, although nearly all are evidently well-to-do. Deep seriousness prevails, and an expectation of blessing. There is no criticism. An attitude of stillness before God is carefully cultivated, as of those waiting in the presence chamber of the Most High. The conversation on all sides is about the things of the kingdom. Groups for prayer are frequent, as are also open-air services. Most of those one meets carry a Bible and hymn book. The town is wholly given over to religion. Everything is subordinated to this one end; the indefinable charm of the invisible presence is profoundly felt, and days of heaven upon earth are enjoyed.

The people come, with one desire, from all quarters of the earth. Every country in Europe is represented, as well as America, Africa, India, China, and Palestine. Scotland and Ireland send large contingents. Great numbers of missionaries are there, for whose entertainment special provision is made and special funds collected. Companies of students from the various universities and theological institutions of Great Britain lodge together. Ministers, of course, abound. A large proportion of those present are young men and women with notebook and pencil, alert and purposeful. There are separate ladies' meetings, which are among the best held. A great missionary meeting closes the series, and missionary enthusiasm throughout the week rises to a very high level, as might be expected; for any so-called movement in the direction of sanctification is radically deficient which does not raise up missionaries at home and abroad. Keswick, indeed, supports a number of missionaries in various foreign fields, connected with different organizations, and sends out deputations to various lands to propagate the

principles which it has found so great a source of blessing. Probably as many as two hundred minor conventions also meet under its auspices. For several years meetings have been annually held at Blankenburg in Germany, where people from all parts of that empire, as also from Russia, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, and other countries, come together. There were nearly a thousand present last year. There is a similar convention at Sodertelge in Sweden, near Stockholm, on the shores of the Baltic, presided over by Prince Bernadotte, where many assemble from Finland, Norway, and Denmark. A meeting of the same sort has been held with marvelous effect in Central Africa, by the missionaries to Uganda. The movement, in short, has already assumed immense proportions and bids fair to spread yet more widely.

There is, however, but one Keswick. Nothing on either side of the water furnishes any proper parallel to this stupendous gathering. It has been greatly favored in the leaders and teachers that have been providentially raised up, many of them having now for a score or more of years given unity and coherency to the enterprise.\* These men vary, of course, in their manner of presenting the truth, though there is a substantial oneness in their views and experience. There are some forty different men and women whose voices are heard at these conventions. One speaks as a theologian, another as a Bible expositor, another excels in Bible readings. One can define and discriminate, another has a particular tenderness and unction, to another is given keen insight into obscure truths, still another can illustrate and bring home to the heart what is well known. There is never any set programme of topics, never any announcement of speakers or subjects. Yet no two addresses cover the same ground or ever conflict. On the con-

\* The Rev. E. H. Hopkins, editor of *The Life of Faith* and author of many volumes, has been near the helm from the start. Identified with it from the beginning, and still presiding part of the time, though in much feebleness of body, is Mr. Robert Wilson, a layman of the Church of England. Other prominent speakers and leaders are the Rev. G. Campbell Morgan, now of Northfield, Mass.; the Rev. Charles Inwood, of Belfast, who has visited many lands under deputation from Keswick; Professor Handley Moule; Dr. John Smith, of Edinburgh; Dr. J. Elder Cumming, the Revs. Hubert Brooke, C. S. Moore, J. J. Luce, and C. A. Fox. On the Keswick platform have also appeared with great acceptance, from other countries, Pastor Th. Monod, of France; J. Hudson Taylor, of China; Andrew Murray, of South Africa; F. B. Macartney, of Australia; and A. T. Pierson, of America.

trary, it has been often remarked that a special evidence of the presidency of the Holy Spirit seems to be found in the fact that without prearrangement there is a very remarkable pertinency in the order of themes.

The unity of the Church of Christ is greatly emphasized at these gatherings; and this must be set down as one of the main secrets of the success reached. Over the entrance of the huge tent or pavilion, seating over three thousand persons, in which the main meetings are held, waves the motto, "All one in Christ Jesus." Class and creed and clime are quite unknown; no special deference is paid to men because of high social or ecclesiastical position; no dependence is based upon human patronage; no effort is made to secure public attention or to attract large numbers; no speaker is asked to take part because of reputed learning or eloquence. Clear witnesses are rather sought to the power of God to save to the uttermost, this testimony being indispensable; yet those are of course preferred who have given evidence that they also know how to put truth clearly. Nothing erratic or of doubtful tendency is admitted. A jarring note is scarcely ever heard. There are no questionable methods, there is no mischievous and divisive teaching, there is a total absence of censoriousness and sentimentalism. Each speaker seems to feel that he is dealing with a message from God, under special guidance from on high. There is no attempt to unravel the tangles of prophecy, or to explain what is beyond our present capacity of understanding; the whole effort is to help toward a closer following of Christ and a better comprehension of the Scriptures. Out of thirty speakers in 1896, fifteen gave direct expositions of the word of God. Out of seventy-four addresses in 1899, thirty-seven were by Church of England bishops and clergy, thirty-seven by Nonconformist ministers and laymen from many churches, and all were in perfect harmony. The fellowship of Christians in this place seems to be complete. No denominational names are mentioned, no theological strifes are known. There is a delightful sacramental service at one stage of the meeting. Three banners on the top of the tent proclaimed far and near the watchwords, "Love, Joy, Peace." The singing is

purely devotional, wholly congregational, perfectly simple, and intensely impressive. The Spirit of God is honored and the word of God exalted as perhaps nowhere else. The Lord Jesus is given first place in address and song and conversation. "Jesus only" might be said to be the prevailing theme, and yet it might also be affirmed that no one truth is more emphasized than the personality of the Holy Ghost, since the two things entirely harmonize. Seasons of silent prayer are frequent, and are often the means of special blessing. There is also much intercessory prayer. "Some friends were to be found at almost all hours of the day," writes a visitor, "in the little Wesleyan chapel in Southey Street, denying themselves the pleasure of the great meetings so as to uphold the speakers in prayer and to lay definitely before God the needs of each particular meeting." The after-meetings are conducted with rare skill; people are led to decide, yet are not overpressed. No undue stress is laid upon any visible act of surrender, there is no formal pattern of procedure uniformly followed, but there is a wholesome insistence upon a present, open decision, a full committal to the new life. For it is clearly recognized that no mere proximity to the fountain will quench thirst; there must be a moment of acceptance, an act of entering in. And the constant effort is made to bring the attendants to the immediate appropriation of Christ in all his power to sanctify, as well as to save, to endue as well as to redeem.

The question will, of course, occur to the reader—and it is an important one—as to how this gathering began, so owned of God for more than a quarter of a century. Mr. R. Pearsall Smith, of Philadelphia—thirty years ago an evangelist of rare power, and author of those wonderful little books, *Holiness through Faith* and *Walking in the Light*, to which his wife's most excellent *Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* is a worthy successor—seems to have dropped the seeds so remarkably germinant. In 1873 he wrote—we believe here in America—certain articles which were republished in the London *Christian*, presenting so forcibly and reasonably, without technical terms or sectarian shibboleths, the power of Christ to save to

the uttermost that they produced an immediate and powerful impression in England. Meetings prompted by them, devoted to the realization of greater practical holiness, were held in the Young Men's Christian Association Rooms, London, the Mildmay Conference Hall, and other places. During the next year Mr. Samuel Morley, member of Parliament for Bristol, a wealthy Congregationalist, held a series of breakfasts at which some twenty-four hundred ministers in parties of thirty or forty prayerfully and earnestly considered this same high theme, with great blessing to many. Two or three conventions followed, in all of which Mr. and Mrs. R. P. Smith were the leading spirits. The first was of a somewhat private nature, about one hundred persons being invited to be the guests of Lord Mount Temple at Broadlands Park near Southampton, formerly the residence of Lord Palmerston. For six days in July, from seven in the morning till late at night, the Scripture possibilities of the Christian life as to maintained communion with the Lord and victory over all known sin were eagerly canvassed with absorbing interest and precious results. So manifest was the presence and power of God, and so great the good accomplished—both there and at Langley Park, Norfolk, immediately following—that it was universally felt these meetings must be repeated on a larger scale. A call was accordingly sent out, signed by Mr. Smith at Langley Park, summoning the people to a union meeting for the promotion of scriptural holiness, to be held at Oxford, August 29 to September 7, 1874. About one thousand clergy and laity of all denominations, including twenty or thirty prominent ministers from the Continent, spent together a precious ten days, concerning which the universal testimony was that God opened the windows of heaven and poured out marvelous blessings. So intense was the interest aroused, and so unanimous were the testimonies as to the benefit received from great numbers who before had scarcely been in sympathy with such things, that in the following year a still more wonderful convention, also under the presidency of Mr. R. P. Smith, was held at Brighton, from May 29 to June 7, at which nearly eight thousand were present, gathered from all the chief countries of Europe.



One of those who entered into the rest of faith at the Oxford Convention and also participated in the Brighton one was Canon J. Harford-Battersby, Vicar of St. John's, Keswick. He immediately arranged for holding at Keswick, in July of that year, a convention similar to those at Oxford and Brighton. He associated with himself Mr. Robert Wilson, to look after the business arrangements, and some three or four hundred took advantage of the opportunity, the meetings being held in a tent, as they still are. The little band of four or five speakers were all accommodated in the vicar's hospitable home. God was so manifestly with the endeavor that it was continued the next year, and so on down to the present time. Canon Battersby presided as long as he lived, and when he went to heaven, some fourteen years ago, the presidency passed by general assent to Mr. Henry Howker, and at his death to Mr. Robert Wilson. There has, however, never been any fixed committee of control or any very definite organization, except that for many years now Mr. J. Poslethwaite has served very acceptably as secretary in charge of the arrangements, while Mr. Wilson is treasurer of the trustees who hold the property. There is also a separate treasurer, Mr. A. A. Head, of the Keswick Conference Missionary Council, who reported last July—in loans to missionaries, contributions to deputations, grants to the fund for assisting missionaries to attend the convention, and free distribution of *The Life of Faith*, the organ of the Convention, among missionaries abroad—expenditures to the amount of £1,492, leaving a balance on hand of £55. No collections are taken at the meetings, and no appeal for money is ever made to meet expenses, save through boxes provided for voluntary offerings; but the treasury is never empty, and a reserve fund of £2,000 has never been drawn upon. A financial debt or deficiency in connection with Keswick would be as incongruous and impossible as a failure to look into the word for wisdom or up to God for strength.

As to the teaching drawn from the word by these men mighty in prayer, pure in life, and strong in intellect it is, as they all say, in no respect new, but that which has been declared by the evangelical Church from the days of the apostles. The three elementary R's—ruin by the fall, redemption by

the blood of Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Ghost—are taken for granted, and on the basis of these fundamentals a larger structure is reared. The main effort is directed toward the deepening and quickening of the spiritual life. A necessity is shown for the readjustment of the relations of the soul to Christ, bringing it into that condition which is everywhere in the New Testament assumed to be the normal state of those who are in Christ and who are therefore following him and denying self. The leaders lay much stress on the necessity for immediate, decisive action by which a person shall become clearly committed to a different line of life from that into which through lukewarmness he has fallen. The Rev. E. H. Hopkins said in a somewhat recent address, in answer to the question, as to the reason the Keswick movement has any power or has made any progress:

It is because Christian men and women who had been made to know and realize their deep need as Christians were brought into definite blessing—a marked, definite, and divine blessing. There was a crisis in their spiritual life after conversion, a new beginning in their Christian life. They were converted before they understood God's truth or were properly instructed. They needed to be brought into a right attitude to God. There was a hindrance in their practical life that needed to be removed.

The utmost pains is taken, especially in the earlier part of the convention, to get at these many hindrances which are keeping people back from the blessing and the Blessor, to bring those in attendance face to face with God as the Judge, and to produce conviction of need, even of guilt and sin. The tests are very searching and solemn; hearts are probed; whatever impedes progress, even if it cannot be called necessarily sinful, is ferreted out and its absolute abandonment urged. The weights, it is shown, must be laid aside, as well as the glaring transgressions. The self-life—the life that centers in self-dependence, self-seeking, self-choosing—must be renounced; the pleasures of ambition, avarice, appetite, and other forms of selfishness must be resolutely turned from. Those forms of amusement or indulgence that bear the distinctive stamp of this world—such as the dance, the card table, the theater, the opera, the wine cup, and tobacco—naturally rise before the

seeker's conscience at this time. For, while they are seldom referred to specifically at the Keswick gatherings, all who attend find it necessary to face the question of their abandonment, realizing that the believer cannot gain any deep experience of Christ's power while clinging to such amusements, because they exalt self to the throne, and because, however lawful they may be deemed, they do not contribute to the advancement of holiness, and do not edify others, but tend to enslave the soul. All debatable territory is thus swept clear; all doubtful things, "not of faith," and things partaking of the nature of sin are given up for Christ's sake, that God in all things may be pleased and honored. Everything, however trifling or dear, that is found a hindrance to holy living is resolutely abandoned, and the will is surrendered to God in a covenant of complete obedience. The "old man," with all included in that elastic and capacious phrase, is put off, so that the "new man" may be completely put on. This second result, of course, closely follows. The removal of the hindrances at once makes a mighty change in the condition of the soul. Without delay there comes such a flood of the grace of God into the heart that in one hour there is more advance in the divine life than there was before perhaps in ten or twenty years. As soon as the hindrance is gone it is easy to take God at his word in everything, and to believe that what he says he is bound to accomplish. Then comes the indwelling and infilling of the Holy Spirit, on which so much stress is rightly laid, the claiming by the believer of his share in the Pentecostal gift of power for service, and by faith the appropriation of Christ in all his gracious offices.

The holiness taught at Keswick is deliverance from and victory over everything which would hinder the Christian from living a life of entire surrender to Jesus Christ and obedience to his will, and the possession of the fullness of the indwelling Spirit which will cause the Christian to live a loyal obedient life; and this he receives as a free gift by trusting Him who saves to the uttermost. It is characterized by the complete subjection of self and the complete enthronement of Christ; it is a life wholly given up to God for sanctification and service. It is the blessedness of the man who maketh the

Lord his trust, who walks by faith not sight, who presents his body "a living sacrifice," not "conformed to this world" but daily being "transformed by the renewing" of his mind in the ever-advancing and successful search to know what is the "good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God." It includes the passion for souls, conscious fellowship with God, growing possession of the promises, and growing interest in the salvation of all the world. It is a holiness that produces no divisions or discords, but is made a means and bond of union; that is marked by great simplicity and sobriety of thought and feeling, as well as great scripturalness of statement; that, while definite and pointed and thoroughgoing, is full of humble love and remarkably free from crudities and extravagancies whether in word or deed. It is reasonable, practical, and every way sane and solid. No man or woman has ever been known under this teaching to leave one communion for another, nor does it produce self-righteousness and censoriousness. Dr. A. T. Pierson, who has been recognized at Keswick more than once as a highly valued helper, gives this excellent summary of what he counts its definite and unmistakable teaching:

It affirms a possible and practical deliverance from continuance in known sin, a renewal of the spirit of the mind, a dominion of love, an experience of inward peace; it maintains that it is a sin to be anxious, because where anxiety begins faith ends; that it is not necessary to be under the dominion of any lust of body or mind, to live a life of doubt and despondency or of interrupted communion with God. Forfeited joy means broken fellowship. Keswick maintains that to every trusting, obedient soul, who dares take God at his word and count every commandment an enablement, there is an immediate deliverance from the palsied limbs that make impossible a holy work for God; from the withered hand that prevents a holy work for God; and from the moral deformity that bows one together so that it is impossible to lift up oneself to spiritual uprightness and erectness.

It will be said by some who have not perhaps examined the matter closely that this is precisely the Methodist doctrine of sanctification as taught by Wesley and his followers. This assertion certainly overlooks some variations, but these are mainly, we are glad to think, in points of nomenclature. Perhaps the chief apparent difference is in the extent of sanctifi-

cation, a difference largely accountable, we believe, for the fact that the Wesleyans have held aloof almost entirely from Keswick and have maintained for the past sixteen years a separate "Holiness Convention" at Southport, on whose platform until very recently only Methodists were permitted to speak.

What is the Keswick teaching as to the extent of sanctification? The Rev. F. B. Meyer, in a recent address, remarked :

On this platform we never say self is dead; were we to do so, self would be laughing at us round the corner. The teaching of Romans vi is not that self is dead, but that the renewed will is dead to self, the man's will saying, "Yes" to Christ and "No" to self; through the Spirit's grace it constantly repudiates and weakens and mortifies the power of the flesh.

Prebendary H. W. Webb-Peploe, in an article contributed in 1898 both to *The Life of Faith* and to *The Sunday School Times*, says :

It is simply according to our faith that we receive, and faith only draws from God according to our present possibilities. These are limited by the presence of indwelling corruption; and, while never needing to sin within the sphere of the light that we possess, it is ever taught at Keswick—as in every part of God's word—that there are, to the very last hour of our life upon earth, powers of corruption within every man which defile his very best deeds and give to even his holiest efforts that "nature of sin" of which the ninth article in our Church of England Prayer Book speaks so strongly and so scripturally. Hence, while teaching that we need never sin against light, we still hold that, judged by the perfect standard of God, there is the sin of shortcoming and defilement in every thought, word, and deed of our lives.

One more witness may be cited. The Rev. J. Elder Cumming, D.D., in an address delivered at Keswick, on July 28, 1896, entitled "What This Teaching Is," after discussing the process and the power of sanctification, devotes himself to its extent. He says :

We teach that the Christian life should be one of continuous victory, not of common defeat and occasional triumph; that "God is able to make all grace abound toward you; that ye, always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work;" that God is able perfectly to keep a man from stumbling; that God can do for us what he

did for Paul, who says (1 Cor. iv, 4), "I know nothing against myself; yet am I not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord." There is the limit of the extent. A man's conscience may be clear, but that does not say he is a perfect man, that does not say that God sees nothing wrong in him.

From these extracts the position of this band of teachers is sufficiently plain. Is it the same as that of Methodism? In substance we believe it is, but not in appearance or in terminology. And it is more in accordance with the later usages of Methodism—those at present more and more prevailing—than with the former, those coming down from ancient days. There is certainly a decided gap between the language used at a Keswick convention and that used in an ordinary "holiness" camp meeting; but probably not greater than between the expressions current at the latter place and those found in our theological institutions or our more carefully written theological works. It cannot be disguised that the nomenclature of Methodism on this subject from the days of Wesley to the present has been very much mixed and hardly self-consistent, so that quotations in abundance can be given from standard authors on both sides of the important question. For example, Wesley said, near the close of his sermon on the "End of Christ's Coming," "The Son of God does not destroy the whole work of the devil in man as long as he remains in this life." And, since we mean by depravity that abnormal or disordered condition of human nature inaugurated by the devil when he induced man to commit the first sin, it might fairly be said that Wesley believed depravity—or "original sin," as he preferred to term it—must remain with us to some extent while we are in the flesh. On the other hand, he speaks in another place of sanctification as "the recovery of the whole image of God," and again, as "the recovery of the divine nature," "the restoration of the soul to its primitive health, its original purity." He also speaks of the "total death to inbred sin," of the "destruction of the body of sin," of "entire salvation from inbred sin," of "the root of sin being taken away," and of "deliverance from the root of bitterness"—applying these terms to those he called "sanctified," although, as he himself occasionally admits, all believers are sanctified.

Nevertheless, we are disposed to think that, when all of Wesley's words are taken into consideration, the proper conclusion is that he did not really hold to an extent of sanctification essentially different from that taught by the Keswick leaders. The apparent conflict arises simply from the ambiguity of the word "sin" and the use of popular, rather than scientifically accurate, terms. Certainly, about all the later writers\* of Methodism who treat this theme are on one side. To quote from only one of these, second to none in ability, we find Professor Beet saying in his masterly study of "Holiness as Understood by the Writers of the Bible:—"

I do not find anywhere in the Bible reason to believe that the inward forces of evil [another expression he uses is "the inward tendency to sin" or "depravity"] may now by our faith, or at any future time in our lives, be utterly annihilated. . . . Unless yielded to, these foulnesses do not defile. . . . Temptation, even though it be from within as the result of previous indulgence in sin, does not defile or weaken until yielded to. Consequently, the promise to cleanse from all sin does not necessarily involve the annihilation of all inward tendencies toward sin. They are conquerors over sin who have completed victory over each temptation as it arises. So long as they abide in faith, the cross of Christ stands as an impassable barrier between them and sin. In this sense, while striving against it they are dead to sin. For the above teaching I cannot claim definitely the authority of Wesley. But, so far as I know, he has not written anything which contradicts it.

The professor rightly says that Wesley's teaching on this matter was "indefinite and incomplete," and that "from some of Wesley's remarks we might infer that in those who put full faith in Christ the curse of original sin is removed." He then adds, "This was not his real meaning." With this conclusion we quite agree. We fully believe that Wesley and Fletcher and the most careful Methodist writers on the subject since are in substantial harmony, when rightly understood, with the Keswick teachers as to the extent of sanctification. They are a unit in the position that it is better to emphasize the glorious possibility of complete deliverance from the power of sin, so that it shall in no sense reign over us, rather than to speculate or dogmatize about the eradication of hypothetical

\*Such as Bishop Foster, Bishop Merrill, Dr. Whedon, Dr. Miner Raymond, Professor Joseph Agar Beet, of England, Chancellor Huntington in *Sin and Holiness*, and Mudge in *Growth in Holiness*.

“seeds” or “roots”—very misleading figures, in this connection, and responsible for much mischief.

It would seem that the Keswick movement deserves not only to be carefully studied by Methodists, but to be considerably patterned after. Have we not let a fancied denominational loyalty, or an attachment to traditional orthodoxy, or pride of consistency, or love for old-time terms keep us from accepting what is really excellent in the later methods of ‘promoting the higher, or deeper, Christian life? We are in danger of losing an old leadership in this theme by our unwillingness to admit that mistakes were made in the nomenclature so long ago adopted, mistakes excusable under the peculiar conditions then existing, but not defensible in the present state of biblical scholarship. While we have been stickling for shibboleths and insisting that Wesley’s *Plain Account*, written a century and a half ago, is just the thing for to-day, and the only thing, the age has swept on. The books on this theme that now sell by the hundred thousand are by such non-Methodist writers as Mrs. H. W. Smith, F. B. Meyer, Andrew Murray, John McNeill, and others of their class. Their modern methods of statement—simple, natural, reasonable, scriptural—commend their productions to all classes of readers. The revival of genuine godliness which the times demand—and which, please God, is coming—will have its teaching less theological and more scriptural, less controversial and more practical, less emotional and more ethical than heretofore. The cry with us must be, not “Back to the fathers of Methodism,” but “Back to the fathers of Christianity, and the New Testament.”

It is the testimony of those who attend the Keswick meetings that nothing now on earth seems so closely to reproduce the assemblies of the primitive apostolic Church, that nowhere have they found so well exemplified four great Scripture laws—habitual prayerfulness, prominence of the word of God, unity among all believers, and dependence on the Holy Spirit. Is there not a call for at least one such meeting where, without sensationalism or fanaticism, those who have a definite experience of full salvation and a clear grasp of divine truth concerning it can, as at Keswick, instruct such as are eager to



obtain? We ought to have the men competent to conduct such a gathering—men of deep spirituality and broad in scholarship, level-headed, many-sided, earnest-hearted, ready-tongued—and we ought also to have those willing to dedicate to the purpose whatever financial means may be necessary to put it on its feet. If the Methodism of the twentieth century is to measure up to its opportunities; if it is to escape the perils that beset it because of its numbers, wealth, and popularity; if it is to glow with devotion and shine with the light of God, it must be jealous of its leadership in the matter of the Spirit-filled life, and must hasten to lay hold of every available means that promises to fill its churches with those whose wills are at one with the will divine—those who fear nothing but God, hate nothing but sin, and are ready at any cost to do their utmost for the salvation of the world.

*James Mudge*

ART. VIII.—DETLEV VON LILIENCRON—A GERMAN  
SOLDIER POET.

FOR three quarters of a century Heine has been the real lyric divinity of the Fatherland. His popularity began in the days when old Germany was growing dissatisfied with life, but the dreams and aspirations of young Germany have not lessened his hold upon the hearts of the people. He is still the master of sweet sentiment and romance, as he was when German ballad poetry was bursting its graveclothes for a glorious immortality, and such, doubtless, he will ever be.

But there are some who think differently—some who have the audacity to hold that this Heine worship has gone far enough, and who are now beginning to let their hearts turn unto strange gods. They have the courage of their convictions—these Latter-day Saints in literature, as their enemies might call them—and throw down the gage of battle at every opportunity. And naturally enough battles come, and no end of doughty foemen whose ardor is fanatical. Love potions will not avail them in this contest; people who believe all lyric poetry was born and died with Heinrich Heine, and who answer all arguments on the subject with beer mugs—such people have to be settled with a bludgeon or a battle-ax. Fortunately these revolutionists, these literary rebels, have biographers who study their character and philosophize over their mission. One of these described them thus:

They are a mixed company. In one sense or another their usefulness is about the same, but their boldness varies greatly. Some are bold because they *are*, some because they *want to be*. Some are full cheeked and ruddy, others ruddy, but neither from health nor shame, for the color on their sunken cheeks is hectic, and in their hollow eyes there burns an uncanny, uneasy, devouring fire, and their foreheads are marked by Venus, not by Urania—stalwart peasant lads and tired metropolitan *fin-de-sièclists*, dreamers of an ideal human state, and such like. Still they are mainly of one heart and soul, and however different their voices sound they sound, nevertheless, and they are their own voices too, not the notes of a hand organ. Such are the “New Toners.”

For several years now, Detlev von Liliencron has been a

leading light among these reactionists. His literary career has been one of much discouragement, but also with some fame of a breadless sort. With half pay on the army list—no pay almost on the list of the muses—he has toiled on, living partly in reminiscences of the past, partly in bright hopes of the future when the “New Toners” shall have come into their heritage. And in that day, as Grotthuss says, how much wrong done Von Liliencron must be atoned for :

First from his countrymen, who troubled themselves much more about each new *chansonette* in the Berlin Winter Garden or the Apollo Theater than about one of their own most important poets; then from his small but extremely agile “community,” which consists almost entirely of poets. It is, indeed, a pretty sight when, with momentary depreciation of their own services and worth, they lay their homage at the feet of their brother in Apollo; but the clamorous, exuberant, Byzantine manner in which it has been done has not helped him either in poetic development or in public favor. It has held back, widened but not deepened, the former, and kept him away, not to say estranged him, from the latter.

Detlev von Liliencron is a soldier poet. This comes because he has himself been a soldier, tasted the zest of battle, and known the Teuton’s fondness for parade. When the music sounds the rabies of war breaks out in his blood. Listen :

Kling-ling, boom-boom, and ching-da-da,  
Comes there in triumph the Persian shah?  
And round the corner roars this way  
The trumpet tone like judgment day—  
Ahead the jingling crescent.

Boom-boom, the giant bombardon,  
The cymbals’ clang, the helicon,  
The *piccolo*, the cornet’s strain,  
The Turkish drum, the flute’s refrain,  
And then the gallant captain.

The captain comes in proud disdain,  
Beneath his chin the helmet chain,  
The sash is girt around his waist—  
By Zeus! this is not time misplaced—  
And then the bold lieutenants.

Rose-red and brown, lieutenants two,  
The flag they guard with valor true;

And hats come off, the flag draws nigh,  
 For it we fight till hour to die,  
 And then the grenadiers, O!

The grenadiers with sturdy tramp,  
 In stamp and step, and step and stamp,  
 That sounds and beats and rings and quakes;  
 The lantern jars, and window shakes,  
 And then the little maidens.

Ranged head to head the maidens there,  
 With eyes so blue and braids so fair,  
 From door and gate and houses near  
 Mina and Trina and Tina peer,  
 But past is now the music.

Kling-ling, ching-ching, and roar of drum,  
 Now from the distance does it come,  
 Quite softly, boom-boom, ching,  
 Was that an insect fluttering,  
 Ching-ching, boom, round the corner?

Sometimes, when twilight has come at the close of a perfect day, Detlev von Liliencron falls into a reminiscent mood. He is such a typical son of the North, has such an inborn love for breezy moorlands and sport and war, that he cannot shake himself loose from the memory of his earlier years—though he is by no means old—when, as he himself confesses in some charming words of self-biography, to wander with dog and gun through forest and over heath made a day worth living. And then the provinces he visited in his soldier career, the garrison towns he lived in, the three wars he fought through—what a background against which to frame his longings and daydreams! “O thou lieutenant time! with thy jolly healthfulness, thy keenness, thy many friends and comrades; with all thy rosy days, thy punctilious feeling of duty, thy stern self-discipline!” Of such feelings is born the exquisite poem which Von Liliencron calls “The Tattoo:”

Up comes the very last tent pin,  
 Accouter'd all, the men fall in,  
 Tight buckled every girth is;  
 The flood of iron melts all around  
 Like snow of March o'er sunny ground,  
 And reeking now the earth is.

Like flow'rets in their summer bed,  
Like flow'rets blue and flow'rets red,  
    There gleams the foe's bright jacket ;  
Soon everywhere the deadly crash,  
The shells are tearing flesh from flesh,  
    As gallows ravens hack it.

Ahead the colonel, in gold bedeckt,  
His collar soiled and blood bespelt,  
    Is bound to gain the glory ;  
Already him the bullet seams,  
The saber shines, the saber gleams,  
    And hoofs tread forms all gory.

Then comes the dart fashion'd for him,  
The dart is fine and point so slim,  
    He falls in forward breastwork ;  
And over him, as yarn winds out,  
Pile wheel and horse in maddened route,  
    A snakelike tangled nest-work.

That all was ten long years ago,  
Through many leaves the wind has blown  
    O'er grave and bridal scattered ;  
The colonel pines in garden's ease—  
There is the gallant Achilles,  
    And cane, not weapons battered.

The night is hot, he sits alone,  
He sits in light of bright full moon,  
    His thoughts are sad and fleeting ;  
When suddenly a faint tone hears,  
Yet one, but hark ! the tone it nears,  
    Kling-ling, and drums a-beating.

And nearer yet the music comes,  
And through the air the tumult hums,  
    And nearer, ever nearer ;  
The old man's soul it sweeps afar—  
Drums beating time and battle jar—  
    His heart feels drear and drear'er.

The battalion moves to town close by,  
From whence, in quarters ever nigh,  
    It greets the warrior agèd,  
And brings to him the tattoo call,  
Which sweeps up like the storm's onfall,  
    And stops, its force assuagèd.

Yet what a pleasure for him thought  
Has only sorrow to him brought,  
    And memories oppress him ;

In strength and valor proud, on steed,  
And princelike there the host to lead—  
These thoughts do now possess him.

The music wanes and torchlight glare,  
The town absorbs the furious blare,  
And leaves the old man dreaming;  
The valkyrs passed there in the night  
And lifted him from settle light—  
Away, and colors streaming!

But our singer is not complete master of the poesy of pathos till he catches his inspiration from some simple summer landscape which has been stained by the carnage of battle. In his "Dead in the Wheat" he is at his best:

In wide wheat field, in poppies gay,  
There lies a soldier yet unfound;  
Two days and nights have passed away,  
His painful wounds as yet unbound.

In racking thirst and fever mad  
He lifts his head in power of death—  
A fleeting dream, a vision sad—  
He looks on high and gasps for breath.

The sickle cleaves the field of wheat,  
He sees his village calm, content;  
"Adieu, adieu, thou homeland sweet,"  
And drops his head, and life is spent.

Another fact from the poet's biography cannot fail to be of interest to people on the new side of the ocean. He tells it himself: "I was born at Kiel, June 3, 1844. My brothers and sisters early had to fold their little hands in their coffins. My sainted mother, Adeline Sylvestra, *née* Von Harten, was born in Philadelphia, where my grandfather was an American general. Though younger by half his life, he was one of the last, true friends of the great Washington." From these words we can easily see why Detlev von Liliencron is a soldier and sings in his clearest tones of the work of war; in doing so he is but living out the strain of family history.

*R. Clyde Ford*

## ART. IX.—THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

It has been said that the days of the art of letter writing are forever past; that the telephone, the telegraph, the typewriter, and the modern newspaper have reduced the epistles that pass between friends to the exchange of the merest conventional civilities. In these strenuous and rushing years little opportunity is found to enjoy the pleasant and gossiping leisureliness of the old-time letter writers. The letters of Cowper, of Dean Swift, of Keats, of Landor, of Carlyle, and his brilliant wife, of Emerson, of the two Brownings, and, we might add, of R. L. Stevenson will never be duplicated, because *tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis*. And yet, down to the very year of his death, the letters of Lowell were the same delightful, lucid, and witty expressions of a charming personality. In them are quaint bits of observation, wise and incisive comments upon men and things, sudden revelations of a heart overflowing with love, passages as bright with humor as anything that appears in the *Moosehead Journal*, erudite allusions, and quotations from the most diverse sources, until it would seem that the advent of one of these letters must have been marked as an important event in the experience of the recipient.

James Russell Lowell first opened his eyes to the light of the natural sun in Cambridge, Mass., on February 22, 1819, a day noted in the calendar of American patriotism as the one made memorable by the nativity of the immortal Washington. Lowell was most fortunate in his antecedents. His father was a cultured clergyman, a lover of books and of the benign and beautiful things of life. The poet's mother was of an ancient Orkney family, and through her there was filtered into the blood of the son the solitude and romantic mystery of those northern islands. Lowell's early home was such as would foster the poetic instincts of a child. Elmwood, a product of colonial times, stood in the midst of lawn and garden, orchard and English elms. It was a roomy old-fashioned house, rising amid its rural surroundings, with an

air of quiet respectability all its own. There were five other children in the Lowell household, three brothers and two sisters, all older than the poet. He was an ardent little fellow, loving boyish pastimes, and was happy and healthy in affections and temperament as a boy should be. We may obtain a glimpse of his joyous childhood from the following letter to his brother Robert, written seventy-one years ago:

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am now going to tell you melancholy news. I have got the ague together with a gumbile. I presume you know that September has got a lame leg, but he grows better every day and now is very well but still limps a little. We have a new scholar from round hill. his name is Hooper and we expect another named Penn who I believe also comes from there. The boys are all very well except Nemaïse, who has got another piece of glass in his leg and is waiting for the doctor to take it out, and Samuel Storrow is also sick. I am going to have a new suit of blue broadcloth clothes to wear every day and to play in. Mother tells me that I may have any sort of buttons I choose. I have not done anything to the hut but if you wish I will. I am now very happy; but I should be more so if you were there. I hope you will answer my letter if you do not I shall write you no more letters. when you write my letters you must direct them all to me and not write half to mother as generally do. Mother has given me three volumes of tales of a grandfather.

farewell

Yours truly

JAMES R. LOWELL.

You must excuse me for making so many mistakes. You must keep what I have told you about my new clothes a secret if you dont I shall not divulge any more secrets to you. I have got quite a library. The Master has not taken his rattan out since the vacation. Your little kitten is as well and as playful as ever and I hope you are to for I am sure I love you as well as ever. Why is grass like a mouse you cant guess that he he he ho ho ha ha ha hum hum hum.

Lowell matriculated at Harvard as a freshman, when he was fifteen years of age. Although somewhat diffident, he made friends among his classmates, and found much enjoyment in his college days. In a letter written to W. H. Shackford, in 1836, the critical habit of Lowell's mind already begins to appear. He says:

I am reading the life of Milton, and find it very interesting; his first taste (as well as Cowley's) for poetry was formed by reading Spenser. I am glad to have such good examples, for Spenser was always my favor-



ite poet. I like the meter of the "Faerie Queene;" Beattie's "Minstrel" is in the same. Apropos of poetry, I myself (you need not turn up your nose and grin)—yes, I myself have cultivated the muses, and have translated one or two odes from Horace, your favorite Horace. I like Horace much, but prefer Virgil's "Bucolics" to his "Odes," most of them. If you have your Horace by you, turn to the IXth Satire, 1st Book, and read it, and see if you don't like it (in an expurgated edition).

In a letter to G. B. Loring, written in the same year as the foregoing, we have another allusion to the fact that he has begun the writing of poetry:

Here I am, alone in Bob's room with a blazing fire, in an atmosphere of "poesy" and soft-coal smoke. Hope, Dante, a few of the older English poets, Byron, and last, not least, some of my own compositions, lie around me. Mark my modesty. I don't put myself in the same line with the rest, you see.

Writing to W. H. Shackford the following year, he gives apparently the first intimation of what his pursuit in life shall be: "I thought your brother Charles was studying law. I intend to study that myself, and probably shall be Chief Justice of the United States."

That dominant love for the home of his birth and childhood, which made Lowell cling to Elmwood to the closing day of his life, he expresses in another letter to Loring, penned April 5, 1837:

To revisit the home of one's childhood has much of joy, but it is a joy mingled with sadness. To think how soon those flowers that have bloomed, those fields that have smiled, and those trees that have so often arrayed themselves in "summer's garb" for you, may bloom and smile and array themselves for another! You may think me a fool to talk in such a moralizing strain, but, George, I have lately talked less and thought more. I mean to read next term, if possible, a chapter in my Bible every night.

The increasingly studious habits of his mind and that *bonhomie* which were characteristic of Lowell throughout his later life are now (1837) well defined:

I am busy as a bee—almost. I study and read and write all the time. I have laid my hands on a very pretty edition of Cowper, which I intend to keep. In two volumes I have also "pinned" some letters relating to myself in my early childhood, by which it seems I was a miracle of a boy

for sweetness of temper. "*Credite posteri!*" I believe I was, although perhaps you would not think it now.

Already, in this same year, he begins to find himself able to express his intense love of nature:

You can't imagine how delightful it is out here. The greatest multitude of birds of every description that I ever recollect to have seen. The grass is fast growing green under the kind sun of spring—that is, in southerly aspects. Every day that the sun shines I take my book and go out to a bank in our garden, and lie and read. 'Tis almost as pleasant as

To sit on rocks, to muse o'er flood and fell.

. . . The birds now sing loudest, and the fowling piece breaks "the quiet of the scene" less often than at any other time. Besides, 'tis beautiful to watch the different steps of nature's toilet, as she arrays herself in the flowery dress of Spring. It almost seems as if one could see the grass grow green. Then, too, the sky is so clear.

Years after this impression of his love for nature Lowell wrote in the same spirit as follows:

The older I grow the more I am convinced that there are no satisfactions so deep and so permanent as our sympathies with outward nature. I have not said just what I meant, for we are thrilled even more by any spectacle of human heroism. But the others seem to bind our lives together by a more visible and unbroken chain of purifying and softening emotion. In this way the flowering of the buttercups is always a great, and I may truly say religious, event in my year. . . . There never was such a season, if one only did not have to lecture and write articles. There never is such a season, and that shows what a poet God is. He says the same thing over to us so often, and always new. Here I've been reading the same poem for near half a century, and never had a notion what the buttercups in the third stanza meant before. But I won't tell.

In one of his early letters, written while he is rustivating in Concord for having neglected certain studies of the college curriculum, he thus mentions Thoreau: "I met Thoreau last night, and it is exquisitely amusing to see how he imitates Emerson's tone and manner. With my eyes shut, I shouldn't know them apart."

The decidedly poetical bias of Lowell's nature is now clearly apparent. "I have been reading the first volume of Carlyle's *Miscellanies*," he writes. "One article, that on Burns, is worth all the rest to me. I like, too, the one on German playwrights. There are fine passages in all." About this time

there was some thought upon the part of the poet of entering a divinity school, that he might prepare himself for the ministry. He seems to have been possessed of very distinct notions with regard to a clergyman's condition as related to his work, and reached the conclusion that he was not adapted to the minister's vocation. He says:

No man ought to be a minister who has not a special calling that way. I don't mean an old-fashioned special calling, with winged angels and fat-bottomed cherubs, but an inward one. In fact, I think that no man ought to be a minister who has not money enough to support him besides his salary. For the minister of God should not be thinking of his own and children's bread, when dispensing the bread of life. I have been led to reflect seriously on the subject since I have thought of going into the divinity school. Some men were made for peacemakers and others for shoemakers, and if each man follow his nose we shall come out right at last. If I did not think that I should some day make a great fool of myself and marry (not that I would call all men fools who marry), I would enter the school to-morrow. Certain am I that it is not pleasant to work for a living anyway, but "we youth" must live, and verily this "money" is a very good thing, though on that account we need not fall down and worship it. The very cent on which my eye now rests may have done a great deal of good in its day; perhaps it has made glad the heart of the widow, and put a morsel of bread in the famishing mouths of her children; and perhaps it has created much misery; perhaps some now determined gambler began his career of sin by playing chuck-farthing with that very piece of stamped copper.

In this same letter his burning love of liberty, which seemed to intensify with passing years, obtains a tentative utterance that came to its culmination long afterward in the noble "Commemoration Ode:"

A plan has been running in my head, for some time, of writing a sort of dramatic poem on the subject of Cromwell. Those old Roundheads have never had justice done them. They have only been held up as canting, psalm-singing, hypocritical rascals; as a sort of a foil for the open-hearted Cavalier. But it were a strange thing indeed if there were not somewhat in such men as Milton, Sidney, Hampden, Selden, and Pym. It always struck me that there was more true poetry in those old fiery-eyed, buff-belted warriors—with their deep, holy enthusiasm for liberty and democracy, political and religious; with their glorious trust in the arm of the Lord in battle—than in the dashing, ranting Cavaliers, who wished to restore their king that they might give vent to their passions, and go to sleep again in the laps of their mistresses, deaf to the cries of the poor and the oppressed.

After the final relinquishment of his nascent purpose of entering the ministry Lowell turned his attention to the study of law, but only at intervals and in a desultory and half-hearted manner. He says:

I am reading Blackstone with as good a grace and as few wry faces as I may. . . . A very great change has come o'er the spirit of my dream of life. I have renounced the law. I am going to settle down into a business man at last, after all I have said to the contrary. Farewell! a long farewell, to all my greatness! I find that I cannot bring myself to like the law, and I am now looking out for a place "in a store." You may imagine that all this has not come to pass without a struggle. . . . I have been thinking seriously of the ministry, but then—I have also thought of medicine, but then—still worse! . . . On Monday last I went into town to look out for a place, and was induced *en passant* to step into the United States Court, where there was a case pending in which Webster was one of the counsel retained. I had not been there an hour before I determined to continue in my profession and study as well as I could.

The vacillation of Lowell's mind at this period with regard to his life pursuit is well portrayed by the foregoing quotations. The poet's interest in matters of public concern had already been kindled, although he was still ineligible to vote, not yet having come of age. In view of the *Biglow Papers* and their influence upon their time, and also of Lowell's brilliant career as the representative of his country at the Spanish court and at the Court of St. James, some of the lines in a letter written November 15, 1838, seem to be almost prophetic:

I shouldn't wonder if the peaceable young gentleman whom you know in college flared up into a great political luminary. I am fast becoming ultra-democratic, and when I come to see you, which I trust will be very soon, I intend to inoculate you with the (I won't call it by the technical term of "virus," because that's too hard a word, but with the) principle. . . . By the very last accounts from England, immense meetings had been held in all parts of England to petition Parliament for an equal representation. . . . There is a great and pregnant change, ominous of much. It almost brings tears into my eyes when I think of this vast multitude starved, trampled upon, meeting to petition the government which oppressed them, and which they supported by taxes wrung out of the very children's lifeblood. Verily, some enthusiasts have even ventured to assert that there are hearts, aye, even warm ones, under frieze jenkins.

Again Lowell swings toward the law, with the pathetic tergiversation characteristic of so many young men groping toward their lifework. In these days of large prices for famous names and commonplace performances, it is rather wholesome to note the highest fees to which Lowell aspired in payment for a lecture:

The more I think of business, the more really unhappy do I feel and think more and more of studying law. In your letter you speak of my lecturing in Andover, about which I forgot to speak to you. Do they pay expenses? They gave me four dollars in Concord. I wish they'd take it into their heads to ask me at Cambridge, where they pay fifteen dollars, or in Lowell where they pay twenty-five dollars!! What to do with myself I don't know.

Lowell had been accused of indolence by his friends. The accusation seems to have had a basis of fact, and the poet himself recognized it. Yet it has ever been so with those possessed of poetical genius; it comes to its best only in that atmosphere of leisureliness and contentment wherein indeed the

. . . Spirit lies  
Under the walls of Paradise.

Here is the young writer's confession: "I am lazy enough and dilatory enough, heaven knows, but not half so much so as some of my friends suppose. At all events, I was never made for a merchant, and I even begin to doubt whether I was made for anything in particular but to loiter through life."

In view of the eagerness with which publishers afterward sought the work of Lowell's pen, the desire expressed to publish a volume of his poems is curiously striking:

If I could get any bookseller to do it for me, I would publish a volume of poems. Of late a fancy has seized me for so doing. If it met with any commendation I could get paid for contributions to periodicals. I tried last night to write a little rhyme—but must wait for the moving of the waters. The nine goddess virgins who dance with tender feet round the violet-hued fountain of Hippocrene, and whose immortal voices drop sweetly from their lips, will not come to me.

Apropos of his relation to the law he writes again, in 1839:

If I live, I don't believe I shall ever (between you and me) practice law. I intend, however, to study it and prepare myself for practicing.

But a blind presentiment of becoming independent in some other way is always hovering round me. Above all things should I love to be able to sit down and do something literary for the rest of my natural life.

The first mention of Miss Maria White, afterward Mrs. Lowell, we find in a letter addressed by Lowell to G. B. Loring, and bearing date December 2, 1839 :

I went up to Watertown on Saturday with W. A. White, and spent the Sabbath with him. You ought to see his father. The most perfect specimen of a bluff, honest, hospitable country squire you can possibly imagine. His mother, too, is a very pleasant woman—a sister of Mrs. Gilman. His sister is a very pleasant and pleasing young lady, and knows more poetry than anyone I am acquainted with. I mean she is able to repeat more. She is more familiar, however, with modern poets than with the pure wellsprings of English poesy.

Lowell completed his studies at the Harvard Law School in 1840, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Laws. His father had suffered financial reverses, and the poet now found himself confronted with the necessity of earning his own livelihood. In these straits, as other good men have done in all ages, Lowell became engaged to be married. Miss Maria White was a woman of uncommon personal attractiveness, and her mental endowments were of a high order. She, too, wrote poetry, and thus was peculiarly fitted to sympathize with the tastes and aspirations of her gifted husband. About this time Lowell concluded to collect his poems for publication, which he did under the title of *A Year's Life*. The little book at once gave its author an assured place among his younger poetical compeers. Lowell published his second volume of verse in 1843, and this second venture afforded indubitable evidence of maturing power. In 1844 Lowell published a volume of prose consisting of *Conversation on Some of the Old Poets*. The critical and analytical bent of his mind was now well determined, and the work in this book already showed elements of future power. At the close of this year Lowell married, despite his very limited and precarious income. He began to write for antislavery organs, and, being deeply moved by the noblest humanitarian instincts, he gave utterance week after week to sentiments that stirred like a bugle blast. Thus the *Biglow Papers* began to appear, and were at once received

with an expression of popular favor which has never changed. In 1848 they were issued in a volume, and in the same year the *Fable for Critics* and the *Vision of Sir Launfal* were written and published.

The growing temper of Lowell's mind is well illustrated by the following lines which appear in letters written in 1841 :

I know that God has given me powers such as are not given to all, and I will not "hide my talent in mean clay." I do not care what others may think of me or of my book, because if I am worth anything I shall one day show it. I do not fear criticism so much as I love truth. Nay, I do not fear it at all. In short, I am happy. Maria fills my ideal, and I satisfy hers. And I mean to live as one beloved by such a woman should live. She is every way noble. People have called "Irene" a beautiful piece of poetry. And so it is. It owes all its beauty to her. . . . I have just finished something which I ought to have done long ago. I have copied off a ballad of mine for a publisher of the name of D. H. Williams, who is getting out an annual. He will pay me five dollars per page, and more if the book sells well. Hawthorne, Emerson, and Longfellow are writing for it, and Bryant and Halleck have promised to—so I shall be in good company, which will be pleasing to groundlings.

At times Lowell bubbled over with fun and animal spirits ; he would then pour out sufficient original wit and humor to have supplied a professional humorist with a working capital for several years :

The next day I was up before sunrise, and got into a habit of early rising that lasted me all that day. . . . I have nothing else in the way of novelty, except an expedient I hit upon for my hens who were backward with their eggs. On rainy days I set William to reading aloud to them the *Lay Sermons* of Coleridge, and the effect was magical. Whether their consciences were touched or they wished to escape the preaching, I know not. . . . I take great comfort in God. I think he is considerably amused with us sometimes, but that he like us, on the whole, and would not let us get at the match box so carelessly as he does unless he knew that the frame of his universe was fireproof. . . . As usual I haven't left myself time to correct my proofs. What a pleasant life I shall have of it when I have all eternity on deposit. Then the printers will say, "If you can with convenience return proofs before end of next century, you would oblige; but there is no hurry." 'Tis an invincible argument for immortality that we never have time enough here—except for doing other things.

Again and again Lowell reveals the extreme affectionateness of his nature :

You say that life seems to be a struggle after nothing in particular. But you are wrong. It is a struggle after the peaceful home of the soul in a natural and loving state of life. Men are mostly unconscious of the object of their struggle, but it is always connected in some way with this. If they gain wealth and power or glory, it is all to make up for this want, which they feel, but scarce know what it is. But nothing will ever supply the place of this, any more than their softest carpets will give their old age the spring and ease which arose from the pliant muscles of youth. . . . It is always my happiest thought that with all the drawbacks of temperament (of which no one is more keenly conscious than myself) I have never lost a friend. For I would rather be loved than anything else in the world. I always thirst after affection, and depend more on the expression of it than is altogether wise.

The strongly altruistic tendencies of Lowell's mind are observable in the views which he expressed upon the question of slavery :

If men will not set their faces against this monstrous sin, this *choragus* of all other enormities, they, at least, need not smile upon it, much less write in its favor. What, in the name of God, are all these paltry parties, which lead men by the nose against all that is best and holiest, to the freedom of five millions of men? The horror of slavery can only be appreciated by one who has felt it himself, or who has imagination enough to put himself in the place of the slave and fancy himself not only virtually imprisoned, but forced to toil; and all this for no crime and for no reason except that it would be inconvenient to free them.

That Lowell was possessed of a deeply spiritual nature none who are well acquainted with his writings will be disposed to deny. He seemed to be always conscious of the divine Immanence, and undoubtedly the sense of God's presence and overruling providence lent grandeur and dignity to his thought and life. He says :

I had a revelation last Friday evening. I was at Mary's, and happening to say something of the presence of spirits (of whom, I said, I was often dimly aware), Mr. Putnam entered into an argument with me on spiritual matters. As I was speaking, the whole system rose up before me like a vague destiny looming from the abyss. I never before so clearly felt the spirit of God in me and around me. The whole room seemed to me full of God. The air seemed to waver to and fro with the presence of something, I knew not what. I spoke with the calmness and clearness of a prophet.



In his young manhood Lowell was filled with the fine and brave enthusiasms of youth. His wings were light and strong, and to him no height seemed beyond his reach. His buoyant spirits responded swiftly to every change for the better in the material circumstances of his life. He looked upon his conquest of the world as already assured, and the event proved the justice of his judgment:

I have set about making myself ambitious. It is the only way to climb well. Men yield more readily to an ambitious man, provided he can bear it out by deeds. Just as much as we claim the world gives us, and posterity has enough to do in nailing the base coin to the counter. But I only mean to use my ambition as a staff to my love of freedom and man. I will have power, and there's the end of it. I have a right to it, too, and you see I have put the crown on already.

To the bereaved friend the poet, who himself had lost a darling child, and who was again to pass through the swelling of the great waters, thus addresses himself concerning death and sorrow:

I agree entirely with what you have said of death in your last letter; but at the same time I know well that the first touch of his hand is cold, and that he comes to us, as the rest of God's angels do, in disguise. But we are enabled to see his face fully at last, and it is that of a seraph. So it is with all. Disease, poverty, death, sorrow all come to us with unbenign countenances; but from one after another the mask falls off, and we behold faces which retain the glory and the calm of having looked in the face of God. To me, at least, your bereavement has come with the softest step and the most hallowed features, for it has opened a new channel for my love to flow toward you in. . . . It is therefore no idle form when I tell you to lean on God. I know that it is needless to say this to you, but I know also that it is always sweet and consoling to have our impulses seconded by the sympathy of our friends.

We all are tall enough to reach God's hand,  
The angels are no taller.

I could not restrain my tears when I read what you say of the living things all around the cast mantle of your child. It is strange, almost awful, that, when this great miracle has been performed for us, nature gives no sign. Not a bee stints his hum, the sun shines, the leaves glisten, the cock crow comes from the distance, the flies buzz into the room, and yet perhaps a minute before the most immediate presence of God of which we can conceive was filling the whole chamber, and opening its arms to "suffer the little ones to come unto him."

The filial love and reverence that a child owes to a worthy parent Lowell has expressed in lines which fairly throb with warm and deep affection. His portrait of his father is as unstudied as it is delightful, but want of space forbids its presentation here. The manner in which scholars gather knowledge by processes of accretion Lowell has indicated with his accustomed freshness and originality :

If you had cast about for a hard question to ask me, you could not have been more successful than in desiring my advice as to a course of reading. I suppose that very few men who are bred scholars ever think of such a thing as a course of reading after their Freshman year in college. Their situation throws books constantly in their way, and they select by a kind of instinct the food which will suit their mental digestion, acquiring knowledge insensibly, as the earth gathers soil. This was wholly the case with myself.

Having been taken to task for entertaining the principles of an abolitionist, and in like manner having been accused of one-sidedness, Lowell thus proceeds to defend himself :

There is one abolitionist, at least, who seldom lets slip any opportunity against any institution which seems to him to stand in the way of freedom. Absolute freedom is what I want—for the body first, and then for the mind. For the body first, because it is easier to make men conscious of the wrong of that grosser and more outward oppression, and, after seeing that, they will perceive more readily the less palpable chains and gags of tyranny.

That erratic, irresponsible, iconoclastic free lance of letters, Edgar Allan Poe, who ran a tilt at most of his fellow-writers in his own day, did not permit Lowell to escape. In common with Longfellow and others already eminent in literature, Poe accused Lowell of plagiarism. Lowell thus repels the charge :

Poe, I am afraid, is wholly lacking in that element of manhood which, for want of a better name, we call "character." It is something quite distinct from genius—though all great geniuses are endowed with it. . . . As I prognosticated, I have made Poe my enemy by doing him a service. Poe wishes to kick down the ladder by which he rose. He is welcome. But he does not attack me at a weak point. He probably cannot conceive of anybody's writing for anything but a newspaper reputation, or for posthumous fame, which is but the same thing magnified by distance. I have quite other aims.

In this same letter, from which the foregoing quotation is

made, Lowell permits us to look for a moment into the depths of his heart, where he reveals his intense longing for sympathy and love. Could we gaze below the cold exterior of many a person whose pathway for an instant crosses our own, we doubtless would be astonished to learn how, in the largest and purest natures, this yearning for human fellowship rises into a very passion. Lowell's conception of the office of a poet was a lofty one. His charming and beautiful prose did not possess in his own eyes a hundredth part of the value of his poetry. His desire was to live and be remembered by what he had done in the poetic field. He was conscious of his high calling, and attained to rare moments of prophetic power and vicarious suffering:

My calling is clear to me. I am never lifted up to any peak of vision—and moments of almost fearful inward illumination I have sometimes—but that, when I look down in hope to see some valley of the Beautiful Mountains, I behold nothing but blackened ruins; and the moans of the downtrodden the world over—but chiefly here in our own land—come up to my ear, instead of the happy songs of the husbandmen reaping and binding the sheaves of light; yet these, too, I hear not seldom. Then I feel how great is the office of poet, could I but even dare to hope to fill it.

The mutual helpfulness which lies at the foundation of all true democracy is not always recognized, particularly by those who, because of birth, training, and education, should be first to embody in their own lives the fact that *noblesse oblige*. But with Lowell democracy in its widest and truest sense was almost a religion. All great genius has been allied with a youthful temperament that never aged. In fact, genius itself, as a subtle prophylactic against time, is a preservative of the simple beliefs, elasticity, and fire of youth, to which the vision of the world is ever fair and bright. Whatever epigraphs time may score upon the brow, or howsoever upon hollow temples he may dust his rime, genius permits no wrinkles to come upon the heart. The selfsame hopefulness and high-heartedness of early years are borne lightly onward to the very end of life. It was so with Lowell.

How much a matter of conscience Lowell's antislavery sentiments were may be discovered from the fact that he was reluctant to take pay for the articles which he produced in behalf

of the cause so dear to his heart. Whatever the acknowledged charms of Lowell the author—and they are many—they were eclipsed by the charming personality of Lowell the man. It should ever be thus. The writer who is not greater than his writings is a kind of an impostor, for he creates in the minds of others a false conception of himself. That Lowell never lost a friend who really knew him need not be regarded as surprising. “If I did not think that I were better than my books,” he says, “I should never dream of writing another.” He cherished a perpetual and consuming desire to fulfill the expectations of his friends. He knew that they anticipated great things for him, and he set about to realize these anticipations. At the same time he felt that his poetical power and skill were increasing, and he looked into the future with the resilience of hope based upon praiseworthy performance. His never-failing kindness of heart and invincible good humor helped him over not a few of the rough places of life. He was able to see the humorous side of almost every situation, so that difficulties which would have dismayed many another man were for him minified to the vanishing point. Nor was he afraid of dealing with some of the most perplexing of the ethical problems of the world. He looked upon human nature with a clear and tolerant eye, and he never despaired of the ultimate elevation of humanity. His attitude toward the Author of the Christian faith was one of deepest reverence and unchanging love.

Death was not idle in the poet's life. His dear children were taken from him, one by one—with the exception of his daughter Mabel—and all too soon his beautiful and beloved wife. In the loss of the latter Lowell drank of the bitterest cup that can be pressed to the lips of man. She was a fragile creature of fire and dew, and the end approached so insidiously under cover of a constitutional delicacy of health that it took the poet by a heartbreaking surprise. This great sorrow wore him down, but his faith and resignation rose triumphant above the affliction.

In the opening months of 1855 he was elected to a professorship in Harvard College—a chair which had previously been occupied by Ticknor and Longfellow. Lowell entered

upon the duties of his new position on his return from Europe, in 1856. He continued in this relation for twenty years. In 1857 he also became editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, "sitting in the seat of the scorner," as he expressed it, for four consecutive years. At the end of this period he became associated with Charles Eliot Norton in the joint editorship of the *North American Review*. During the soul-trying years of our civil war his was a puissant voice lifted in defense of the Union. The mounting fire and passion of his patriotism culminate in the splendid "Commemoration Ode," which seems to have been written with his very heart's blood. Lowell was always pleased at any recognition of his work as a poet. He felt that he had in him all the elements of the highest poetical achievements, and in consequence looked with a certain dissatisfaction upon his best productions as falling far below his own ideal of excellence and of possibility. He was always conscious, also, notwithstanding the general buoyancy of his nature, that upon him, as upon all great sensitive souls, pressed the inescapable *weltschmerz* which haunts these years of time.

Many of Lowell's utterances might pass current as proverbs, so trenchant are they and bite with such power into the memory :

He cannot be a wise man who never says a foolish thing, and, indeed, I go further, and affirm that it takes a wise man to say a foolish thing. . . . We never find out on how many insignificant points we have fastened the subtle threads of association—which is almost love with sanguine temperaments—till we are forced to break them. . . . We shall never feather our nests from the eagles we have let fly. . . . It is splendid, as girls say, to dream backward so. One feels as if he were a poet, and one's own *Odyssey* sings itself in one's blood as he walks. . . . What a web a man can spin out of his life, if a man be only a genius. . . . I have discovered that it is almost impossible to learn all about anything unless indeed it be some piece of ill luck, and then one has the help of one's friends. . . . But let us have a cheerful confidence that we are worth damning, for that implies a chance also of something better. . . . I believe it one of the most happy things in the world, as we grow older, to have as many ties as possible with whatever is best in our own past, and to be pledged as deeply as may be to our own youth. . . . That friendship should be able to endure silence without suspicion is the surest touchstone of its sufficiency. . . . I have always believed that a man's fate is born with him, and that he cannot

escape from it nor greatly modify it—and that consequently everyone gets in the long run exactly what he deserves, neither more nor less. . . . If a man does anything good, the world always finds it out, sooner or later; and if he doesn't, why, the world finds that out, too—and ought to. . . . Women need social stimulus more than we [men]. They contribute to it more, and their magnetism, unless drawn off by the natural conductors, turns inward and irritates. . . . I look upon a belief as none the worse, but rather the better, for being hereditary, prizing as I do whatever helps to give continuity to the being and doing of man and an accumulated force to his character. . . . They go about to prove to me from a lot of nasty savages that conscience is a purely artificial product, as if that wasn't the very wonder of it. What odds whether it is the thing or the aptitude that is innate? What race of beasts ever got one up in all their leisurely æons? . . . I don't care where the notion of immortality came from. If it sprang out of a controlling necessity of our nature, some instinct of self-protection and preservation, like the color of some of Darwin's butterflies, at any rate it is there and as real as that, and I mean to hold it fast.

The unfolding of a commanding intellect always presents a fascinating study, and hence the writer of these lines has purposely lingered over the earlier portion of Lowell's life as we find it expressed in his letters. His high place as a poet is so widely recognized that no words in emphasis of that fact are needed here. As a critic he brought to bear upon his task a kindly disposition, a culture broad and exact, and a catholicity of taste equaled only by the acumen of his mind. His perception of high qualities seemed to be instinctive. The slashing, swashbuckling style of criticism which prevailed about the middle of the present century Lowell wholly eschewed, and perhaps for the first time on this side of the Atlantic there was apparent an earnest and painstaking effort to ascertain the real content of a piece of literary art. Over all his writing, likewise, in whatever kind, there played an ever various and subtle humor like iridescent light.

*James B. Kenyon.*

## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

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THE New York *Observer* wisely says:

Criticism of a sort must be; but the proper spirit of Scripture study is indicated in the words that John Brown, when in prison, wrote in the Bible, which, just before his execution, he gave to a friend: "There is no commentary in the world so good in order to a right understanding of this blessed Book as an honest, child-like, and teachable spirit."

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Of a certain professor's mechanical comments on Stedman's *American Anthology*, a literary critic writes:

It is very wonderful to see how a statistician, who has stumbled into the Chair of Literature instead of that of Agricultural Chemistry, which he might conceivably have adorned, can produce a quantitative instead of a qualitative analysis, as the thing which it behooves to be done. *The ultimate moral seems to be that a man needs an unusual degree of sense in order to trust himself in a position in which nobody can "talk back" to him, on the papal throne, in the pulpit, on the bench, or in a professor's chair.* When he does not exhibit that eminence of wisdom we see what happens to him. Upon a mind not apparently extraordinary from the first, the habitual practice of telling boys, without fear of contradiction, things which are either irrelevant or "not so," must, in the long run, most unfavorably react.

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THE following brings out Carlyle's emphasis on the dignity of work as work:

Two men I honor, and no third. First the toilworn Craftsman that with earth-made implement laboriously conquers the Earth, and makes her man's—Venerable to me is the hard hand, crooked, coarse; wherein notwithstanding lies a cunning virtue, indefeasibly royal, as of the Scepter of this Planet. Venerable too is the rugged face, all weather tanned, besoiled, with its rude intelligence; for it is the face of a man living manlike. O, but the more venerable for thy rudeness, and even because we must pity as well as love thee! Hardly entreated Brother! For us was thy back so bent, for us were thy straight limbs and fingers so deformed: thou wert our conscript, on whom the lot fell, and fighting our battles wert so marred. Far on thee too lay a God-created Form, but it was not to be unfolded; incrustated must it stand with the thick adhesions and defacements of Labor: and thy body, like thy soul, was not to know freedom. Yet toil on, toil on: thou art in thy duty, be out of it who may; thou toilest for the altogether indispensable, for daily bread. A second man I honor, and still more highly: Him who is seen

toiling for the spiritually indispensable; not daily bread, but the bread of Life. Is not he too in his duty; endeavoring—toward inward Harmony; revealing this, by act or by word, through all his outward endeavors, be they high or low? Highest of all, when his outward and his inward endeavor are one: when we can name him Artist; not earthly Craftsman only, but inspired Thinker, who with heaven-made implement conquers Heaven for us! If the poor and humble toil that we have Food, must not the high and glorious toil for him in return, that he have Light, have Guidance, Freedom, Immortality?—These two, in all their degrees, I honor; all else is chaff and dust, which let the wind blow whither it listeth—Unspeakably touching is it, however, when I find both dignities united, and he that must toil outwardly for the lowest of man's wants, is also tolling inwardly for the highest—Sublimar in this world know I nothing than a Peasant Saint, could such now anywhere be met with—Such a one will take thee back to Nazareth itself; thou wilt see the splendor of Heaven spring forth from the humblest depths of Earth, like a light shining in great darkness.

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#### STEDMAN'S VIEWS AND VALUATIONS.\*

MR. STEDMAN'S "Introduction" is far from being the least valuable part of the volume which contains his compilation of the choicest and most typical examples of the poetry of the English tongue written by American authors between 1787 and 1899; although the collection itself is judiciously regarded as "the most authoritative, catholic, and sensitive exposition that has been made, or that is likely to be made, of American verse for the period which it covers." As compared with his previous volume, *A Victorian Anthology*, Mr. Stedman thinks that, if that collection of verse from the poets of England exceeds in wealth of choice production, this anthology of the writings of the poets of America may nevertheless prove to be, from an equally vital point of view, the more significant of the two. In amplification of which opinion he says:

Our own poetry excels as a recognizable voice in utterance of the emotions of a people. The storm and stress of youth have been upon us, and the nation has not lacked its lyric cry; meanwhile the typical sentiments of piety, domesticity, freedom have made our less impassioned verse at least sincere. One who underrates the significance of our literature, prose or verse, as both the expression and the stimulant of national feeling, as of import in the past and to the future of America, and therefore of the world, is deficient in that critical insight which can judge even of its own day unwarped by personal taste or deference to public impression. He shuts his eyes to the fact that at times, notably throughout the years resulting in the Civil War, this literature has been a "force." Its verse, until the dominance of prose fiction—that is well into the seventies—formed the staple of

\* *An American Anthology*, by Edmund Clarence Stedman. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. Price, cloth, \$3. See Book Notices.



current reading; and fortunate it was—while pirated foreign writings, sold cheaply everywhere, handicapped the evolution of a native prose school—that the books of the elder American poets lay on the center tables of our households and were read with eager zest by old and young. They were not the fosterers of new-world liberty and aspiration solely; beyond this, in the case of Longfellow, for example, the legends read between the lines made his verse as welcome in Great Britain as among his own countryfolk. The criterion of poetry is not its instant vogue with the ill-informed classes; yet when it is the utterance of an ardent people, as in the works of Longfellow, Bryant, Emerson, Lowell, Whittier, it once more assumes its rightful place as the art originative of belief and deed. Emerson presented such a union of spiritual and civic insight with dithyrambic genius as may not be seen again. His thought is now congenital throughout vast reaches, among new peoples scarcely conscious of its derivation. Longfellow and his pupils, for their part, excited for our people the old-world sense of beauty and romance, until they sought for a beauty of their own and developed a new literary manner—touched by that of the motherland, yet with a difference. In Bryant, often pronounced cold and granitic by readers bred to the copious-worded verse of modern times, is found the large imagination that befits a progenitor. It was stirred, as that of no future American can be, by his observation of primeval nature. He saw her virgin mountains, rivers, forests, prairies broadly; and his vocabulary, scant and Doric as it was, proved sufficient for nature's elemental bard. His master may have been Wordsworth, but the difference between the two is that of the prairie and the moor, Ontario and Windermere, the Hudson and the Wye. From "Thanatopsis" in his youth to "The Flood of Years" in his hoary age, Bryant was conscious of the overstress of nature unmodified by human occupation and training. . . . The æsthetic note of poetry was restored by Longfellow, in his Vergilian office, and by Edgar Poe with surer magic and endurance. . . . The polemic work of Whittier, Lowell, and their allies illustrates the applied force of lyrical expression. . . . Poe's renaissance of art for beauty's sake, and Whitman's revolt against social and literary traditions were in full accord with the modern spirit. The academic vantage no less held its own with Parsons and Holmes as maintainers—the former our purest classicist, and a translator equaled only by Bayard Taylor. The stately elegance of Parsons limited his audience, yet perfected the strength of his ode "On a Bust of Dante," than which no finer lyric ennobles this collection. Holmes's grace, humor, contemporaneousness, brought him into favor again and again, and the closing days of a sparkling career were the most zestful for the acknowledged master of new "architects of airy rhyme" on each side of the Atlantic. In Lowell, the many-sided, the best equipped, and withal the most spontaneous of these worthies, their traits were combined. Never was there a singer at once so learned and so unstudied; no other American took the range that lies between the truth and feeling of his dialect verse and the height of his national odes.

Of the poetry produced in the period since the Civil War it is said that, though having less to do with public tendencies and events, it has had "none the less a force of its own; that of the beauty and enlightenment which shape the ground for larger offices hereafter, by devotees possibly no more gifted than their

forbears, yet farther up the altar steps." After referring to the effective lyrics of Poe, to Emerson's translunary spirit, to Longfellow as the people's artist of the beautiful, and to Whittier as a born balladist, Stedman, while not specifying the chief writers of our later period, many of whom are still with us, says:

As the country has grown, the Eastern song-belt has widened, and other divisions have found voice. The middle West quickly had poets to depict its broad and plenteous security; and more lately very original notes have come from territory bordering upon the Western Lakes. The Pacific coast and the national steppes and ranges as yet scarcely have found adequate utterance, though not without a few open-air minstrels. Dialect and folklore verse represents the new South; its abundant talent has been concerned otherwise with prose romance; yet the song of one woman, in a border State, equals in beauty that of any recent lyricist. Some poets of this period have gone who should have died hereafter. Sill was a sweet and wise diviner, of a type with Clough and Arnold. O'Reilly is zealously remembered, both the poet and the man. In Emma Lazarus a star went out, the western beacon of her oriental race. When Sidney Lanier died, not only the South that bore him, but the country and our English rhythm underwent the loss of a rare being—one who was seeking out the absolute harmony, and whose experiments, incipient though they were, were along the pathways of discovery. Eugene Field's departure lessened our laughter, wit, and tears. In the present year, Hovey, whom the new century seemed just ready to place among its choristers, was forbidden to outlive the completion of the intensely lyrical "Taliesin," his melodious swan-song.

Were Stedman writing now, he might add regret for the much-deplored premature departure of that charming and vigorous writer, a contributor to this Review, Maurice Thompson, the author of that popular book, *Alice of Old Vincennes*, who has stood at the head of poetic celebrants of forest archery, fishing, and other outdoor sports, but whose later work broadened into larger ranges—the gallant Confederate soldier who shows himself as the friend of freedom in "A Creole Slave-song" and "Lincoln's Grave," and as a patriot, a passionate, proud patriot, in that most stirring poem "The Lion's Cub"—a poem not unworthy to be put by this nation, in these days of Anglo-Saxon "expansion" and so-called "imperialism," side by side with Kipling's "The White Man's Burden," the one a message of glorious incitement, the other of grim and solemn admonition.

As for poetry, Mr. Stedman thinks it the last of all the arts to which the word "lost" can be applied. It is sure to be a perennial product of human nature, and no century can claim supereminence as the poetic age. And as for America, with all her brawn and force, so far from having passed a poetic cli-

macteric, she is only entering upon her song. The instinctive sense of beauty is more in evidence among us every year. In other centuries and lands the culmination of imaginative literature has more than once been found in the poetic drama, and as yet, Mr. Stedman says, there has been little of the indubitably dramatic in our rhythmical production, a token that our culmination is before and not behind. This seasoned and sagacious haruspice, whose searching fingers are familiar with the vitals of literature, believes that the height of utterance in Shakespeare's mode and tongue is not in the past, but is still to be attained by us. Looking before and after, the talk of literary atrophy seems childish to him, especially when he remembers what lifeless, unproductive, songless stretches preceded the Miltonic and the Georgian outbursts. He thinks the present pause in high poetic products is innocuous and a safeguard against cloying, a rest in which force is accumulating, and he notes that our new-fledged genius is not listless but is testing its wings in fields outside the poetic hedgerows. His prognosis is that "in the near future the world, and surely its alertest and most aspiring country, will not lack poets." Having brought to these pages, largely in his own words, some of the views and valuations given by Stedman in the Introduction to his *American Anthology*, a more distinct notice of the work itself will seek to present its merits among our Book Notices.

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#### FRENCH PROSPECTS.

Why does a retired sea-captain say: "People going to Europe often ask me which is the best line to take. I tell them to take any line except the French; if there were a Spanish or an Italian line I should also except it"? What means the European maxim, "Do not trust a Frenchman with a ship or a horse;" and why are the grooms and jockeys of Paris, as a rule, not French or Italian, but English or Irish? Does it indicate a lack of resource, a want of nerve and grip and grit in the French character? Ships and horses are among the things which bring men into sudden emergencies where safety depends on alertness, promptitude, coolness, courage, and swift decisive vigor. The question is not unnatural whether men who are not good at managing ships or mastering horses are competent to guide a government, when the elements to be controlled are like wild

horses and surrounding conditions are like the surging sea; and this is one reason why the prospects of the French Republic have been considered dubious and debatable.

Of the families into which the Caucasian race is divided, the Teutonic and the Anglo-Saxon, with their affiliated Celts, have been charged with unduly and unkindly disparaging the Latin nations; but is it possible to find one intelligent person who expects the course of world history to be controlled or largely influenced in the twentieth century by either the Spaniards, the Italians, or the French? And is it not quite impossible to avoid noticing that in this division and enumeration, "Latin nations" is pretty nearly synonymous with Roman Catholic, while, on the other hand, Father Brian J. Clinch, in a recent issue of the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, shows that Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon are nearly equivalent to Protestant—less than ten per cent of the Roman Catholics of the world being found in English-speaking lands, while in Germany and Holland also their numbers steadily diminish. That the Romanized Latin nations are not among the strongest and sturdiest is so plain as to be beyond dispute.

Another fact of some importance is that the French Republic is not so well built for stability in its constitution as our own. In its construction it is far from being so perfect a model of free institutions as ours. It is not so well safeguarded from corruption and abuses, gives more scope to the exercise of arbitrary power, and is more liable to be overthrown by some ambitious and unscrupulous *coup d'état* like that of Louis Napoleon. Indeed, France, though nominally republican, is less essentially republican than is monarchical England, and the liberal popular spirit of English government is at this very time notably evidenced by its allowing the establishment of an *imperium in imperio* in the organization of the Australian Federation with a construction modeled largely upon that of the United States.

Thoughtful patriots in France are not without misgivings and apprehensions. In the end of the nineteenth century, two anxious and unhopeful French books invited attention to the plight, and discussed the prospects, of France, *The Cause of Anglo-Saxon Superiority*, by Edward Demolins, and *The Disease of Democracy*, by Gaston Deschamps. These writers describe the present generation of Frenchmen as destitute of reverence, believing nothing, and respecting nothing, treating

gravest problems flippantly, lacking self-control and independence, truthfulness and manliness. Demolins and Deschamps deplore the decadence, physical, mental, and moral, which is manifest in the pitiable incapacity of the average young Frenchman to hold his own in the struggle for life and success, his childish want of enterprise and his persistent looking to "government" to do something for him—a decadence manifest also in a literature base with degraded conceptions of humanity, inflated with insane egotism, sickly with morbid fatalism, bitter with cynicism, and leprous with licentiousness, as well as in a journalism which represents the triumph of scandal and sensation, and in public enterprises mismanaged by incompetence and moth-eaten by jobbery.

One distinct note in the warning appeal of these two honest publicists is the cry for capable leadership which is heard in Deschamps's dedication of his book "to all Frenchmen who suffer in the present and are anxious for the future, to the great minister we cannot find, and the statesman for whom we are waiting"—which recalls the poet's cry, "Ah God, for a man with heart, head, hands, like some of the simple great ones, gone forever and forever by, one still, strong man in a blatant land!" Doubtless one towering man of rugged virtue, dogged incorruptibility, and uncommon sense, if in place and power, might do much for France; yet, in addition to the difficulty of finding such a one, salvation by the virtue and valor of a single man is an idea somewhat mediæval and monarchical. If the Republic is to endure, even such men as Demolins and Deschamps must learn that democracies prosper and are stable, not so much by the overmastering dominance of one superior personality, as by the intelligence, sober-mindedness, honesty, and homely virtues of the multitude—that the power which makes a republic safe is "the common sense of most," holding fretful, fickle, and turbulent elements in awe.

The most serious thing, after all, in the alarm sounded by these writers, is that the real ground for their apprehensions seems to lie somewhere in the French character. They show us a nation so superficial that no amount of sore suffering, in consequence of its own wild excesses and tragic follies, has sufficed to solemnize its mind; a people engaging with boundless *esprit*, *verve*, *elan* in plays and pastimes, but deficient in the strength and earnestness demanded by serious affairs. When a people, sur-

rounded by the inciting examples and pushing rivalries of strenuous nations, are content with the rôle of cook, caterer, costumer, and comedian to civilization, applying their creative genius to the invention of fashion plates and operettas and their critical faculties to judging of the flavor of sauces, bouquet of wines, grace of gowns, charms of actresses, and etiquette of the duel, there must be some lack of great and noble qualities. In the light of history, what is the probable forecast of the horoscope of a people whose mirth seems more light-headedness than light-heartedness, whose laughter resembles the crackling of thorns under a pot filled with the "brewed enchantments" of Comus, whose breath reeks of cognac and absinthe, who care less for purity and principle than that life be made vivacious, piquant, and sensational, who do not mind what threatening thunders mutter around Sinai's rocking cliffs provided the boulevards are brilliant and the gardens gay? Mrs. Browning noticed in the life of the Parisians a pervading artificiality, as intimated when she wrote of

The glittering boulevards, the white colonnades,  
Of fair fantastic Paris, who wears trees  
Like plumes as if man made them, spire and tower  
As if they had grown by nature; tossing up  
Her fountains in the sunshine of the squares:

—a city whose people, with consummately confusing art, transpose the order of realities, giving a theatrical falsity to life by making the artificial seem natural and the natural appear as if it were artificial. One reason why the French praise Poe extravagantly is that he and his characters are artificial like themselves. Clara Morris, herself an actress, thinks that Booth's assassination of Lincoln was inspired partly by the natural vanity of an actor who craves dramatic situations in real life. Among the French a passion for the theatrical often appears, even in their way of transacting the sober and momentous business of life, as if they imagined themselves on the stage and in the glare of the footlights. In their action there is no little acting, and French history, in a degree exceeding any other, has been characterized by comedy culminating frequently in tragedy. Carlyle, searching for the secret of this reign of insincerity and make-believe, of polite perfidy and debonair duplicity, goes back to the sixteenth century and writes: "France, with its keen intellect, saw the truth and was within a hair's breadth of be-

coming Protestant; but France saw fit to massacre Protestantism, and end it at the bidding of the execrable Charles XI, on the night of St. Bartholomew, 1572. The genius of Fact and Veracity accordingly withdrew, was staved off, got kept away for two hundred years."

But whatever be the origin and causes of the faults and frailties which Demolins and Deschamps describe in their fellow-countrymen, there is no denying that a population which shows a want of mental and moral soundness, a population liable to paroxysms of emotional insanity and capable of such a volcanic explosion of popular passion as the French Revolution, furnishes a precarious foundation for a form of government which preeminently depends for its safety on a high average of personal character and wisdom in its citizens.

The task of maintaining a republic in France resembles, not so faintly as we could wish, the problem of making a lighthouse stand firm amid the fury of the waves off Cape Hatteras; and no engineers have yet been able to build one which could withstand the sweep of the surges across the Diamond Shoals. Nevertheless we think a more hopeful feeling is warranted than that which depresses the French writers whose fears have been referred to. To begin with, there is encouragement in the fact that the French Republic has stood for thirty years in spite of the intrigues of royalists, Bonapartists, clericals, and Boulangists, whose triumph would have meant its downfall and the ruin of French liberties. It has been fortunate in the feebleness and mutual jealousies of the various hereditary claimants to the throne. The danger from militarism is far less than in the days of Marshal MacMahon's presidency, and the prestige of the army has been so diminished by the exposures and humiliations of the Dreyfus trial that the supremacy of the civilian is more than ever assured. And that shameful drama of calumny, intrigue, and perjury was not without other benefits, for, as Demolins says, the Dreyfus *affaire*, with its startling revelations of corruption and raising of sharp ethical issues, forced the nation back into moral life, so that, "to the surprise of Europe, France for the first time in fifteen years became serious." Doubtless the Parisian populace is capricious, volatile, frivolous, and Baron von Humboldt wrote truly that "Frivolity undermines all morality and permits no deep thought or pure feeling to germinate; in a frivolous soul nothing can emanate

from principle, and sacrifice and self-conquest are out of the question." But against giddy and passionate Paris there is much steady ballast in the hard-working and frugal, even though unintelligent, peasantry of the provinces, who mostly paid out of their hard earnings the indemnity exacted by Germany after the Franco-Prussian war. One encouraging fact is that the government is to-day in the hands of the most virile, brainy, and sturdy class, the upper working class, known as the *haute bourgeoisie*. To this class belong President Loubet, and Premier Waldeck-Rousseau and his cabinet, and the members of the legislature, as also the bankers, lawyers, physicians, merchants, and authors, indeed the strong successful men in every department. The control is not likely to be wrenched from their stout muscular grip by feebler hands. It is not encouraging to hear Brunetière condemning the French government for its anti-clericalism, saying, "You cannot be at once anti-Catholic and French;" but Yves Guyot speaks for a fast-growing sentiment when he says that the need of the situation is an open rupture with the Vatican and that France be de-Catholized. France needs to be less exclusively French, more cosmopolitan in her intelligence, comprehending better the character and ideals of her neighbors. With all their psychological acuteness, the French fail to understand the ethical seriousness of sturdier peoples. A Frenchman called the English "insular," but it is the French who insulate themselves and alienate themselves from neighboring nations, from Germany on the east by bitter animosity, and from Great Britain on the west by suspicion and aversion.

Most of all, France needs that Gospel which was massacred and exiled with the Huguenots, that grace which teaches men that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, they should live soberly, righteously, godly in this present world. She will not work out her salvation until she does more fearing and trembling in the august presence of the moralities and sanctities of existence. Amid much darkness she could find her path to peace and power and permanence by the radiant light of the illumined face of Robert W. McAll, the evangelist of the *Mission Populaire*, who entered France with the Gospel of the Huguenots, though with only so much knowledge of French as enabled him to say to the wretched poor of Paris, "God loves you—I love you!"



## THE ARENA.

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### IS CHRISTIANITY IN A STATE OF DECLINE OR OF TRANSITION?

IN a recent issue of the *North American Review* Dr. Briggs seems to have taken the attitude that the apparent decline in Church membership and attendance is due to a revolt from official orthodoxy, and that it not only does not indicate any real decline of faith in the essentials of Christianity but is rather "an evidence that Christianity is in a state of transition . . . from an untenable position of exaggerated dogma to a truer and stronger position." Commenting upon Dr. Briggs's position the *Review* for November, 1900, says: "The charge that this nonattendance upon Christian Churches is a revolt from the preaching of orthodoxy is easily answered by a reference to the fact that there is no manifest tendency to increased attendance on the services of those who are designated as liberal Christians. The Universalist and Unitarian Churches, according to the theory set forth by Dr. Briggs, should be crowded and should grow with great rapidity. But investigation will show that such is not the case. The large congregations and the attendance on general religious services will be found more widely prevalent in the orthodox Churches than elsewhere."

We write not to support the contention of Dr. Briggs, but only to show that it is not so "easily answered." The suggestion that, if there were any such transition as Dr. Briggs describes it would be manifested in the rapid growth of the Universalist and Unitarian Churches assumes that these bodies occupy the "truer and stronger position" toward which it is claimed Christianity is tending. That Dr. Briggs would accept this assumption we very much doubt. A careful analysis of the present tendency of advanced theological thought will show that it is not in the direction of Universalism or Unitarianism; and that it is much too broad to find its goal within the limits of these narrow sects. The dislike for official orthodoxy to which Dr. Briggs refers is a revolt from exaggerated dogma and narrow sectarianism. But the Universalist and Unitarian Churches are as dogmatic and sectarian as any of the orthodox denominations, and much more so than some of them. It is true that Universalists and Unitarians are "designated as liberal Christians." But it is only because they have been bold enough to call themselves such. As a matter of fact they are less liberal than the liberal wing of the orthodox Churches. Hence, if it is true that the tendency toward liberal Christianity is the cause of the decline of attendance upon orthodox Churches, it does not necessarily follow that the Universalist and Unitarian Churches would show a corresponding gain in their congregations and membership; for those who are led to revolt

from the preaching of orthodoxy may not only remain Christians but evangelicals, as well.

There is a growing feeling in our day that evangelical Christianity does not depend for its life upon the literal truthfulness or infallibility of the orthodox creeds; and there is a manifest tendency in orthodox Churches either to revise the creeds or to hold them less dogmatically. If Dr. Briggs has not overestimated the magnitude of the revolt from orthodoxy and the influence which such a revolt is exerting in the "transformation of the dogmas of the Church," the result of the transition to which he refers will be the revision of the orthodox creeds as they now exist in the thought and teaching of the Church, rather than the triumph of Universalism and Unitarianism over evangelical Christianity.

It can hardly be hoped that Christianity will outlive the Church. But the power of the Church to adapt itself to changed conditions and to keep abreast with the progress of human knowledge is proved by history. The ideal of Christendom is not "absence of Church attendance" or a Churchless Christianity, but is rather a Church united in spirit, broad and liberal enough in form to include all Christians within its fold, and progressive enough to expand with man's ever-widening view of divine revelation. The evangelical idea which recognizes the various denominations as branches of the one Church comes nearest to this ideal.

E. F. ROE.

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#### "THE RELIGION OF CHILDHOOD."

A REMARKABLE article upon the above subject, from the pen of Dr. J. A. Story, is found in the *Review* for July, 1900. Doctors Mercein, Hibbard, and Nadal were all sweet-spirited, lovable men whose natural instincts would have led them to repudiate the doctrine of future punishment, or of sin in any form, or of retribution of any character; yet it is to be doubted whether any one of them could have gotten the consent of his mind to write such an article. The writer of this criticism upon that article is not well up in Boston theology nor well acquainted with the intricacies of the higher criticism, but he must believe in plain Scripture. Somehow he has been unfortunately (?) led by the Bible to believe that "the carnal mind is enmity against God;" that even the heart of a child is "deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked;" that all are "by nature the children of wrath;" that "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God;" that David supposed he had been "shapen in iniquity;" that Paul found a law in his members "warring against the law" of his mind; and that Jesus regarded it as necessary that even such a good man as Nicodemus must experience a new birth.

All these things have led me and multitudes of other Bible students

to believe that at some time and in some way every child of Adam needs to have a change of heart; that there must come a "vanishing point" when culture or something else must make the child of nature the child of grace. It is somewhat severe on the past to say, with Dr. Story, that "the intelligent kindergartner of to-day who is an earnest Christian comes nearer to finding the natural laws of the Christian life for childhood than all the Sunday preaching and teaching of our fathers." That smacks of a new theology and seems to us to reflect upon the knowledge and wisdom of Fletcher, Wesley, Ames, Simpson, and others of the fathers who did not hold that a child of Christian parents was born *ex necessitate* with a tendency to the good and only needed guiding, fostering, and developing into full salvation. Is this new doctrine better than the old?

Nor is it true that every child is "won more by love of good than by hatred of evil." Some may be, but many are not. The sense of danger, even in a child, is often appealed to by the best of parents with good effect. "By our theology and by our insistence upon this idea of conversion we often forbid the children to come unto Christ." This is because we have not yet discovered "what we may call natural laws for the spiritual growth of a child." Probably some Drummond or some other kindergartner may yet discover these laws. Dr. Story may have been misunderstood, but the trend of his article is against the fact that we inherited from sinful Adam a tendency to sin, and that at some point the blood of Jesus must cleanse the child from this inherited tendency. That it may be a gradual and almost imperceptible cleansing is freely granted, for even adults are converted without being able to tell when the great change came. But there is, we greatly fear, a growing tendency in these latter days to exalt culture above repentance and conversion—which disposition is to be deprecated—and the article under review goes a great way in that direction. At least so it seems to one careful reader of the *Methodist Review*.

While the old method of preaching has not done all that has been desired, and while revivals have seemed to be necessary, it may be well not to let our sympathies get the better of our judgment. Samuel was a little slow to understand the Lord's call, and but few have such a call. If the "religion of childhood" can be kept in the heart the world may not be entirely "redeemed," but it will be greatly helped. With all of the beautiful things in the article under review this writer is in full accord, and with many of the conclusions reached there is complete agreement; but against the seeming teaching of natural childhood purity without added grace a protest is uttered. Revivals are good and conversion is necessary for every descendant of Adam; parental example and teaching, moral culture and discipline in right conduct are all indispensable; but the line of the new birth must be crossed by every child before he can become the child of God.

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W. R. GOODWIN.

## ATHEISM NO DISPROOF OF IMMORTALITY.

IN the "Arena" for January S. R. Reno suggests two valuable arguments for immortality, considered from the scientific standpoint. Another argument may also be offered, which should be taken in connection with the ninth point for immortality in the paper on "Science and Immortality," in the *Review* for September, 1900, such point being that "the existence of a First Cause presupposes immortality in man." In connection with this it may be said that the denial of a First Cause is an acknowledgment of human immortality. If the existence of a First Cause be denied; if all creative acts as beginnings be denied; and if it should be affirmed that the world is eternal, having passed successively through vast cycles of development and change from apparent chaos to orderly forms—which cycles ever recur, like the oscillation of a swinging pendulum, from everlasting to everlasting—even then, man, the simple spiritual element, has existed from the most distant eternity, just as has the gold or the simple chemical element, and like the gold is destined to exist forever. That this is true, we think, is incontrovertible, or at least cannot be successfully denied.

If the soul has existed forever as an element in the world scheme and has not lost its identity in all past eternity, with its many changes of relation, from the time of the whirling fire mist to the era of the perfect physical man, it certainly is not inconceivable that man should continue to exist after death in new and even unsuspected relations to the universe. Moreover, even if, after all, there prove to be no God or First Cause, still all the facts of human life—physical, mental, and moral—all the facts of human obligation, of virtue, and of vice, together with their recompenses, remain wholly unchanged. If a First Cause exists, but should be destroyed, many of these facts would be lost in that destruction; but, if there actually be no First Cause, all these facts exist and continue to exist irrespective of our speculations upon the subject. And who shall deny that these facts, grounded as they assuredly are in human consciousness, are consistent with the eternal world scheme which is sweeping on to the consummation of another splendid cycle in cosmic history—a cycle so vast as to be beyond the calculation of our mathematics and beyond imagination.

Wisdom, whose excellent impress is stamped in all the forms and features of the world around us, forbids that man, her noblest work, shall prove a sad misfit at last, stamping wisdom with the name of folly. Power, which is everywhere exhibited in the kingdoms of this world, forbids that man who sways omnipotence should, after all, prove the weakest of the weak. And love, whose tender sympathies are so woven into all the fabric of earthly life, forbids that man shall utterly perish from existence and in death be robbed of all future activity and joys of which love has dreamed.

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**THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.**

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**THE PROBLEMS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FOR THE MINISTRY.**

It is everywhere conceded that the close of the nineteenth century finds the world in a period of transition than which none in the past has been more remarkable. National problems of a new and varied character are thrust upon us. Social questions are at the front, in the thought of large masses of people. And religious problems are none the less in evidence—indeed, they are perhaps the greatest. For, with all the apparent unrest in the world, religion has never received more attention than now—the attitude of some being hostile, that of others being indifferent, and that of still others being one of profound interest and favor.

But, if great problems affect the people generally, they none the less affect the minister, and how far the new conditions demand new methods is a question which thoughtful Christians will do well to consider. The first problem which the Church confronts is that of numbers. Is the growth of Christianity to be measured by the increase of membership in the churches? There is a feeling widely prevalent that it is not essential to be a Church member in order to be a Christian, in fact, that men can be as good Christians outside the Church, and even better, than within its pale. This is so manifest a departure from the general theory of Christianity in the past that it needs attention on the part of the minister of the new century. Shall it be understood that only those are Christians who are on the rolls of the Church and punctually attend the house of God? Or, shall we accept the theory that Christianity is broader and includes all who are seeking a better life, whether within the Church or out of it?

With this is closely connected the feeling, widely prevalent, that the conditions of Church membership should be modified, and that less should be demanded in the way of obligation on the part of the applicant for the privileges of the Church. It is well known that the Presbyterians make a distinction between the vows of a minister and those of a layman. They do not require a formal assent to the "Confession of Faith" on the part of the members of the Church, but it is required of those who are to be public teachers. A desire for a shorter and a simpler creed, which is being expressed and now discussed in that body, is but the expression of a wish to make the way into the ministry as simple as the way into Church membership. There seems to be reason for this, as one can hardly think that such a broad distinction should be made between the faith of the preacher and that of the people; and yet there is a widespread feeling on this matter. The thought is that the organization of the Church in its forms of thought is too complex, and

that there should be a return to what is characterized as "the simplicity of the early Church" in this matter. The problem, therefore, of Church membership is one that the minister must soon confront.

Another of the problems is that of Christian unity. The prayer of the Lord that his disciples might all be one is being largely approved in the thought of Christendom. There is scarcely a minister of any Christian Church who would not hail the day when there should be such a union of the forces of Christendom as would enable the Church to give its undivided strength to its work of saving men. It is believed that too much effort is expended in promoting the peculiar interests of the several denominations. There is such a tendency to build up individual denominations, rather than the Christian life, that men are asking whether there is not some ground on which all may unite, so as to cause the divergences of Protestant Christendom practically to disappear. The question with many to-day is not whether it ought to be done, but how shall it be realized. Each one is willing to give up something, but that something is always something indifferent and not fundamental. When the Episcopalian can see his way clear to modify his claims for an historic episcopacy, and the Baptist the necessity of immersion as essential to entrance into the visible Church, and the Methodist his peculiar form of Church organization—in short, when each one shall be willing to make concessions, that there may be a common effort to save men—the time of Christian unity will have come. But, as yet, the question is one that must be confronted.

A third problem that must be considered is that of the relation of the Church to the social movements of the world. The social question has come to stay. The Church has thus far largely kept aloof from it, but it can no longer do so. The relation of the classes and the masses, so called, is one that will not down, and how to meet the emergencies of the time and lead capital to perform its duties and labor to meet its proper obligations, without the loss of self-respect on the part of either, must be considered. The remedy for social discontent must be wrought out in the thought and life of the people, and especially under the wise teaching and humane influence of a godly ministry.

Another practical problem which the beginning of the new century will confront is that of methods of Christian work. Is the development of the Church to be educational or revivalistic? The method of our fathers is largely that of expecting a sudden turn in the life of the individual, called "conversion;" that is, entrance into the Church is a break and a revolution in the life. Having preached the Gospel to the people, at length, through the power of the Holy Spirit, an impression is made on the human soul; there is a turning away from sin and a turning to God; there is a conscious awakening of the new life, the assurance of the divine favor, and the man becomes a new man in Christ Jesus. When this takes place, about the same time, with a multitude of people who are brought into the Church, it is called a revival of religion.

There is a tendency, however, to train people up into Christianity; to prevent them, if possible, from going the wrong way in the start; to bring them into the Church as seekers of religion, even before conversion. Of course, this includes the operation of the Holy Spirit on the human heart and the conscious self-surrender of the soul to God through Christ. Is there not a tendency to dismiss the old forms? And in the new century will not the process of Church work be largely one of training on the part of parents and of churches in the nurture and admonition of the Lord?

A still further problem which we confront is that of form and ritual. One can scarcely be blind to the fact that the tendencies in this respect, at the close of the nineteenth century, are decidedly ritualistic. Educated people, who are called cultured, are growing to a love of decorous services, and are unwilling to admit anything that is out of harmony with correct taste. They are desirous that the service from beginning to end shall be conducted with precision and beauty; in other words, the worship of Christendom is growing to be more æsthetic. Formerly, the Presbyterian Church was probably the most simple; now, in many respects, their service tends gradually toward that of the Episcopal. The Methodist Episcopal Church has ever recognized something of form in its worship, but the growth of the sentiment is manifest in the action of the more recent General Conferences and in the increasing practice of the churches.

To meet these problems our young ministers should arouse themselves. The new century should open with new consecration on the part of every preacher of the Gospel, especially so with those who this year take upon themselves the vows of this high office. Consecration is itself an element in solving such subjects. A consecrated heart almost instinctively accepts the line of duty; but joined with religious consecration should come a profound study of the conditions of the world at the present time—material, social, political, religious. Never were broad information, profound insight, and deep religious conviction more needed than to-day, and we may well pray that this may be the heritage with which our rising ministry shall begin the new century.

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#### THE HOMILETICAL VALUE OF THE LATE REVISION OF THE SCRIPTURES.—Rom. i, 14, 15.

ONE instance of the homiletic value of the changes in the Revision of 1881 is found in the insertion or omission of the article. A passage in illustration of this point is found in Rom. i, 14, 15. The King James version reads: "I am debtor both to the Greeks, and to the Barbarians; both to the wise, and to the unwise. So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the Gospel to you that are at Rome also." The Revision of 1881 translates the same passage thus: "I am debtor both to Greeks and to Barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish. So, as much as in me

is, I am ready to preach the Gospel to you also that are in Rome." The significant change, as found in this new translation, is the absence of the article before the words "Greeks" and "Barbarians," the fullness of meaning being greatly enlarged by the change.

We may inquire why the revisers omitted the article where the King James version inserted it, since this is not a case of textual variation—the manuscripts in neither case employing the article, while in the King James version it is inserted. In answer, it may be due to the fact that the meaning and importance of the article does not seem to have been in the mind of the early revisers, as it was with the more recent revisers; in fact, the emphasis put by the scholarship of later years on the article has in many cases greatly modified the meaning. It has been well suggested by Winer that, "in the language of living intercourse it is utterly impossible that the article should be omitted where it is absolutely necessary, or inserted where it is not required." He allows, however, that "there are cases in which the article may be either inserted or omitted with equal objective correctness;" and, while the laws governing the use and omission of the article are yet in some confusion, the general principle as laid down by Winer prevails. Applying this principle to the text, the following is a general analysis of the passage: It affirms, first, Paul's recognition of obligation—"I am debtor;" second, to whom he was obligated; third, his readiness to fulfill his obligation; and, fourth, the nature of the obligation, namely, to preach the Gospel.

The homiletic value of the omission of the article will appear under the second point, namely, that Paul states his obligation both to Greeks and to Barbarians. That is, he does not say "to the Greeks," but "to Greeks," the grammatical point involved being that the absence of the article indicates that the noun with which it is connected is viewed in its qualitative, rather than its individual aspect. The article as inserted in the ordinary version indicates that Paul regards his obligation to be "to the Greeks." In general usage the term "Greek" meant such as were residents of Greece, or of the colonies of Greece, that is, the people who had proceeded from the centers of Greek culture and who spoke the Greek tongue; this would include the cities like Corinth and Ephesus, and wherever the Greek language prevailed: The same remark would apply to the term "Barbarians." In Greek thought all those who were not Greeks were called by this term, however cultured they might be. The word "Barbarian" merely meant one who spoke a language not Greek. In this sense the cultured men among the Jews and Asiatic races generally would be so designated. It was not necessarily a term of reproach, except as it grew out of the application of the term.

The omission of the article at once broadens and expands the meaning. "I am debtor to Greeks;" that is, to such as are Greeks; to all who bear the marks of Greek thought and understand the Greek philosophy and life—wherever the Greek spirit prevails—there Paul regards himself as called upon to preach the Gospel. The question has been



raised whether Paul in this chapter referred to the Romans as "Greeks" or "Barbarians." If we assume that the latter word had a tinge of offensiveness, as perhaps it had at that time in the view of the Greek, the apostle's native courtesy which was exhibited on so many occasions would lead him to regard the Romans under the general application "Greeks," namely, such as are Greeks. Moreover, the Roman civilization in its choicest forms was Greek. Rome was filled with Greek art and had been permeated with Greek literature, and it would be perfectly natural that Paul should regard their civilization as belonging to that high civilization of which the Greeks were then the chief exponents in the world. It is somewhat strange that although there is no article before the words "wise" and "foolish," in the fourteenth verse, the revisers have inserted the article. The omission would have been equally significant if the text had read literally "to wise" and "to unwise"—that is, to the educated and to the uneducated classes; in other words, the meaning would be, "to all such as are wise" and "to all such as are unwise." "The wise" might have been understood as some well-known wise persons, "the unwise" as some well-known unwise persons; but the omission of the article would change the meaning so that it would be "to all such as are wise" and "to all such as are unwise," that is, "to the cultivated" and "to the uncultivated" classes.

The text, then, contains an enlargement of the view as compared with the ordinary version. The preacher finds here a ground for a broad statement, namely, that the apostle with his great mission to proclaim the Gospel regarded himself as called to preach to all nations and races represented by the phrase "to Greeks and to Barbarians"—to all conditions of men, whether cultivated or uncultivated, represented by the words "wise" and "unwise." He not only refers to specific cases or specific nations, but to all nations; there is thus expressed a grand inclusiveness of the world-wideness of the salvation provided by Christ, for Paul affirms that he was debtor to preach the Gospel to them all. It is not uncommon for people to feel, if not to say, that the Gospel is needed by persons who lack culture, refinement, or learning, but that the educated can get along without it. But the passage quoted, as found in the late revision, sweeps away all such thoughts. The Gospel of Jesus Christ is to be preached to all people, whatever their nationality, culture, or business; in other words, this utterance to the Romans is another form of expressing the world-wideness of the Saviour's last command, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." The declaration of Paul has been a great missionary text through the centuries, expressed as it is by the greatest of the apostles in a letter of wonderful elaborateness and addressed to the capital of the whole civilized world. The absence of the article in this case, therefore, is rich in homiletical value, and gives fullness to a very important passage of the Scriptures.

**ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH****HIGHER CRITICISM AND KINDRED THINGS.**

SIGNIFICANT is the language of the editor of one of the leading English religious weeklies, who says: "We cannot persuade ourselves that things are going well with us and our country. [England, but applicable, in a measure, to the United States.] Abroad there is still bloodshed on earth and bitter rancor among the nations. At home we recognize a slackening of moral fervor, a decay of ideals, a dreary dearth of prophets and captains, while the weight of evil against which we have to contend increases, like the letting down of water. Although our people never appeared more prosperous, they never showed plainer and uglier symptoms of the maladies which are bred out of material prosperity. Among the dazzling conquests of science, we begin to question whether man's discoveries of the powers of nature are really giving him increased power over nature. . . . The familiar optimistic watchwords about human progress have somehow lost their spell. Indeed, to be quite candid, this belief that mankind must needs go on steadily advancing from age to age is a modern superstition which, like some other humanitarian dogmas, is derived from the school of Rousseau." The above citation, though not as optimistic as could be desired, is yet a fair presentation of conditions as they now exist in Church and State.

But what has all this to do with higher criticism? Every effect has a cause. If there be, as hinted above, a dearth of religious fervor, a lack of faith, and a decay of morals, has higher criticism, directly or indirectly, contributed to such results? Before such a question can be answered another one must be propounded, namely, What is higher criticism? To one class it is a system, devised by the enemies of revealed religion for the purpose of desupernaturalizing the Holy Scriptures, to eliminate the miraculous and prophetic elements; to another class it is the great panacea which is to heal all our backslidings, to bring back the careless and skeptical to a more rational belief in the essentials of Christianity. The watchword of this latter class is: "Life, not dogma; doing good and being good. Creeds and confessions are no longer vital. Doing the will of God, not believing the Scriptures nor the Christ, is the foundation upon which the Church of the future must be founded." In other words, our beliefs in regard to the Bible and the nature of Christ are minor questions. We are constantly assured that the Bible is only one of the great literatures of the world—literature, to be sure, surpassing in many ways the sacred literatures of all other nations, but, excellent as it is, yet full of errors, and therefore having little or no claim to a supernatural origin. The advanced higher critic does not hesitate to brand much of the Old Testament not only as myth

and legend, but as downright cunningly devised fables, the inventions of crafty priests and wily politicians in the ancient Jewish Church. And why not, they ask, for is this not true of all sacred literatures? We are told that the Bible is a book like any other religious book, and must be treated like any other book. This assumption has taken a deep hold upon modern biblical criticism. Sanday argues that we should let the Bible tell its own story, adding, "Let us by all means study it, if we will, like any other book, but do not let us beg the question that it must be wholly like any other book, that there is nothing in it distinctive and unique." If the Bible is no more inspired than the Vedas, Zend-Avestas, the Koran, and other sacred books, it is passing strange that it has exerted so much more spiritual, energizing, life-giving power than all these put together. Somehow, as no other book, it lifts the individual and the nation to God. The Bible knows no national or geographical boundaries, but addresses "every class with a voice which grows intelligible as each listener is prepared to hear," and wherever it is believed it is the power of God unto salvation.

But to revert to the subject—higher criticism, when properly defined and directed, should have no terror for the most conservative Methodist, notwithstanding that, in its name, some very silly and wicked things have been said and done. Higher criticism, when applied to the Holy Scriptures, is preeminently the science which concerns itself with the origin, date, place, and method of composition of the several books in our canonical Scriptures, and accounting as far as possible for the influences at work when these were written. Now, if this be a fair definition, where is the man who will object to such a science? If, however, higher criticism, in its zeal for new light, branches off into speculation and paradoxes, into vague and irreverent hypothesis, and discusses biblical questions in an unscientific manner, we have a right to question such proceedings, no matter how persistently such men may call themselves higher critics.

Very few intelligent Christians who have studied the subject will seriously object to the assertion that Solomon did not write Ecclesiastes or Canticles, or that some Psalms commonly ascribed to David are not the products of his muse; nor, indeed, will any insist upon the Mosaic origin of every line or section of the Pentateuch, much less will any claim the absolute inerrancy of the entire book. Textual corruptions have undoubtedly crept in as the ages have rolled on. But when learned men, in the name of higher criticism, tell us, with the authority of literary prophets, that Solomon never wrote a line, that the entire Psalter does not possess a verse from the pen of David, that Moses had nothing to do with the Pentateuch, and that not even the Ten Commandments were known to him, but were produced six or seven hundred years after his time, it is time, apparently, to stop and consider. When these same critics assure us that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and even Joshua are unhistorical, have we no right to dissent? Cheyne, discussing the story

of Abraham, says: "The narratives of Abraham have a claim upon our attention. The religious value is for all; the historical or quasi-historical for students only. Hebrew legend may have told of an ancient hero (in the Greek sense of the word) bearing this name. . . . This supposed hero (whose real existence is as doubtful as that of other heroes) cannot originally have been grouped with Jacob or Israel." This is not an extreme instance of this species of criticism, as anyone may convince himself by reading articles in the first volume of *Encyclopædia Biblica*. When, to repeat, we are told that Abraham is no more or less historical than Castor or Pollux; that the story of Israel in Egypt and the wilderness belongs to the realms of fiction; that the Decalogue was not given on Sinai; that the tabernacle with its costly furnishings and elaborate services existed only in the brain of a novel writer; that the bulk of Old Testament miracles never took place; and that it does not contain Messianic prophecies in the proper sense of the word, it is no wonder that a few "uncritical" Methodists ask whether higher critics of this school are dealing out science or fiction!

It would be utterly unfair to say that all those who call themselves higher critics, even though they have accepted the leading conclusions of Graf, Wellhausen, Cheyne, and others, are agnostics or rationalists; indeed, many, if not most, Old Testament critics, in Germany especially, have accepted the literary results of the Wellhausen school, and yet in some mysterious way manage to "reject the religious and historical superstructure erected on this literary theory." It is also equally fair to say that such teachings have reached their summit in Germany, and that the tendency now, not only in the churches, but also in the theological faculties of the universities, is toward more conservative views. The extreme ideas preached by many of the higher critics have, as a rule, paralyzed spiritual growth and retarded the revival of religion. Wherever such views have obtained a firm foothold not only conversions have ceased to be numerous, but even church attendance has greatly fallen off, reverence for the Bible as the inspired word of God manifestly decreased, and the belief in prayer has been weakened; in fact, the prayer meeting itself has been either entirely discontinued or changed into a semi-social gathering. The cardinal doctrines of Christianity, as held by those who have been famous as evangelists and soul winners, are no longer favorite themes for sermons. Sin, as an awful crime against God and something deserving punishment, is rarely dwelt upon. Calvary has been relegated to the background. The merits of the atoning blood of Jesus Christ are not dwelt upon by the disciples of Wellhausen. Repentance for sin and the necessity for the new birth, spoken of by our Lord to Nicodemus, have little place in the theology of the critical school. Instead of the glorious doctrines which gave, not only to giants like Foster and Simpson, but also to thousands of Methodist ministers less able but equally faithful to Jesus Christ and the word of his truth, such tremendous power in turning men to the Lord, we have

now too much of an emasculated theology, which presents Christ as the typical man, the great exemplar, in whose footsteps we must follow. There is an awful indifference to what were regarded by the fathers as some of the most important doctrines of Christianity. Among the causes of this state of things the extreme higher criticism is named.

It is, however, true, as already said, that the historical critics cannot be held responsible for all these ills that threaten Zion. In these latter days a semi-infidel philosophy, taking its cue from naturalistic evolution, has had great fascination for many young men. Unfortunately for biblical criticism, the chief destructive critics of the age "have been adherents of an atheistic evolution of all things." The following words by Professor F. H. Foster, who deplores present conditions, are to the point and state the case well: "The whole drift of the popular evolutionary philosophy of things is toward a view of sin that is merely negative. Sin becomes an incident of the evolutionary process, the necessary condition, it may be, of progress, but something essentially the product of environment, and falling under the category of the undesirable, or the imperfect, or the defective, or the preparatory, and not of the perverse, the guilty, and the ill-deserving. It does not belong to the realm of the voluntary, as the object of repentance, the occasion of self-condemnation, the source of primitive ill. It is no rupture of the designed moral order, but it is as inevitable and essential to the scheme of things as the struggle for existence itself. It is to be avoided by the intelligent as other mistakes are to be avoided." This language may seem strong, but it is more of a portrayal than caricature. This semimaterialism, together with a subconscious Unitarianism, frequently crops out where least expected. Dr. Edward Everett Hale said at a recent conference of his Church, that the chief increase of Unitarianism is not among those who openly profess it, but rather inside the ranks of the so-called evangelical denominations, where, according to him, Unitarianism is often ably proclaimed from Presbyterian and other orthodox pulpits. Indeed, our Roman Catholic friends have some grounds for openly accusing the Protestant Church of increasing doctrinal laxity, especially of loosening its hold upon the doctrine of the Trinity. They go so far as to accuse us of a drifting toward the Socinian and Arian views, claiming that while many are willing to call Jesus Christ divine they no longer worship him any more as the eternal and infinite God, the almighty Creator of heaven and earth. In short, they see a growing tendency to deny the literal incarnation. The worst thing about this fearful charge is that they are able to furnish the names of more than one prominent person willing to plead guilty to the indictment. As already pointed out in these pages, he who disbelieves the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament has taken a long step toward denying the deity of Jesus Christ. The kind of teaching concerning the Holy Scriptures and the nature of Jesus Christ, our Lord, which produces the conditions above described should not be welcomed by the Methodist Episcopal Church.

**MISSIONARY REVIEW.**

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**THE EARLY SUCCESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN.**

THE newspaper of Japan entitled *Chu-o Koron* has addressed itself to the task of accounting for the rise and progress of Christianity in Japan in modern times. It does it as a thing to be accounted for, and this is well. The Romans had some difficulty in explaining the rise of the Christian Church in that empire, though they missed the mark in accounting it as a secret mystical society. There is, however, some force in more than one of the points made by the Japanese editor, and altogether his treatment is respectful, even though it were designed to show that Christianity can be accounted for without reference to anything supernatural in its system or to any other recognized merit in its ethics or doctrines.

There are ten reasons given by this newspaper for the success of Christianity in Japan. The first, that it had the advantage of being introduced at the time of the breaking up of the old feudal order, has pertinency. When all the crusts of society are upturned it is easier than usual for any new system of thinking, secular or sacred, to enter as a part into the new order of things. But the insinuation that the distress of the times led the poor to accept Christianity from selfish motives can scarcely be borne out in such a way as to give it weight. A good deal of pecuniary help was given to those in distress, to be sure, just as Christians have always rendered aid to stricken communities; but the Japanese converts were among well-to-do and educated people in good proportion. The claim, therefore, that the missions were backed by full treasuries, which is the second reason given has altogether less force in Japan than in any other mission field. That "Christianity was enshrouded in the halo of Western civilization"—the third reason named—had nothing derogatory in it, for Christianity had created that halo, and could not go anywhere without being so robed. The fourth reason is like the first, that the new era in education favored acceptance of new ideas, and that Christianity was on hand to do the educating. True, it was a powerful factor, but it could not have done the educating unless capacitated to teach. The fifth reason assigned is that the missionaries took the lead in female education. With that we have no quarrel. It must needs be a powerful factor, from any point of view. Nor have we need to comment on the sixth point, that in all departments of education Japanese weakness "gave the missionaries the opportunities which they promptly made use of." When, seventhly, the editor attributes the success of Christianity to its "advocacy of popular rights," and the association of those rights with Christianity, it might as well say the sun is a success because it gives light, or that

Christianity has succeeded because it is what it is. The eighth reason, that young men and women have been attracted by the novelty of the religious meetings introduced by foreigners, may stand for its worth. The ninth reason is that evangelists and pastors were raised socially by their connection with the Church. While this is a natural sequence in many instances, yet in Japan it has not been true in the majority of instances. The tenth reason reads, "The foreign policy of the government was such that Western institutions, laws, and methods were held in high esteem, and among them Christianity had its share of public favor." But "Western institutions, laws, and methods" are positively inseparable from Christianity, so far as there is anything in them worthy the esteem of the Japanese. The latter have tried in vain to take the one and leave the other.

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#### DUTCH MISSIONS AMONG THE BOERS.

INFORMATION concerning the missions of the Hollanders in South Africa, other than that which comes through English channels, is so limited that it is well to give special emphasis to an utterance from some of the principal members of the Synodical Mission Board and the professors of the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa. This Church is one in creed, language, membership, and blood-relationship with the burghers of the Free State and Transvaal republics. Reviewing the events which led up to the British-Boer war, they declare—what is clear to a great many minds—that this conflict was preventable. Defending the Dutch in South Africa through a series of years, the paper undertakes to refute the charge that the Boers have been intensely hostile to the missionary and the Gospel he preaches. It declares that full liberty to minister to the heathen is granted in both the Free State and the Transvaal. The Berlin and Hermansburg missionary societies have been doing effective missionary work in these republics, and, since 1875, the Berlin society has been intrusted to two synods, each with a superintendent to advise and assist in the various departments. Their stations number fifty-five, half of them in the Transvaal, while the Cape Colony branch of the Dutch Reformed Church maintains several missionary stations and out-stations with honored and respected missionaries in the Transvaal. In one instance an able and earnest minister is wholly supported among Transvaal Boers as a missionary to the heathen. Among the Natal Dutch the same missionary spirit prevails. Not long since they started a Natal-Boer mission for the evangelization of the blacks, which has resulted in a strong Christian congregation of Kaffirs. In the Orange Free State mission work has been organized, with native evangelists as laborers among the blacks under ordained missionaries or pastors of Boer congregations, in almost every village or township, and it has lately been pushed into Central Africa, where the Dutch are supporting two missionaries. In the Transvaal there

are special centers of missionary activity in which the Boers cordially cooperate with their pastors to make the work a success.

The Dutch Reformed Church itself shows as keen an interest and hearty an effort in mission work as any other in South Africa. It contributed last year for this purpose \$50,725, though it has a communicant membership of less than 100,000. Its missionary giving is thus at the rate of more than fifty cents a communicant, or about twenty cents *per capita*—a condition of things which is certainly in advance of that of Germany in 1880, when Professor Christlieb said, "The national Church contributed in some places per head at something considerably less than one farthing." This Dutch Church supports throughout South Africa sixty missionaries, with an equal number of evangelists and lay helpers, exclusive of the work done in the Transvaal, Free State, and Natal, and also exclusive of the local contributions to mission work through the several churches which maintain their own missions from their own congregational collections, there being instances where more than \$500 is set apart annually in this way to support mission congregations. The Cape Colony Dutch Reformed Church has a foreign and a home mission committee. The foreign field lies in the Transvaal, in Mashonaland, Bechuanaland, the lake country of Central Africa, with some thirty-five missionaries and lay assistants and a number of native evangelists, and the work is gradually extending. The home mission includes all that is done among the Dutch-speaking natives in Cape Colony. Thirty-five of these congregations have been formed into a mission Church, having its own synod and presbyteries, and administering its own affairs subject to the control of the home-mission committee. Other unaffiliated congregations are doing good work, and yearly the Church enlarges its borders.

Within the two republics and Natal the Church has undertaken mission work, and, though its operations have been limited, the missionary spirit and enthusiasm are not lacking. There is also within the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Colony a Woman's Mission Band which was started in 1889 to support lay teachers and native evangelists. They have also a Theological Students' Missionary Society, while the Young Men's Christian Association has a mission branch which supports a missionary, and the Christian Endeavor societies are actively engaged in work in the Transvaal. Besides this, there is also a Christian Students' Mission, with its branches of missionary volunteers, through which more than one department of the work in this foreign field has been strengthened.

While American and British missionaries have had encouraging success in South Africa, as in the cases of the American Board in Natal and the Wesleyan Missionary Society in the Transvaal, there should be frank and sympathetic recognition of what the Dutch societies of the continent of Europe and of South Africa have effected, and far greater information should be available than at present generally obtains as to their distinctly missionary enterprise.



## FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

## SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

**Carl Grüneisen.** No man can early in life distinguish himself in many lines. Grüneisen has, however, made a good start in a recently published work, entitled *Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels* (Halle a. S., M. Neimeyer, 1900). The book is a serious attempt to overthrow the position of Stade and Schwally relative to ancestor worship in Israel and to demonstrate that, however similar the primitive conceptions of ancient Israel may have been to those of other peoples in a like stage of development, animistic ideas and usages never amounted among the Israelites to a religious reverence and much less constituted the primitive religion of Israel. Grüneisen admits that the animistic view prevailed in ancient Israel, but denies that there is anything in the early Hebrew conception of the soul or the condition of the soul after death to warrant the conclusion that the Israelites ever observed the worship of the dead. After a careful examination of the mourning customs, the alleged offerings to the dead and the conjuring of the dead, he reaches the conclusion that the mourning customs signified no worship of the dead, and that, according to the ideas of ancient Israel, the dead did not live as divine beings to whom reverence was to be offered, in order to make them favorable to the offerers, but as ghostly shades who haunted the earth and against whom men strove to protect themselves as best they could—especially by rendering themselves unrecognizable through fasting and other means. Grüneisen also admits, on the basis of Deut. xxvi, 14; Tobit iv, 17; and Ecclus. vii, 32 f., that the Israelites did place food at the disposal of the dead, though he sees no reason for thinking that the food thus offered was a sacrifice in the same sense in which sacrifices were offered Jahweh. Schwally's view, that in the old Israelitish family the parents as such were revered as divine, he disputes. On the other hand he finds that from the earliest times Jahweh was worshiped in the homes of Israel. As an evidence of the thoroughness and completeness of Grüneisen's investigations it is worth while to remember that he takes up also the attempt to trace the origin of family life in Israel to ancestor worship, as with the Greeks and Romans. He finds the parallels between the family constitution of the Græco-Romans and the Israelites outweighed by the differences, and also that so far as those parallels exist they do not originate in a domestic ancestral worship. In fact, he claims that the civilization of Israel prior to the prophetic period did not furnish the conditions requisite to the development of ancestor worship such as existed among the Greeks, Romans, Chinese, and Japanese. Grüneisen would scarcely be called a conservative in America; but all the more valuable are the opinions he

holds relative to this extreme theory that the primitive religion of the Israelites was the worship of the dead in general and of ancestors in particular.

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**Martin Rade.** Through his connection with the *Christliche Welt*, as editor and publisher, Rade wields a wide and powerful influence in the more intelligently religious circles of Germany, and even in other countries—an influence which is all the more important because it is exercised chiefly upon the laity, whence in the end all great religious movements must spring and upon whom all great religious reforms must depend. Hence it is most interesting to know some of the views of this popularizer of the critical theology to which he adheres. We take as a fair specimen some of his recent utterances on the truth of the Christian religion (*Die Wahrheit der christlichen Religion*, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1900). He distinguishes between truth, in the sense in which natural science employs the word, and spiritual reality which natural science cannot note or measure. The Christian religion is, first of all, a fact which constitutes an essential part of human history. It is, secondly, an object of choice or free appropriation. The choice must be between Christianity and Buddhism, since Judaism is merely an undeveloped Christianity and Islam is practically out of the field. As compared with Buddhism, Christianity is far more zealous and successful in its propagandism, and at the same time presents truth far better adapted to the needs of mankind. Christianity in its historical form may be considered as a present fact, to be reckoned with and experienced. Properly understood, Christianity is neither that form of evangelism which makes so much of awakening, nor that which lays the emphasis upon pietistic feelings and conceptions of duty, nor that which is largely taken up with the Church and its forms and ceremonies. Christianity is experienced normally in the education of the Christian home and the Christian congregation or community by contact with Christian institutions and personalities. This gives us a threefold experience: first, that, notwithstanding our imperfections, we are children of God, from whom we have received forgiveness of sin; secondly, that we become superior to all the vicissitudes of life by regarding them, in patience and faith in God, as expressions of the divine will concerning us; thirdly, that out of the will of God thus discovered we learn the true conduct of life and receive the courage to live righteously in the face of all obstacles. But Christianity may be considered also as a remembrance which connects us with the past, and by which we become heirs of the past. Yet we must learn in this connection to submit to the loss of specific elements of Christian history and doctrine which have hitherto been precious to us, when further investigation reveals their untenability. We must also recognize that the religious value of a fact or movement in Christian history can be determined alone in the light of our own religious experience. This last point is very far-reach-

ing, and if kept in mind would save us many a pang in this day of over-turnings. It is notable that the emphasis is placed where Wesley placed it, namely, on experience as a means of determining both the truth and the religious value of the Christian past as recorded in the Scriptures.

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#### RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

**Die Propheten in ihrem sozialen Beruf und das Wirtschaftsleben ihrer Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sozialethik** (The Social Vocation of the Prophets and the Economic Life of their Time. A Contribution to the History of Social Ethics). By Franz Walter. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1900. This book furnishes, first of all, a survey of the economic development of Israel prior to the time of the prophets. Originally the Israelites in Canaan gave themselves up almost exclusively to agriculture. David began indirectly to encourage commerce, and with Solomon appeared a real commercial policy. As Palestine was very fertile, commerce was chiefly concerned with the trade in grain, especially with Phenicia. This change from a purely agricultural existence to one in which foreign commerce had a large place brought with it important consequences for the nation in respect to the economic, social, moral, and religious life. Wealth increased; but especially the land and its products became the object of speculation, and as these were made tributary to private gain the country was less capable of sustaining itself in time of famine. Large wealth increased prices. The soil and the currency became the possession of a very few capitalists; and on the one side appeared people of enormous wealth, while on the other there was deep poverty. The middle classes disappeared. The authorities did nothing to check or correct the abuses which this state of affairs carried with it. The real source of the difficulty, however, was not the change from agriculture to commerce, but the fact that with this there came a change for the worse among the people both in morals and religion. Their thought was now fixed on gain, and the ties of family were ignored. Foreign traders settled in the principal cities, bringing with them their foreign customs and forms of worship. This engendered indifference to the ancient moral and religious traditions. In the midst of this situation appear the prophets. They are not socialists in the political sense, nor are they agrarian reformers. They do not champion the cause of the *bourgeoisie*. They struggled chiefly against the injustice that was being practiced, and strove to secure the betterment of the individual ethical life, in order to give to the needy classes more favorable conditions. Their voices were raised against the general moral ruin, the luxury of the strong at the expense of the weak, the evils of alcoholism, and the disintegration of family life. They make no claim that riches and trade are essentially sinful, though they do bitterly oppose the selling of bad grain to the poor and

condemn false weights and the withholding of wages. But, while all these abuses were denounced by the prophets, they entertained and preached no revolutionary ideas. On the other hand, had it not been for the prophets Israel would have experienced a mighty communistic movement. This is a most interesting discussion in these days when everything which pertains to the subject of sociology, whether ancient or modern, is so eagerly sought after. Possibly, when the author says that the preponderance of earthly and selfish over religious ideals began from the time of Solomon to be a stigma upon the history of Israel, he is somewhat extreme; but, on the whole, his picture of the social responsibilities of the prophets is correct.

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**Die Anschauung vom heiligen Geiste bei Luther. Eine historisch-dogmatische Untersuchung** (Luther's Idea of the Holy Spirit. An Historico-Dogmatic Study). By Rudolph Otto. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1898. For many millions of Christians Luther's theological opinions have enormous weight, which explains the effort of every theological tendency in Germany to find support in him. As a result, it has fallen to the lot of few mortals to be studied as Luther has been and still is. That he deserves all the attention bestowed on him is unquestionable, for was he not the prince among religious reformers in the sixteenth century? Nevertheless, it is a striking commentary on the alleged independence of German theological thought that, however far away from the traditional orthodoxy one may stray, and howsoever powerfully he may sustain his views with arguments drawn from every source, he never feels quite satisfied until he has convinced himself and has attempted to convince his readers or hearers that Luther's views carried to their logical consequences either demand or allow unorthodox conclusions. It is in this spirit that Otto has written, and he comes as near making out his case as most who have delved in the inexhaustible mine of Luther's thinkings for materials in support of their peculiar views. Otto argues that Luther, as has been generally supposed, held the doctrine of the Trinity as a truth not to be questioned. But he thinks that Luther's doctrine of the Holy Spirit as the third Person in the Holy Trinity did not spring from his own thought, but was held as a dogma received from the past. He asserts that as soon as we examine into Luther's concrete representations of the work of the Holy Spirit we find that the Spirit has no true place along with the Father and the Son. According to the orthodox faith, after the Son has accomplished the redemption of man it is the work of the Spirit to give each individual the power to appropriate for himself that redemption. And here, in thought, is a distinct work for the Holy Spirit alongside of the office of the Father and the Son. Yet Otto thinks that, with Luther, the office of the Spirit is not to aid man in appropriating the redemption of Christ, but to produce certain moral and religious

effects, such as comforting the heart, awakening courage to consecrate ourselves to and confide in God, kindling love to God instead of our former fear, and, in general, of calling forth every moral energy hitherto latent in our entire being. This result of the workings of the Holy Spirit is to Luther the Gospel. Otto is no doubt correct in thinking that Luther laid the chief stress on these religious and moral effects. But this only shows that not every fact tenaciously held as a dogma is frequently before the mind, or, at most, that some opinions necessary to consistent thinking are not practically important—a phenomenon no more to be condemned in theology than in science. But Otto is undoubtedly in error when he tries to make it appear that Luther gave no special office to the Holy Spirit alongside of the offices of the Father and the Son. For the great reformer believed that only by the Holy Spirit is the word of revelation, whether to the race as a whole or to the individual, a truly divine word. The Gospel and the office of the Holy Spirit are not, to the mind of Luther, one and the same.

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#### RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

**Old Catholicism in Italy and the Netherlands.** The Reformed Catholic Church of San Remo recently enjoyed the rare privilege of a visit from Father Hyacinthe, who preached twice and gave the work an impetus which will be felt for a long time to come. The Old Catholics of the Netherlands, or the Jansenistic Church of Utrecht, which arose out of the Jansenistic controversies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is also taking on new activity. According to the *Oudkathalek*, the organ of the Old Catholics of Holland, there are now twenty-eight congregations, of which that at Egmont has 1,680 members. The whole number of members in 1900 was 8,300, as against 5,287 in 1875. The membership is united, full of religious earnestness, and active in the work. The expectations for the twentieth century are great, as it is believed that the principal dangers of the Church are past. It is significant that the Hollanders in Paris number a sufficient force to warrant the ordination of a deacon to serve them.

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**Jews in China.** There are several hundreds of these living in Shanghai and inland. In Tangschwang, southwest of Kaifungtu, there is an old Jewish colony of silk weavers. In Kaifungtu and its vicinity most of the Jews have about lost all their old religious views and customs. They have no synagogue and no rabbi; they do not observe the Sabbath; and they cannot read the Hebrew. One of the Jews is a Buddhist priest. They intermarry with Mohammedans and heathen. All this is a degeneration from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Jesuit missionaries found there a stately group of buildings, including a synagogue, and over forty Jewish inscriptions, some of which

reach back into the fifteenth century. These inscriptions reveal the fact that when the Jews arrived in China they honored Abraham as the founder of their religion, Moses, Ezra, the law, and the Sabbath; that they offered the three daily prayers, and observed the day of atonement. Also that they were favorably received by the emperor, given grants of land, and allowed the free exercise of their religion, on condition that they would become his loyal subjects. The Jews of Kaifungtu observe with the Chinese the worship of ancestors, and bring offerings to the dead. The first Jews settled in China, according to the supposition, sometime before 220 A. D.

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**German-Italian Congregations.** Of these there are at least six, situated in Naples, Venice, San Remo, Genoa, and Florence. Prosperity seems to attend each of these congregations, and some of them have taken measures to become organically connected with the Prussian National Church. In Florence an organization of women has opened a hospital for the care of Germans. With great exertion about thirty-eight thousand *lire* have been collected, with which a well-situated plot of ground has been purchased, and it is expected that a church will soon be built. In Genoa the Germans conduct a seaman's mission, of which, however, the German congregation thinks it has some occasion to be jealous. In Naples a mission has been opened for the benefit of waiters in hotels and restaurants. So that, in Italy at least, the Germans do not seem to lose the zeal for the neglected classes which characterize their Church at home. An effort is being made to unite all these German-Italian congregations more closely, with a view of preparing them to become the nucleus of a German foreign Church.

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**Mariolatry in France.** A congress for the promotion of the veneration of Mary was recently held in Lyons, and was attended by thirty-five bishops and five hundred priests. The opening address was delivered by the Abbé Chatelus, who declared that the congress had been called because the nineteenth century was the century of Mary. "Upon what page of history," he exclaimed, "can one find facts of such far-reaching significance as the definition of the dogma of the immaculate conception of Mary and the assignment of two new titles of honor to the Virgin by Pius IX and Leo XIII?" The congress was invited to France because *regnum Galliae regnum Mariae*. The divine Saviour chose Judea as the scene of his teaching; Mary chose France, where Lourdes, La Lallette, and so many other places testify to her presence. And Lyons was chosen because here was erected the first altar to the Queen of Heaven. The cardinal archbishop, Coullié of Lyons, spoke of Mary as the co-redeemer; and a Jesuit celebrated her praises as the Judith of the New Testament, which, to most of us would appear a doubtful compliment. However, Roman and Protestant ethics differ.

### SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

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THOUGH the negro problem in the South is far from settlement, yet the frequent discussion of the subject in the magazines is an indication of the serious place it holds in the public thought. Two articles in the *New World* (Boston) for December, 1900—with which number, by the way, this weighty quarterly discontinues its publication—give prominence to important phases of the question. The first of these papers is entitled “The Religion of the American Negro,” and is written by that able representative of his race, Professor W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. A “peculiar ethical paradox,” he declares, “faces the negro of to-day, and is tingeing and changing his religious life. Feeling that his rights and his dearest idols are being trampled upon, that the public conscience is even more deaf to his righteous appeal, and that all the reactionary forces of prejudice, greed, and revenge are daily gaining new strength and fresh allies, the negro faces no enviable dilemma. Conscious of his impotence, and pessimistic, he often becomes bitter and vindictive, and his religion, instead of a worship, is a complaint and a curse, a wail rather than a hope, a sneer rather than a faith. On the other hand, another type of mind, shrewder and keener and more tortuous, too, sees in the very strength of the anti-negro movement its patent weaknesses, and with Jesuitic casuistry is deterred by no ethical considerations in the endeavor to turn this weakness to the black man's strength. Thus we have two great and hardly reconcilable streams of thought and ethical strivings; the danger of the one lies in anarchy, that of the other in hypocrisy. The one type of negro stands almost ready to curse God and die, and the other is too often found a traitor to right and a coward before force; the one is wedded to ideals remote, whimsical, perhaps impossible of realization; the other forgets that life is more than meat and the body more than raiment. But, after all, is not all this simply the writhing of the age translated into black—the triumph of the Lie which to-day, with its false culture, faces the hideousness of the anarchist assassin? . . . Between the two extreme types of ethical attitude which I have thus sought to make clear wavers the mass of the millions of negroes North and South; and their religious life and activity partake of this social conflict within their ranks. Their churches are differentiating; now into groups of cold, fashionable devotees, in no way distinguishable from similar white groups save in color of skin; now into large social and business institutions catering to the desire for information and amusement of their members, warily avoiding unpleasant questions both within and without the black world, and preaching in effect, if not in word, *Dum vivimus, vivamus*.” The second article in the same quarterly discusses “Negro Education,” its author being Hollis

Burke Frissell, of Hampton, Va. Having noticed the discipline that the colored man received during the Civil War, the attempts at negro education in the reconstruction period immediately following that struggle, and the later efforts to solve the great problem which have had their climax in the industrial training of Hampton and Tuskegee, the author finally says: "Yet the results of thirty years of negro education are by no means discouraging. Statistics show that negro illiteracy has decreased from 79.9 per cent, in 1870, to 56.8 per cent in 1890. The number of common and higher schools has increased, as has also the number of pupils enrolled in the schools. The status of colored teachers is constantly improving. They are respected and valued by their white neighbors, and their opportunities for broader culture are increasing year by year through the teachers' institutes, which are supported in part by the Peabody Education Fund. Whole communities have been revolutionized by these teachers, civilized homes have been multiplied and landholdings increased, and a large portion of the race has grown in character, self-respect, and self-reliance. The outlook for the future is most hopeful. The things to be striven for are better primary and secondary schools, more adequate equipment, more industrial training, better prepared teachers, and more hearty cooperation between the higher schools and the public school system." Nor is the outlook regarded as hopeful by this writer only. In the *North American* (New York) for February, M. L. Dawson, formerly Judge-Advocate General of Virginia, concludes his article on "The South and the Negro" as follows: "History teaches us that education, in its most comprehensive sense, is the only known means by which the desired results can be obtained. . . . The South has gone to the limit of her resources to confer this priceless gift upon the negro race. She now expends about forty millions of dollars annually in school funds, of which sum the negroes contribute but one thirtieth, though they have the opportunity to reap nearly half the benefit. In the South all trades are open to them, and they receive every encouragement to become proficient in the industrial arts. . . . Education and civilizing influences must ultimately win the victory over ignorance and vice; if they do not, education is a failure and the history of civilization a lie."

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THE opening article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Oberlin, O.) for January discusses "The Passage from Mind to Matter," its author being Professor Jacob Cooper. "The passage from the world without to that within us," declares the opening sentence, "is the problem which in some form has ever confronted philosophy." Seeking to find "the point of transition between the material and immaterial," the professor lays down the following as his four theses: "I. The mind cannot be localized;" "II. It is omnipotent and omnipresent in a relative sense;" "III. Mind and matter are one substance, differing only in the relative subtlety of



their composition, and are transferable into their equivalents without loss or limitation;" "IV. Therefore, they act on each other directly and immediately, and no bridge is required for them to cross." The paper is at once lengthy, profound, and lucid. The commencement address, delivered by Professor R. M. Wenley, Ph.D., at Oberlin College, June 27, 1900, forms the second article. It is entitled "The Valley of Decision," and is filled with those wholesome advices to the young whose observance makes for worldly success. The title of the third article, by Professor Howard Osgood, is "Isaiah the Myth and Isaiah the Prophet." "After eighty years," the author asks, "what is the latest word on the division of Isaiah by the followers of the school of Eichhorn?" He then adds: "It has been suggested that six of their foremost writers be taken and their results compared. Two shall be of the Episcopal Church of England—Driver and Cheyne; two shall be British Presbyterians—G. A. Smith and Skinner; and two shall be Germans—Cornill and Duhm. They are all of the same school of criticism, able, learned, and in high position, and their latest works quoted are all of the past ten years and easily found. There are no better exemplars of this school." In the comparison which he makes the professor finds that these six critics are "absolutely contradictory" in their foundation stones; that they "condemn their own past judgments;" and that in their decisions on date, style, and interpretation, each one gives his varying impressions—the result being "a knot of thorns," instead of "a bunch of fruit or a bouquet of roses." As for the real authorship of the Book of Isaiah the author himself has no doubt. But that there was a prophet by that name he finds the New Testament clearly to bear testimony. The fourth paper, by Professor T. W. Hunt, Ph.D., discusses "Coleridge and his Poetic Work," and gives the poet place "in the second group of English bards—with Moore, Southey, Landor, Scott, and Shelley." The next article, on "The Book, the Land, the People; or, Divine Revelations through Ancient Israel," is the address delivered by Professor S. I. Curtiss, D.D., at the opening of the Chicago Theological Seminary, October 4, 1900—it being altogether worthy of that prominent occasion. The following articles are "The Anthracite Coal Strike," by Professor E. L. Bogart, Ph.D.; "President Samuel Colcord Bartlett," by Professor Gabriel Campbell, S.T.D.; and "Count Tolstoy's Sociological Views," by Rev. E. A. Steiner. The last article is based upon a personal interview, and is rich in the sayings of the Russian philosopher. Though holding agnostic views as to the person of Christ, he exalts his words as divine. And his great cry is: "The kingdom of God is within you, and you are to be the pattern after which the kingdom of this world is to fashion itself."

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THE interests of Judaism are laid as a weighty charge upon the Christian Church, the glorious result for which all believers must devoutly

pray being the conversion of the Hebrew race to the faith of Jesus Christ. Such a new quarterly as *The People, The Land, and The Book*, whose expressed object is "to promote a better understanding between Christians and Jews, and to foster among the latter a recognition of the claims of Christianity," should therefore receive a generous welcome. Its editor is B. A. M. Schapiro, who was for several years Superintendent of the Brooklyn Christian Mission to the Jews, and who is particularly fitted by birth and endowment for the prosecution of the new work to which he now addresses himself. The June (1900) and September numbers of the publication are filled with much pertinent and instructive matter, which is calculated to help not only the Jew himself who may be searching after the light, but also the studious Christian, and even the Gospel minister who would thoroughly know the spirit and needs of Judaism. A miniature of the holy scroll containing the Pentateuch in the original is the premium presented to those subscribing for the magazine. This publication is issued at 436 Carlton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

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AN important quarterly not before noticed in these pages is *The American Journal of Theology* (Chicago), edited by the divinity faculty of the University of Chicago. The opening article, by H. S. Burrage, D.D., of Portland, Me., aims to answer the question, "Why was Roger Williams Banished?" The Rev. L. H. Schwab, of New York city, follows with "A Plea for Ritschl," his elaborate consideration of the work of this theologian ending with the affirmation that, while the "process of readjustment" is taking place, "those who believe in divine providence will thank God that a great teacher has been raised up to open up to men an insight into the very core of Christianity, where the truth abides high above all questions of Bible criticism." The third article is entitled "Isaiah's Prophecy Concerning the Major-Domo of King Hezekiah," its author being Professor Adolf Kamphausen, D.D., of the University of Bonn. The three succeeding papers are: "A Tract on the Triune Nature of God," by Professor J. Rendel Harris, of Cambridge, Eng.; "A New Criticism of Hegelianism—Is it Valid?" by Professor G. H. Mead, Ph.D., of the University of Chicago; and "Theological Universities and Theology in the Universities," by E. C. Richardson, Ph.D., of Princeton—the latter declaring, among other matters of practical value, that, "until the universities relegate biology and psychology to the medical schools they have no right to relegate theology to the seminaries." The concluding sections of the quarterly are entitled "Critical Note" and "Recent Theological Literature." The former contains a study, by C. P. Coffin, of "Two Sources for the Synoptic Account of the Last Supper;" the latter is rich in the review of late important publications, both American and foreign, and is too valuable to be overlooked by the scholar.

## BOOK NOTICES.

## RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

*A Dictionary of the Bible*: Dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John Selbie, M.A., and others. Vol. III. Klr-Pleiades. 4to, pp. xv-896. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, \$6.

The fourth volume, when it comes, will complete a monumental work, perhaps the best possible at the present stage of scholarship and research. This volume, like the two previous ones, is for professional and non-professional circles, for readers of the English Bible and for students of the original. Much attention is given to the authorized and the revised English versions, to illustrating and explaining especially the language of the old version, and to the study of archaic, anomalous, or otherwise difficult English words. To some it seems that an undue share of space has been allowed to the literary form of the English versions and to explanations which have little or no historical or theological bearing. To us, however, none of the matter so referred to seems without value, and because of its interest and usefulness to the English reader, and especially to the working minister, we are glad to find it here. The three volumes now published are of sustained excellence, this one like the others being characterized by eminent learning, candor, reverence, and sobriety of mind. To say that it is, as a whole, remarkably free from eccentricities of treatment and from extreme and unwarranted views, is not to say either that its judgment is inerrant, or that its conclusions are sure to stand, or that the teaching of every specialist in it will command the present assent of soundly conservative scholars. Written by one hundred and fourteen different contributors—three Germans, fourteen Americans, and the rest British—it is not to be expected that it would show uniformity of temper and attitude. The writers could not be classified all in one school, though the preface to this volume tells us that they have been chosen out of respect to their scholarship and nothing else; that the articles all have been written immediately and solely for this Dictionary; that even the shortest and unsigned ones are from men of recognized ability and authority; and that, in addition to the work put upon it by authors and editors, every sheet has passed through the hands of three eminent scholars, Dr. Davidson, of Edinburgh, Dr. Driver, of Oxford, and Dr. Swete, of Cambridge. Almost the only frivolous suggestion we have noticed, arising from the specialist's tendency to exaggerate the importance and bearing of petty items in his own department, is the notion on p. 491 that the historic fact that the Jews never were permitted the constitutional privilege of coining money in silver or gold is a proof or token of the purely spiritual character of their mission. That kind of weak and imaginative reasoning, which fills homiletical mag-

azines and books with sentimental, visionary, and flighty trash, is not to be tolerated in the scientific work of biblical scholars; and it is a pleasure to be able to say that Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* has hardly a microscopic trace of it. Whatever criticism may be passed on any particular article, it cannot be charged that the work is not upon a high plane of scholarly ability, seriousness, carefulness, and religious dignity. When completed, the four volumes will furnish a vast storehouse of biblical and cognate information, as thoroughly up to date and approved by a general consensus of modern scholarship as can well be. The particular section of the alphabet, from K to P, covered by the index to this third volume, does not include the greatest subjects belonging to a Bible dictionary; yet there is no lack of themes of prime significance and interest, nor of writers of the first order of ability. If asked to select one which might fairly compete for the first place in ability and impressiveness, we would name the article by Professor Findlay, of Headingly, on "Paul the Apostle," who justly ranks in Christian history next to his divine Lord and Saviour—an article filling about seventy columns and containing a multitude of items condensed into a presentation so unified, symmetrical, and complete as to be at once a masterpiece of scholarship and a work of art like some great statue or picture. Any adequate criticism or examination of the particular teachings of the various articles is impossible here and now; there are not a few single articles each of which would require many pages for a sufficient discussion. Such discussion is beyond the scope of this notice, which seeks only to give a true impression of the character of this work and a not inaccurate estimate of its value. The articles on Peter are by Dr. F. H. Chase, who concludes against the genuineness of 2 Peter. Professor Stanton, of Cambridge, writes on the New Testament Canon, showing the reasons for accepting the New Testament writings as inspired to be based in part on Apostolic testimony, in part on the testimony of Apostolic Fathers and of the early Church Fathers. The express statements of such authorities as Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Hippolytus, and their assumptions, prove that nearly all of our New Testament was accepted by the end of the second and the beginning of the third century as of inspired authority in all the important churches. In this general acceptance were included our four gospels and none other; thirteen epistles of Paul, that is all which bear his name in our New Testament except Hebrews; the Acts of the Apostles; 1 Peter; and 1 John. The writings which came into the Canon later are the Epistle of James, 2 Peter, and 3 John, and still later the Apocalypse. Professor Curtis, of Yale Divinity School, fills seventeen columns on the "Old Testament." Professor Adams Brown, of Union Seminary, writes on "Parousia." Dr. George T. Purves, recently Professor of Exegesis and New Testament Literature at Princeton, now Dr. John Hall's successor in the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York city, writes of the "The Logos" in genuine Princetonian style.

Dr. McClymont, of Aberdeen, in the article entitled "New Testament,"

effectively vindicates the genuineness and authenticity of the books. On the Johannine question he writes: "Until the close of the eighteenth century the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel was never seriously challenged. In some respects it has stronger external testimony in its favor than any of the others; and the whole tone of it gives the impression that it was written by one who was familiar with the inner life of Christ and his apostles, as well as with the topography of Jerusalem, and the ideas and customs prevalent among the Jews before the destruction of their capital." The evidence shows it to have been written about A. D. 85, probably at Ephesus. The article on "Matthew" is by Vernon Bartlet, that on "Mark" by Professor Salmond, and that on "Luke" by Principal Bebb. The geographical articles on "Lycaonia," "Pergamos," and "Phrygia" could not be by any better hand than Professor Ramsay's, and Colonel Conder is equally fit for the one on "Palestine," as also Professor McAlister for "Medicine," "Leprosy," "Plagues of Egypt," and other semiscientific subjects. Dr. Driver writes of Law in the Old Testament, and Dr. Denney, of Law in the New. Some of the articles of theological importance are "Lord's Day" by Professor White, of the University of Dublin, "Lord's Supper" by Dr. Plummer, Master of University College, Durham, "Mediator" by Adeney, "Magi" by P. M. Benecke, "Miracle" by J. H. Bernard, "Mystery" by A. Stewart, "Philosophy" by T. B. Kilpatrick. Other mentionable articles are "Apocrypha" and "Language of the Old Testament" by Margoliouth, "Language of the New Testament" and "Maranatha" by J. H. Thayer, "Latin Versions" by H. A. Kennedy, "Natural History" and similar topics by G. E. Post, Egyptian subjects by F. L. Griffith and W. M. Müller, apocalyptic and apocryphal studies by the English specialists Burkitt, Charles, and James. Professor Banks writes on "Perfection," condensing into brief statement what he understands to be the teaching of Scripture on this subject. The editor, Dr. Hastings, writes admirably on "Paraclete." The aggregation of eminent scholarship in this Dictionary makes it a theological and biblical work of the first rank and importance; its ability inspires confidence in the strategic skill and sufficiency of modern defenders of the Faith; and taken as a whole it arranges the evidences of Christianity in a way to meet and defeat the latest maneuvers of the enemies of the Truth.

*The Life of Lives.* Further Studies in the Life of Christ. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Canterbury and Deputy Clerk of the Closet to the Queen. Crown 8vo, pp. 444. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, \$2.50.

One of the most widely read books of our time is *Farrar's Life of Christ*, issued more than twenty years ago, and since translated into many languages, even into Japanese. The object of the book before us is different. It deals with questions of high importance which the gospels suggest, and aims at deepening the faith and brightening the hope in Christ of all who read it. In forty-three chapters it deals with such subjects as these: "The Divine Birth," "The Unique Supremacy of

Jesus," "The Testimony of Skeptics and Free Thinkers," "The Claims of Jesus and the Spell He Exercised," "The Human Education of Jesus," "Lessons of the Unrecorded Years," "The Home and Family at Nazareth," "The Condition of the World," "The State of Religion in Palestine," "The Messianic Hope," "John the Baptist," "Christ's Baptism," "The Temptation," "Scenes of Christ's Ministry," "Methods of Evangelization," "Form, Substance, and Uniqueness of Christ's Teaching," "The Miracles," "The Gladness and Sorrow of the Christ," "The Apostles and Their Commission," "Our Lord's Closing Days," "Gethsemane," "Trials and Suffering of Jesus," "Atonement," "Resurrection," "Ascension," "The Final Issues." What is possible here is not a discussion of the book as a whole; nor is that necessary, for the prolific pen of Farrar has made his style of thought and speech familiar throughout Christendom. This volume has the same concrete richness of expression, the same affluent and ornate vocabulary, as his previous writings. Here it is only possible to quote a few characteristic passages. Michael Faraday's devout faith is illustrated in the story that one day Sir Henry Acland found him in tears. "I fear you are not well," said Sir Henry. "No," answered Faraday, "It is not that; but why, O why will not all men believe the blessed truths here revealed to them?" Those who have conferred on the human race the greatest services of goodness have been the servants of Christ. "What was it but the pity learned from Christ, and the commission received from him, that sent forth Paul to preach the Gospel amid hatreds, miseries, and cruel persecutions, till, like the blaze of beacon fires from hill to hill, its glory flashed from Jerusalem to Antioch, to Ephesus, and to Troas, and thence leaped over the sea to Athens, to Corinth, to imperial Rome, and even to Britain, then the *ultima thule* of the world? What made the Roman lady Fabiola spend her fortune in founding hospitals at Rome and in distant lands? Why did Jerome bury himself in the Cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem to translate the Bible from Hebrew into Latin? What made the boy Benedict fly from the allurements of Rome to the Rocks of Subiaco, and found the order to which learning owes so deep a debt? Why did Bonaventura, when asked the source of his great learning, point in silence to his Crucifix? Why did Francis of Assisi strip himself of everything, and, by living as a pauper and a beggar, infuse new life and holiness into an apostate and luxurious world? What led Francis Xavier to lay aside rank and pleasures, and become a wandering missionary, gaining by his sacrifice a happiness so intense that he even prayed God not to pour upon him such a flood tide of rapture? What sent the Baptist cobbler, William Carey, to evangelize the mighty continent of Hindustan? Every one of these and thousands more whose lives have been a blessing to the world answer 'CHRIST!' What led John Howard to toil among plague-stricken prisoners, until his death at Cherson, on the Black Sea, clothed a nation in spontaneous mourning? What made Elizabeth Fry go unaccompanied among the wild, degraded, brutal

women of Newgate, to take them by the hand and raise them from disgrace and darkness? Why did men like Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharpe, and William Wilberforce scorn delights and live laborious days in order that, in spite of opposition, reproach, and bitter hatred, they might save England from the guilt of using the arm of freedom to forge the fetters of the slave? What made Lord Shaftesbury, while yet a Harrow boy, vow himself to those works of mercy which added the brightest jewel to the glory of Queen Victoria's reign? What enabled him—amid the venomous attacks of the press and the chill aloofness of the clergy—to toil on until he had inaugurated the Ragged School movement, and passed the Ten Hours and the Factory Bills? Why should the poor Portsmouth cobbler, John Pounds, have troubled himself, day after day, to gather the ragged waifs into his shop, and teach them with letters torn down from the advertisements upon the walls, and so—poor and ignorant as he was—to give an impulse to a great national system of education? What made Sir Henry Havelock face so many sneers for holding Bible classes among his soldiers and winning them to Total Abstinence? What made General Charles George Gordon so kind to the poor, dirty, homeless boys of Greenwich? One and all, they would give the same answer, 'The love of Christ constraineth us.' . . . Let us not fail to observe that the superhuman grandeur which has invested Jesus was something wholly apart from all earthly pomp of circumstance, or splendor of endowments. When the world bows before him, it is not because of any of the gifts or qualities which ordinarily dazzle mankind. Jesus was no Poet, entrancing the souls of men with passionate melodies. He was no mighty Leader like Moses, emancipating nations from servitude, or, with illuminated countenance, promulgating to them a code of systematic morality. He was no rapt Orator, now stirring men to tumultuous emotion, now holding them hushed. He was no Warrior, smiting down his foes in triumphant victory, and breaking from the necks of the oppressed the yoke of foreign bondage. Yet turning away from the choir of immortal Poets; from famous Leaders; from mighty Orators who have played on the emotions of men as the wind on the strings of an Æolian harp; from all magnificent Conquerors; from the Pharaohs in their chariots whirling into battle; from Assyrian monarchs leading home their captives; from Babylonian emperors with the crumbs gathered from beneath their tables by vassal kings; from deified Cæsars in their dizzy exaltation; from Aurungzebe or Haroun, flaming in their jeweled robes and surrounded by kotowing courtiers—the world, abandoning all its natural predilections, has felt constrained to drop its weapons, to tear the garlands from its hair, to kneel lowly on its knees before the Son of man in His humiliation, in the faded purple of His mockery, in His crown of torturing thorns. For He was the Son of God." Concerning Buddhism, Barthélemy St. Hilaire, who made a special study of it, said, "It is a spiritualism without soul, a virtue without duty, a morality without liberty, a world without nature and

without God." Of Mohammed it is written that he did indeed render one great service to his adherents by the rigorous prohibition of strong drink; to which is due the fact the Turk makes a good, tough soldier who will recover in a fortnight from wounds which would send an ordinary English soldier to a certain grave because of his drinking habits and the poison of beer in his blood. This book would not make the reputation of Dean Farrar, but will be helped by it to a sale.

*Skilled Labor for the Master.* By EUGENE R. HENDRIX, D.D., LL.D., One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Introduction by Bishop C. B. GALLOWAY, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 326. Nashville: Barbee & Smith. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

This volume reminds the reader of a gallery of paintings from the hand of some great master, each one of which deserves individual mention and encomium. The chapters of the book, in other words, are in some measure independent of each other and each of them worthy, both from their subject and treatment, of larger review than is here permitted. In their union they form a harmonious whole, the treatment being the consideration in a new and fascinating setting of the many intellectual and spiritual qualifications that make for ministerial success. A few random quotations will make plain the wide scope of the volume, its charming style, and its gracious spirit. In the discussion, for instance, of "A Preacher's Bookshelves" the author writes: "Often a mere glance at its Homiletical Commentaries, its 'Books of Skeletons,' its 'Sermon Helps,' its 'Pulpit Illustrations,' which constitute the major part of its stores, shows that the preacher has been building a library and a ministerial outfit under a mistaken notion as to how to meet his real needs. Such a library is more of a 'museum of crutches' than a table spread with nourishing food for the brain and heart, as well as the hands and feet. A nourished brain and a glowing heart are the best 'pulpit helps.' These canned goods on a preacher's bookshelves can never put much iron in the blood or gray matter in the brain. . . . To analyze for one's self some great sermon of another, to separate its exegesis from its argument, to verify its positions from the Holy Scriptures, to distinguish the limits of its application, to note its figures of speech and the character of its illustrations is an intellectual exercise of a high order, and may be to a preacher what an analytical study of a great masterpiece is to an artist in helping to make him a painter. One such sermon as that preached before Oxford University by Canon Mozley on 'The Reversal of Human Judgment' may be read aloud alone or in company with a fellow-preacher or in one's family; and, while its searching truths may prove a spiritual tonic for a twelvemonth, the careful study of its argument may mark an intellectual epoch in one's ministry." So of Dr. Chalmers's sermon on 'The Expulsive Power of a New Affection,' or of John Wesley's on 'The Great Assize,' or of Robert Hall's on 'Without God in the World,' or of Richard Watson's on 'Man Magnified by the Divine Regard.'" The chapter on "The Unmaking of a Preacher" has this always truthful statement: "Arrested development,



whether it be mental or spiritual, is alike a disease and a symptom. Bad as it is in itself, it frequently indicates a moral bankruptcy which affects both mind and heart. People are quick to distinguish a religious vocabulary from a religious experience. Their ears can tell the sounding brass and clanging cymbal, even though a man speak with the tongues of angels. He may have had a genuine religious experience, a very vision of the Lord by the way; and it is fitting to refer to it, as Paul did to his at the most critical moments of his ministry. But such an experience should be more than a memory; it should be an inspiration. His midday vision quickened Paul's whole intellectual and spiritual life." True to the teachings of the fathers upon the power and need of the Spirit is the author's utterance in the chapter on "The Anointed Preacher." He says: "The true Shekinah is a holy man. The symbol of the divine presence may ever be seen in the tongue of fire. It is the unction, the anointing from the Holy One. What a new discovery of the divine resources comes with a knowledge of the Holy Spirit! . . . Unless there be the heart of fire, there cannot be the tongue of flame. It is the burning core within that yields the flaming tongue on the volcano's brow." The true object of preaching, continues the writer, in his chapter on "The Ministry of Intercession," is as follows: "His preaching is best adapted to what is called a revival occasion each of whose sermons is suited for a revival because he ever keeps in mind that persuasion is the real end of preaching. Such a man of God is always seeking to make full proof of his ministry in the conversion of souls, as well as in beseeching men to present their bodies a living sacrifice to God. There is enough Gospel truth in every such sermon to save a soul. Happy that preacher who can say what was said by Phillips Brooks when, after preaching before Queen Victoria, he was asked what sermon he preached. 'What sermon?' he asked; 'I have but one sermon; that is Christ.' It sometimes will happen that some one is hearing his last sermon from your lips. Let there be enough of Christ in it to save both thyself and them that hear it." And, finally, in his discussion of "The Church of the Future," the author has this to say, among much that is pertinent: "The Church of the future will be powerless before the problem of the world's conversion without a full consecration of brain and heart and purse that work. The power of the apostolic Church was seen in the dedication of their all to the work of saving the world. But that was a small world compared with ours. The territory embraced in the American republic is twice that embraced in the Roman empire in the proudest day of its history. More tongues are spoken in our borders than ever Rome compelled to subjection. In this mighty work of the world's conversion we must have disciplined, trained workers and an unbroken front. Our forces must not be weakened before the ramparts of heathenism by some Achan eager for the wedge of gold and the Babylonish garment, more anxious for the profits from the sale of opium or rum than for the salvation of the heathen. . . .

O Church of the living Christ, this is your crowning and, if faithful, your speedy work—the conversion of the world ! And from this work will come so gracious an influence upon a religious life of the Church as to fit her indeed to become the Lamb's wife." From these abbreviated extracts the reader will infer the scope and value of the volume. Besides the chapters already mentioned others are entitled: "After Graduation, What?" "The Obligations of Professional Life," "Gristle Turned to Bone," "Dead Reckoning," "The Sacrifice of the Will," "The Sacrament of Suffering," "Fainting Fits," "The Guest of God," "Letting the Light Shine," "My Parish is the World," "A Pastor's Perplexity," "The Pastor's Personal Staff," "Skilled Labor for Christ," "Our Methodist Liturgy," and "Isaiah as a City Preacher." We cannot, in conclusion, overstate the worth of the book. The ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as well as of our sister Church in the South, might well read it—and in its reading would find rare intellectual stimulus and spiritual uplift.

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#### PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

*Jesus Christ and The Social Question.* By FRANCIS GREENWOOD PRABODY, Plummer Professor of Christian Morals in Harvard University. 12mo, pp. 374. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

An observant American economist once said, "When I hear anyone bring forward a solution of the social question, I move to adjourn;" by which he meant that no complete and immediate solution of all problems involved is yet practicable. No one can propose a panacea for all social ills. Yet, vast and intricate as the problem is, the brain and conscience of Christendom grow more resolute and strenuous in the endeavor to mitigate those ills, if a full solution be not possible. The question of this book is how far the teachings and example of Jesus are of value for the desired solution. Its seven chapters consider the comprehensiveness and social principles of the teaching of Jesus; his teaching concerning the family, the rich, the care of the poor, the industrial order; and the correlation of the social question. The author begins by saying that the present age is conscious of a distinct mission and burdened with a sense of responsibility for the fulfillment thereof. "Behind the extraordinary achievements of modern civilization, its transformations of business methods, its miracles of scientific discovery, its mighty combinations of political forces, there lies at the heart of the present time a burdening sense of social maladjustment which creates what we call the social question. . . . Never were so many people, learned and ignorant, rich and poor, philosophers and agitators, men and women, stirred by social ills; by dreams of a better social world, and by the call to social service. . . . Among human interests, the social question is just now central and commanding." And the pendulum has swung from a Christology which ignored the social question to one which finds that question the center of the Gospel. The demand of radicals is not

for the amelioration of the evils of the existing order, but the destruction of that order. The fabric of modern civilization appears to rest on three social institutions—the family, private property, and the State. Each of these is challenged; the first is said to have outlived its usefulness, the second is called a mere symbol of social oppression, and the third is declared to be a mere instrument of the privileged class, which ought to be supplanted by a cooperative commonwealth of collective ownership. Social and economic revolution is the solution proposed by the radicals. Such insurgent proposals seem to some a portent of coming chaos, and to others the sunrise of a happy era of brotherhood and justice. Men like Bebel, and Friedrich Engels, and Marx, and Belfort Bax include the institutions and habits of the Christian religion among the obstacles which must be removed before a better social order can come in; but Dr. Peabody, regarding the social question as an ethical and religious question, aims to show, and does it with great thoroughness and success, that the better order can come only by the practical application of the teachings of Jesus, in the spirit of Henry Van Dyke's lines in "The Tolling of Felix:"

Where the weary toll together, there am I among my own,  
Where the tired workman sleepeth, there am I with him alone.  
This is the Gospel of labor—ring it, ye bells of the kirk,  
The Lord of Love came down from above to live with the men who work.

The volume before us goes very far toward giving indubitable theoretic proof that Christianity can accomplish what is possible to no power or wisdom without the Gospel; and it also points the way by which the Christian Church may furnish the practical proof which shall convince all unbelievers and turn the hatred of its enemies into love. This book contains the most systematic and scientific inquiry ever made, so far as we know, concerning the social teachings of Jesus; and is for the Christian minister or layman the most instructive and valuable discussion of the social question. A significant fact of our time is the degree to which the Carpenter of Nazareth keeps his place in the confidence of the oppressed and dissatisfied. Much as many of them misconceive him, they yet trust him. Renan said, "Jesus, in one view, was an anarchist;" Pfüger said, "The first proclaimers of the Gospel, especially Jesus himself, belonged to the proletariat;" a prominent socialist said, "If Jesus were here to-day, he would be one of us;" another wrote, "Christ was a poor workingman, who had a heart for the poor—he is the man for us." Göhre says that all that remains of Christian faith among workingmen is their respect and reverence for Jesus Christ; they all stand reverently and quiet before his great personality. To those who are alarmed at the social ferment of our day the following has a reassuring thought: "The social questions are, in their main scope and intent, manifestations of the moral life of the time. They are ethical questions. They appear in forms which are political or industrial, but behind these diversities of form works the one spirit.

Against the lust of the flesh there rises up the instinct of chaste love and creates the social question of the family; against the lust of riches there appear the emotions of benevolence and pity and create the problem of charity; against economic injustice there rises up the hope of an industrial commonwealth and creates the labor question. The social questions occur simply because a very large number of people are trying in many different ways to do what is right. The moral life is written across the face of the time in the language of the social questions. The social energy of the modern conscience finds its main channel of expression in the social forces of modern reform." To the question, What is the place of the Church in the modern world? Professor Peabody answers: "It is not a place where correctness of opinion is guarded and maintained; not a cold-storage warehouse for uncorrupted truth; not merely a place of religious utterance, nor of religious symbolism, nor a gymnasium of ritual for the calisthenics of the soul. It is, to use the language of our modern life, a 'power house,' where there is generated a supply of spiritual energy sufficient to move the world with wisdom, courage, peace. Let this power fail, and a church stands in the midst of modern life without adequate reason for existence, a Sunday club, an entertainment bureau, a survival of the days when religion was real. A living Church communicates power. An irony of religious teaching it is, and a deliberate withdrawal of the influence of Christianity from any bearing on the concerns of modern life, when it is proposed to prolong the ancient controversies of orthodoxy, or ritual, or organization, as though they in any degree represented the ends to which Jesus devoted himself, or could be of the slightest concern to those who are meeting the needs of the present age. According to the teaching of Jesus, the Christian Church is to be, not a deposit of opinion but a source of spiritual energy, a mighty social dynamic, a fountain of life, creative, redemptive, self-propagating." Concerning one of the most urgent and distressing social questions, the following is part of the author's thought: "Temperance reform is but a labor of Sisyphus, and the burden it desires to remove rolls back on the community again, unless the agitation is consistently directed not so much to the hampering of a trade, as to the disciplining of a passion. The drink habit is in very large degree the perversion of one of the most universal of human desires, the thirst for exhilaration, recreation, and joy, and to remove the only available means for satisfying this normal craving without providing adequate substitutes, is like blocking the channel where a stream does harm without observing how many new fields the same stream is likely to devastate."

*An American Anthology.* Edited by EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN, editor of *A Victorian Anthology*. 8vo, pp. 878. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$3.

What he did in the former volume for the poetry of the nineteenth century written on British soil, Mr. Stedman has here done for the

poetry of this country written between 1787 and 1899. It is hardly too much to say that no other living person has the combined knowledge, taste, and literary judgment for making such selections from modern English verse on both sides of the sea so wisely and well as has been done in the two choice volumes which should stand side by side in every library, public or private. *An American Anthology* is a collection made in illustration of Stedman's critical review of our own poets and poetry in his volume entitled *Poets of America*, as his *Victorian Anthology* was an illustration of the judgments in his *Victorian Poets*. Whoever has those four volumes does not absolutely need anything more upon the field they cover; or, at most, he can find nothing better. This selection reaches from Philip Freneau, 1787, to Joseph B. Gilder, 1900, and is preceded by the editor's fine Introduction and followed by concise Biographical Notes and a threefold index of titles, first lines, and authors. Among the early poems of the century is one by Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College, in 1784, entitled "The Smooth Divine," which hints that Dr. Dwight thought not ill of Methodism.

There smiled the smooth Divine, unused to wound  
The sinner's heart with hell's alarming sound.  
No terrors on his gentle tongue attend;  
No grating truths the nicest ear offend.  
That strange new birth, that Methodistic grace,  
Nor in his heart nor sermons found a place.  
Plato's fine tales he clumsily retold,  
Trite, fireside, moral seesaws, dull as old,—  
His Christ and Bible placed at good remove,  
Guilt hell-deserving, and forgiving love.  
'Twas best, he said, mankind should cease to sin:  
Good fame required it; so did peace within.  
Their honors, well he knew, would ne'er be driven;  
But hoped they still would please to go to heaven.  
Each week he paid his visitation dues;  
Coaxed, jested, laughed; rehearsed the gossips' news;  
Smoked with each goody, thought her cheese excelled;  
Her pipe he lighted, and her baby held.  
Or placed in some great town, with lacquered shoes,  
Trim wig, and trimmer gown, and glistening hose,  
He bowed, talked politics, learned manners mild,  
Most meekly questioned, and most smoothly smiled.

Still further pungent satire on the dainty, pampered, and compliant divine is followed by the same author's still familiar hymn, "I love thy kingdom, Lord;" and it may be noted that hymns have their proportionate space in this selection. The First Lyrical Period begins fitly and forcibly with John Pierpont's "The Fugitive Slave's Apostrophe to the North Star," "Warren's Address to the American Soldiers," and "The Pilgrim Fathers," with Fitz-Greene Halleck's "Marco Bozzaris." Daniel Webster is here with his verses, "On the Death of My Son Charles." The earliest really great name in American poetry is Bryant's, and the next, by home and foreign judgment, is Poe. One marked feature of this volume is that American history, especially in its critical

and passionate eras, is fully and thrillingly sung by many poets of patriotism, the singers of the South as well as of the North. An artistic purpose, the result of which is noticeable in the order of arrangement, is confessed in the editor's Introduction. "The anthologist may well follow the worker in mosaic or stained glass, to better his general effects. Humble bits, low in color, have values of juxtaposition, and often bring out to full advantage his more striking material. The representation of a leading poet is to be considered by itself, and it is a pleasure to obtain for it a suitable prelude and epilogue, and otherwise to secure a just variety of mood and range." It was impossible that so conscientious and sensitive a literary artist as Mr. Stedman should offer a careless heap of miscellaneous stuff. Rather, we find a master's hand in the arrangement, as in the selection, and in each poem some peculiar note which prevents it from being worthless or insignificant. The value of the collection is enhanced by the general aim to represent each poet variously and at his best. Mr. Stedman is aware that "there is no reception more distrustful, not to say cynical, than that awarded nowadays to a presentment of the artistic efforts of one's own time and people;" nevertheless he laudably includes, in full and just representation, the writings of living poets, honoring and not slighting his contemporaries; and for this we applaud and heartily thank him. Ancestor worship is not the most useful cult; to appreciate those who now are "fellow-heirs with us of this small island, Life, with whom we live and work as brothers," is the foremost and nearest duty. To neglect our homes while we tend the graves of the dead is to reverse the proper order of duties. Those of us who despise the work of our contemporaries would have despised the greatest of the ancients if we had lived with them. No churlish, grudging, and exclusive editor is Stedman, but one who does justice even to the youngest of those who sing true song, not yet rated great, but on the way, perhaps, to that distinction; and even to minor singers who sound some one note worth our hearing. Edgar Fawcett is absent from the volume by his own request. But T. B. Aldrich is here with twenty-eight subjects, and that fine spirit, E. R. Sill, and that most piquant, intense, small package of *die ewige Weiblich*, named Emily Dickinson, with her niece Martha Dickinson. Here are Henry Van Dyke and James B. Kenyon and Frederic Lawrence Knowles and Edwin Markham with John Vance Cheney answering him, and Julie Lippman. Here is Richard Hovey, who sends no more songs from Vagabondia, mourned by Stedman as a bright star vanished short of its meridian, and Maurice Thompson whom we cannot help regarding as, on the whole, a greater loss. Here is Charles Henry Luders with his exquisite "The Four Winds," and Will H. Thompson with his "High-tide at Gettysburg." And Paul Dunbar and Stephen Crane, and Daniel Dawson with "The Seeker in the Marshes," and Ella Wheeler Wilcox with "Reckless," and that glib, copious versifier Francis Saltus Saltus—even these are here under the roof of Stedman's generously hospitable cara-

vansary. Among recent poems, worthy of note, is Markham's weirdly grand conception, "A Look into the Gulf:"

I looked one night, and there Semiramis,  
With all her mourning doves about her head,  
Sat rocking on an ancient road of Hell,  
Withered and eyeless, chanting to the moon  
Snatches of song they sang to her of old  
Upon the lighted roofs of Nineveh.  
And then her voice rang out with rattling laugh:  
"The bugles! they are crying back again—  
Bugles that broke the nights of Babylon,  
And then went crying on through Nineveh.

Stand back, ye trembling messengers of ill!  
Women, let go my hair: I am the Queen,  
A whirlwind and a blaze of swords to quell  
Insurgent cities. Let the iron tread  
Of armies shake the earth. Look, lofty towers:  
Assyria goes by upon the wind!"

And so she babbles by the ancient road,  
While cities turned to dust upon the Earth  
Rise through her whirling brain to live again—  
Babbles all night, and when her voice is dead  
Her weary lips beat on without a sound.

There is a wild pathos in this ghostly picture of the ancient Assyrian queen, a shriveled crone in the inferno of the spirit world, imagining in a delirium of memory that she is once more with her armies and issuing her imperial commands.

*Evolution and Theology.* By OTTO PFLEIDERER, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 306. London: Adam & Charles Black. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, \$2.

These ten essays are occasional writings of the Berlin University Professor of Theology, whose larger works have had due notice in our pages. The first gives title to the book, and the others are on "Theology and Historical Science," "Luther as the Founder of Protestant Civilization," "The Essence of Christianity," "The Notion and Problem of the Philosophy of Religion," "The Task of Scientific Theology for the Church of the Present," "Jesus's Foreknowledge of His Sufferings and Death," "The National Traits of the Germans as Seen in Their Religion," "Is Morality without Religion Possible or Desirable?" and "Free from Rome!" While affirming his loyalty to the Christian faith, indeed imagining himself a defender and deliverer of it, Pfeiderer, with his naturalism, entirely shuts out miracle of every kind, and reduces Christianity and its Lord to a very pale reflection of the orthodox conception. With his acute mind, his clear and pointed style, he is one of the subtlest and most dangerous underminers of all faith in the supernatural. He is foremost among those who think to retain the essence of Christianity without its facts, to improve it by repudiating the doctrines which have been its glory and its power; who propose to retain the

flame while removing the candle. Pfeiderer holds that neither the Jesus of the Gospel history nor the Pauline Christ is for us a binding object of faith; that the Christ of the orthodox is a being who is neither God nor man, a hybrid, accessible neither by means of rational thinking nor by poetic contemplation; that as the divine principle which enlightens every man has revealed itself in an extraordinary manner in some individuals by reason of the especial force and purity of their consciousness of God, so in Jesus we see the most powerful human organ of that principle, and he takes highest rank among these prophets of the rational God-consciousness. This, Pfeiderer says, is the conception required by a strictly scientific view of history; and theology, if it claims to be a science, must accord with the principles recognized in all science. If we were in a rationalistic Unitarian pulpit or professorship, we would feed and fill ourselves with Pfeiderer, certain that he would make somewhat less feeble (even if no less futile) our difficult endeavor to persuade men to obey and trust in a merely human Christ, a rather unusually endowed Jew, and to accept a Christianity with nothing super-earthly in its authority or its nature. But this limp, lowered, and devitalized gospel cannot abide the fire-tests of time, which let the true and genuine stand and cause the unreal and false to pass away. After all the liberties he takes and the reductions he inflicts upon Holy Scripture, the Christian history, and traditional conceptions of the Truth, Pfeiderer declares his purpose to devote all his powers in order to "maintain the holy inheritance of the fathers unimpaired amidst the storms of the present time, and to give it an ever-richer development and a finer form for the welfare of the coming generations." When this German rationalist shall have finished his work on "the holy inheritance" transmitted by "the fathers," those wise and faithful worthies will not be able to recognize it. The third essay, on "Luther and Protestant Civilization," showing that the great reformer was the founder not only of the purified Church which bore his name, but also of the Protestant civilization in which we all live and move, gives more satisfaction in the reading, though one of its first pages sets us to wondering how a man can, as is there implied, "join his heart with Christ so that the two become one spiritual person, receiving into his own heart the bright portrait of the Saviour with all the saving powers that stream forth from Him," without accepting the history of Christ as true. The forever unanswered question rises perpetually, When these iconoclasts have destroyed the Christ of the New Testament, what ground or authority have they for any Christ at all? The largeness, richness, and wholesomeness of Luther's nature are finely set forth. Next to theology, he considered music to be God's most precious gift, and he knew how to employ it in the service of the Highest. A true saying is that "the German people owe it to Luther that there has been a Bach or a Handel." He was the creator of the German hymn, and the immense influence upon his contemporaries of those which he wrote was recognized by his enemies, for a Jesuit



wrote, "Luther's hymns have slain more souls than all books and sermons," which is a testimony to the power of Christian hymns in general. The author says that "German science owes to Luther nothing less than body and soul; for the body of science is language, and the soul is the conscientious sense for truth and the impulse to free investigation. These two it has from Luther and only from him. He created for the German people the unified language which for centuries has been the single bond of the politically rent and divided tribes. And what a language! What fullness of forms, what flexibility of structure, what power of expression did it win under his master hand! Lessing's clearness, Schiller's power, and Goethe's euphony are combined in Luther's speech. Therefore it is, and remains the model of all who write and speak German." Of the wide influence of the freedom-breathing nature of Luther's spirit and language the author writes: "It was Luther's spirit which arose victorious in Lessing to free us from the intolerable yoke of the letter. In Luther's spirit and in the footsteps of his criticism of dogma a Kant proceeded to the criticism of the reason, sought with the torch of self-knowledge to illuminate the dark depths of our breasts, and found in the law of conscience the resting-pole in the flight of phenomena. Again, when a Schiller sought to mitigate the harsh severity of the Kantian law by the cheerful grace of the 'beautiful soul,' in which the discord of nature and mind is reconciled with the free and noble humanity, what is this but Luther's central thought of the freedom of a Christian man, who does the good of himself without the compulsion of the law, impelled only by holy love's own compulsion? Or when a Schleiermacher has led us back from all outer forms of religion in cultus or in dogma to its mysterious source in the depths of the heart, where the soul feels itself touched by the infinite Spirit, and in dependence upon it exalted above the limits of the senses, what is this but Luther's cardinal doctrine of faith as alone the saving principle which, indeed, is the life of the soul in God?" Goethe said: "We do not at all know what we owe to Luther and the Reformation. We have been freed from the chains of mental limitation, and we have, in consequence of our growing culture, become capable of returning to the source and apprehending Christianity in its purity. We have again the courage to stand with firm feet upon God's earth and to feel conscious of our God-endowed human nature. Let mental culture continue to advance, the natural sciences grow in ever-greater breadth and depth, and the human mind be broadened as it may, it will never surpass the grandeur and ethical culture of Christianity as it shines forth in the gospels." The one thing which most surprises and mystifies us in Pfeiderer's writings is his unconsciousness of the glaring inconsistency and irreconcilable contradictions between his various and, as it seems to us, opposing views. Not a few readers will find the essay on "The National Traits of the Germans as Seen in Their Religion" the most interesting in this volume.

## HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

*Theodore Parker, Preacher and Reformer.* By JOHN WHITE CHADWICK. Crown 8vo, pp. 422. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$2.

Mr. Chadwick dedicates his book to those who believe that "Religion is the most natural and significant expression of our human life." This is the third biography of Theodore Parker, and the present author has freely used the work of his predecessors, pouncing on whatever he liked best in the pages of Weiss and of Frothingham. As a piece of intellectual and literary work this is doubtless the best of the three, as, indeed, for several reasons, it should be; its later date gives it a calmer atmosphere, a truer parallax, and more correct perspective, while this author, more perfectly than the other two, mates and matches with his subject as a close-fitting glove upon a hand. Such differences as are discernible between Parker and Chadwick are rather of degree than of kind. Their ways of dealing with the Scriptures and with Jesus are much like. Yet in some things Parker is a conservative compared to the farther-gone and more reckless radical who now acts as his biographer. Parker has more passion and fire; in Chadwick there is little heat or flame—on his religious hearthstone there seems more ashes than embers. Parker's affirmations are as dogmatic and positive as his iconoclastic denials are vehement; Chadwick is scant and chary of affirmations and credos—he poises, balances, hesitates, and leaves faith's great questions unsettled—a mist of doubt blankets his landscapes and mystifies his hearers. We should expect Parker to preach to large congregations and Chadwick to small ones. The world likes a positive man who knows what he believes, and it will listen to him through whose strong and steady words rings the high note of certitude. It was of Parker that Lowell wrote:

Every word that he speaks has been fierily furnace'd  
In the blast of a life that has struggled in earnest.

Theodore Parker's intellectual gifts, we are told, came more from his father; from his mother, deep religiousness and a warm heart. What that mother was to him we catch a glimpse of in a passage which contains, no doubt, the reflection of his own experience, in which he records how the thoughts of the child go up from his earthly mother, who manages the little room he sleeps in, to the great heavenly House-keeper who manages all the world. This, he says, is only the beginning of religion in the dawn-twilight of the young soul's life, like the voice of the bluebird and the phœbe, coming early in March, but it is the prelude to that whole summer of joyous song which will erelong gladden the procreant nest. And it was of her the grown man was thinking in the pulpit when he said to his people, "The best part of many a man's wisdom came to him when his mother laid her hand on his childish head and smoothed down his silken hair, and taught him of God, of conscience, of righteousness, and, awaking the devotion of his young

heart, bade him fly toward heaven on his half-fledged wings." The first books the farmer's lad bought he earned by picking huckleberries and taking them to Boston to sell. When he finished his course at Harvard he describes himself as "a raw boy, with rough clothes made by country tailors, coarse shoes, big hands, red lips, and blue eyes," going out to teach for fifteen dollars a month and his board. At that business, with overwork and insufficient nourishment, he sowed the seeds of long and finally fatal ill health. In Boston, for a year, he attended on Lyman Beecher's preaching, with the result of revolting utterly from his theology. The progress of Parker's ministry and the process of the gradual disintegration into rationalism of his original faith could not be more accurately or amply described than by this biographer who is himself a master-unbuilder, an expert conductor of disintegrations, a lord of demolition. If preachers should adopt one of Parker's early resolutions, to preach nothing as religion which he had not experienced inwardly and made his own so that he knew it by heart, the range of their affirmations might be narrowed, but the note of reality would be more piercing and constant. Parker was nothing if not intense. He could not abide coldness. Goethe as a man he abhorred, because there was "no warm beat out of his heart." Chadwick says that if Parker had accepted Coleridge's antithesis of natural and supernatural religion (the former meaning a religion of sensational origin and the latter a religion of intuitional origin), he would have been the most ardent supernaturalist of his time. But Parker left it for Bushnell to take up, as a useful and convenient means of getting all the salvage possible from the wreck of certain traditional beliefs. The distinction between "reason" and "understanding" Parker heartily accepted from Coleridge, who had appropriated it from the German schools. The influence of Germany upon English thought, in the thirties, was mainly through Coleridge and Carlyle. The secret of the genesis of New England Unitarianism lies open in the remark of Dr. Dewey that he preferred Rationalism to Calvinism; and it was the same recoil that made Parker write, "If this New England theology, which cramps the intellect and palsies the soul of us, does not come to the ground, then it shall be because it has more truth in it than I have ever found." He preferred no God at all to the one fashioned in the furnace-heat of Edwards's pitiless imagination or hewn by Calvin's frozen steel. It is noted that at Channing's funeral four undesirable and unsuitable persons took active part, two of his personal enemies and two others sharply antagonistic to his way of thought, while in the church porch two of the saints were heard conversing thus: "Well, Dr. Channing is gone." "Yes, and much trouble has he given us." Martineau overhauled Parker for something that looked like Pantheism and a doctrine of Inspiration that made of one kind God's immanence in matter and in man. Martineau, having been a necessarian in his youth after the manner of Priestley, was ever after almost bitter in his assault on anything bearing either a real or formal

resemblance to the doctrine of philosophical necessity or tending to deny that man, as a moral being, has "life in himself." When failing health forced Parker to seek rest and recuperation he "rested like fury" in Europe, an example of perpetual motion and intense interest. Seeing in Paris the Venus of Milo, he comments, "*A glorious human creature made for all the events of life;*" while of the one in Florence he says, "*The toy woman came to her perfect flower in the Venus de Medici.*" At Pisa he sees the two towers, the lesser of which "resembles the great one only in its leaning, as is the way with all imitators—they get the halting step without the inspiration." He thinks the Roman Church cultivates feelings of reverence, of faith, of gentleness better than the Protestant Churches, but does not affect the conscience so powerfully or appeal to the reason or to practical good sense. At Tübingen Parker found Ewald regarding De Wette as too skeptical, and Baur saying, when asked how many hours a day he studied, "Alas, only eighteen!" One is not surprised to find Goethe's friend, Bettine von Arnim, calling herself not a Christian but a heathen, offering her prayers to Jupiter, and saying that Jesus Christ had done more harm in the world than anybody else—doubtless because he appears in history as the one supreme over-thrower of heathenism. Parker describes the bigot as worshipping the knot hole through which a dusty beam of light has streamed in upon his darkness, the radical as declaring nothing to be good if it has been established, and the patent reformer as screaming in your ears that he can finish and perfect the world with a single touch. Theodore Parker affirmed that God, the Moral Law, and Immortality are directly known. Jacobi, from whom he took the plan of his thinking, taught that God, the Soul, and Free Will are intuitive beliefs of the mind and have the same validity as Time, Space, and the External World as postulated by the demands of sensuous perception. Kant held that the Moral Law is given in consciousness while God and Immortality are posited as intellectual forms convenient for its operation. A fine definition it is which says, "Our conscience is our consciousness of the conscience of God." Parker's hierarchy of the human faculties was ordered thus: intellect, conscience, affection, religiousness. He always insisted that without a conscious relation of the soul to God life is a poor aborted thing in comparison with its normal possibilities. Theodore Parker's ardent and powerful work in the crusade against slavery, which some consider his greatest service to mankind, may be typified in what he wrote from Europe after John Brown's daring stroke at Harper's Ferry: "Brown will die like a martyr and a saint. . . . Let the American State hang his body and the American Church damn his soul. Still the blessing of such as are ready to perish will fall on him and the universal justice of the Infinitely Perfect God will make him welcome home." In his time of failing health Parker wrote: "I am forty-seven by my mother's reckoning, but seventy-four in my feelings. Sometimes I think of knocking at Earth's door with my staff, saying, '*Liebe Mutter*, let me

in?" Yet he wrote in another letter, "In all my illness, and it is now in its third year, I have not had a single sad hour." Nevertheless, in 1842, on the eve of his birthday, he had written in his journal: "Two-and-forty years ago my father, a hale man in his fifty-first year, was looking for the birth of another child before morning—the eleventh child. How little does the mother know of the babe she nurses at her breast! Poor, dear mother! You little knew how many a man would curse the son you painfully brought into life!" Parker had the lonesome lot of being anathema to both evangelicals and antievangelicals, to orthodox and Unitarian. The only funeral service over his remains in Florence, in May, 1860, was that an old friend read the Beatitudes. In 1866 Frances Power Cobbe began the publication of his complete works, but the fourteen volumes fell dead from the press, and still lie, we believe, in dust, unsold upon the shelves. An unemasculated Gospel is more in demand. One is surprised to find Chadwick criticising Parker and Martineau as looking for the significance of religion too rigidly to its intellectual contents, but not surprised when this Unitarian pastor publicly states that faith in immortality is diminishing in his congregation. We do not wonder; we should think it would. Just here it may not be irrelevant to note that the opinion we expressed in our last November number concerning the pernicious character of Allen's novel, *The Reign of Law*, is sustained from the opposite side by the recent statement from E. E. Hale, indorsed by J. W. Chadwick and M. J. Savage, that Allen's book is worth more to the "liberal" cause than all the sermons that "liberal" ministers have written in a twelvemonth. This we also believe, for the book is insidious and saturating, while the "liberal" pulpit is not pungent or convincing. Its preaching exhibits the futility of its gospel, which the more it is preached the less it is believed, and the fewer they be who care to hear it. Heretic fiction in Christian homes is far more dangerously potent than the "liberal" pulpit, which gets not many hearers and convinces few of them.

*Supplementary History of American Methodism.* By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 259. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

This is a continuation of Dr. Stevens's abridged *History of American Methodism*, and is the last work of his fertile, diligent, and eloquent pen, having been barely finished when, in the fullness of years, our great historian passed into the heavens. His *Compendious History of American Methodism* culminated at the Centennial Jubilee in 1866, the climax of the first hundred years in this New World of the Methodist movement, the greatest popular religious movement in history since the Reformation. The singular and increasing success of the demonstration since 1866 demanded that Dr. Stevens continue his narrative, and in this volume he has brought the record down to 1890, covering about a quarter of a century, a period filled with rich results of the labors of the preceding hundred years, a period of culminations and harvests. While

this volume is a continuation of the preceding one, it is as far as possible complete in itself; and it enables the reader to estimate comprehensively the present significance, the actual condition and prospects of the Methodist Episcopal Church throughout Christendom—throughout the earth. Its marvelous statistics are exact, authentic, and verified by official authority. The author records the fact that, during the period covered by this book, Methodism has become more than ever a movement of the people all around the world, and that this popular and universal trend denotes the sweep and speed of its coming history. And there is cheering encouragement in the fact that this veteran observer and scholar, watching the signs of the times and the drift of events, writes with almost the final strokes of his careful pen, "After more than seventy years spent in the practical as well as passive study of Methodism, I do not hesitate to believe that its greatest history can be wrought in the future, and that its prospects for the new century into which we are about to enter are such as should inspire our Church with devoutest ambition and heroic energy." Saying which, he only adds his final exhortation to his Methodist brethren, that, as their denominational form of the common Christian cause is, in its primitive simplicity and essential catholicity, best prepared for the predicted perils of Christianity in the coming century, they should more than ever be steadfast in their work, confronting the new century with unwavering courage, and marching into it and through it with united ranks and the consciousness of a universal and invincible mission; and the last message of Abel Stevens to the Church he loved and loyally served is delivered. The book before us treats first of the territorial progress of Methodism to and across the New World to the Pacific coast, building a Christian empire in Oregon, Washington, and California; then of the episcopate, lay representation, increased lay activity, progress in home and foreign missions, the work of church extension, and aid to the freedmen, women's work in the Church, education and literature, the increasing liberality and great resources of the Church, Arminianism, episcopal necrology, the presence and activity of our Church in the South, our work abroad in Africa, South America, China, Japan, Korea, Europe, and India, the two Ecumenical Conferences which Methodism has held in London and Washington. It then offers some final views on the reasons for the past, and conditions of the future, success of Methodism, and ends with an appendix containing extracts from the Episcopal Address at the General Conference of 1896, and from the sermon of Bishop Andrews at the celebration by New York Methodism, in 1897, of his twenty-five years of episcopal service. The solid history reliably recorded in this book is so wonderful and manifestly divine that only a very bilious and pessimistic saint can rise from its perusal without strong faith and confident hope for continued victories hereafter for the onward-marching Methodist columns of the army of King Jesus. On the last pages Dr. Stevens quotes, from a public lecture given in 1892

by Rev. John White Chadwick, Pastor of the Second Unitarian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., the following: "There are more Methodists to-day than there were English-speaking people in the world when Wesley entered on his great apostolate in 1739. There are nearly half as many Methodists in the world as there are people in the United States, and they are increasing in number all the time. They will grow in culture and intelligence more and more as time goes on; in knowledge of the order of nature and the spiritual history of man. If it shall be their happy fortune, growing thus and to the liveliness of their emotion adding self-control, to lose nothing of their earnestness either in matters of divine communion or of human help, imagination cannot conceive for them a more glorious Church than they shall build for worship and for work."

*Huldreich Zwingli. The Reformer of German Switzerland, 1484-1531.* By SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON, Professor of Church History, New York University. Together with an Historical Survey of Switzerland before the Reformation, by Professor John Martin Vincent, Johns Hopkins University; and a Chapter on Zwingli's Theology, by Professor Frank Hugh Foster, University of California. 12mo, pp. xxvi-519. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, \$2.

To the extent that the Reformation shall assume more majestic proportions as time passes, an exact knowledge of its issues, leaders, and results will be increasingly necessary. The present volume, which is the fifth in the series known as "Heroes of the Reformation," has therefore a mission that entitles it to special notice. By the statement of the preface Professor Jackson was not only the projector of the entire series, but has been busy at intervals for nearly five years in the preparation of this particular biography. Avoiding both rhetorical embellishments and excessive eulogy, he easily makes apparent the results of his long and wide investigation. The Zwingli whom he depicts was hedged about by human limitations. It is, indeed, wholesome to find an author so free from the disposition to apotheosis in the portrayal of his hero. "The four years of intimate association with Zwingli which the author has enjoyed," Professor Jackson writes, "have greatly increased his respect for the man. But though Zwingli has won his high regard, he is unable, through his own inability perhaps to appreciate goodness, to value him so highly as some do. He does not put him in the front rank of the great men of the world, nor in Reformation history on equality with Luther and Calvin. His defects are patent; his literary work is so frequently marred by haste that while it served its immediate ends well it has less interest for the after world; in his treatment of the Baptists he followed only conventional lines and was prejudiced and cruel—the author is himself not a Baptist—his jealousy of Luther was a mark of weakness; in the latter part of his life he was more a politician than he should have been." Yet the professor makes a due recognition of the value of Zwingli's leadership and of his claim to a high place in history. "But on the other hand," continues the author, "he led the Reformation movement in German Switzerland, and spent his days in the service of his conception of

the truth. He was a generous, self-sacrificing, lovable character, whose politico-religious writings reveal the stalwart Swiss who could not be bribed to silence, the man who saw clearly the cause of his country's decline, but who loved his country in spite of all her faults with a passionate devotion, and for her sake laid down his life. It is as a man, as an indefatigable worker, as a broad-minded scholar, as an approved player of a large part on a small stage that the author admires Zwingli and commends him to others. Whether he was right in his theology the author does not here discuss; nor is he at all concerned to expound and defend his distinctive teachings. But he believes that if the four great Continental reformers—Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, and Calvin—should appear to-day, the one among them who would have to do least to adapt himself to our modern ways of thought and the man who would soonest gather an enthusiastic following would be Huldreich Zwingli, the reformer of German Switzerland." Of the incidental features of the volume it is not possible to speak in full. They include, however, a preliminary bibliography of German works, entitled "Some Indispensable Aids to the Study of Zwingli," and in extent most ample; an introductory chapter, by Professor J. M. Vincent, Ph.D., of Johns Hopkins University, giving an historical survey of the period preceding Zwingli's birth, under the title of "Switzerland at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century;" a supplementary chapter, by Professor F. H. Foster, D.D., of the Pacific Theological Seminary, which discusses "Zwingli's Theology, Philosophy, and Ethics;" and an Appendix containing "the first published defense of Zwingli's reformatory ideas" and Zwingli's Confession of Faith, both of them being translations by eminent authorities. A series of charming Swiss illustrations accompanies the text; while, to secure local coloring and to see the manuscripts of Zwingli, the author in 1897 made a special journey to the places in Switzerland associated with the reformer, and also to Marburg in Hesse. Altogether, the professor has put into a relatively small compass a biography so scholarly, full, and unprejudiced as to invite most favorable attention.

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#### MISCELLANEOUS.

*Survivals.* By LEWIS V. F. RANDOLPH. 12mo, pp. 89. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, \$1.

This little volume of verse, embellished by the artistic hand of Bryson Burroughs, is made up of the responses of the soul of a man of affairs to the beauties of nature, the call of public occasions, and the inspirations of religious truth and sentiment. The author, who is president of the Atlantic Trust Company, prints in place of preface an "Apology" for this book of poetry offered by a financier. In his youth Mr. Randolph longed for a literary career, but could not afford it. When a young clerk in a bank the bank president, discovering that he wrote



verses, remarked to the cashier, "A proper enough young man, but poetry and banking don't mix;" and Randolph's innocent little verses came near costing him his clerkship and his living. Years ago when Governor Lealie M. Shaw, of Iowa, was in the banking business, he needed an assistant bookkeeper. A business man in an adjoining town wrote a strong letter recommending a certain young man. At the bottom was written, "P. S.—He plays in the band." That postscript lost the young bookkeeper his chance. The future governor reasoned, "A man can do but one thing at a time; if he has time to play in the band he hasn't time to be a first-class bookkeeper in a bank." This is worth recording for the sake of its lesson. Probably to be a first-class minister requires as much concentration, and as rigid exclusion of all side issues, as to be a first-class bookkeeper. Success can come on no other plan. Concentration means intensity, which like a red-hot electric cautery burns its way through. The public faith in the man who attends strictly to his business, and its distrust of one who turns aside, are illustrated by another story in our author's "Apology." John Mills was a banker of Lancashire, who occasionally indulged secretly in writing verses. R. W. Emerson saw some of them in manuscript and said, "Why not publish them?" "No," answered the banker, "if I published a book of poetry, there would be a run on the bank in no time." Mr. Randolph, through a life necessarily "much devoted to the cares of this world and the deceitfulness of other people's riches," has refused to spend the whole of this probationary existence wielding a muck rake, like Bunyan's old man; has cultivated the spiritual fervor and aspiration which animate and elevate his verse; and is not ashamed of cherishing poetic ideals, laying most emphasis upon the religious aspects of life, and taking a large active part in the work of the Church militant. Here is a financier whose most serious figuring has been over the problem, "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose himself?"

*The Poetry of the Psalms.* By HENRY VAN DYKE, LL.D., Professor of Literature in Princeton University. 12mo, pp. 25. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

This beautiful little book, printed at the Merrymount Press, with cover design by Goodhue, is for readers of the English Bible. Professor Van Dyke's introduction shows the spirit in which he has written: "There are three ways in which we may study the Bible; as a revelation, as a document, and as literature. . . . The true lover of it has an interest in all the elements of the immortal Book. He wishes to discern, and rightly to appreciate, the method of its history, the spirit of its philosophy, the power of its eloquence, and the charm of its poetry. He wishes this all the more because he finds in it something which is not in any other book; a vision of God, a hope for man, and an inspiration to righteousness which are evidently divine. As the worshiper in the temple would observe the art and structure of the carven beams of

cedar and the lily work on the tops of the pillars all the more attentively because they beautified the house of his God, so the man who has a religious faith in the Bible will study more eagerly and admiringly the literary forms of the Book in which the Holy Spirit speaks forever. We shall do well to consider appreciatively the poetical element in the Psalms. The comfort, help, and guidance that they bring to our spiritual life will not be diminished but increased by a perception of their exquisite form and finish. If a king sent a golden cup full of cheering cordial to a weary man, he might well admire the twofold bounty of the royal gift. The beauty of the vessel would make the draught more grateful and refreshing. And if the cup were inexhaustible, if it filled itself anew as often as it touched the lips, then the very shape and adornment of it would become significant and precious. It would be an inestimable possession, a singing goblet, a treasure of life." The Psalms are great with "an intense love of nature, a passionate sense of the beauty of holiness, and an exultant joy in God."

*Ephesian Studies*, Expository Readings on the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Ephesians. By the Rev. HANDLEY C. G. MOULE, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Fellow of St. Catherine's College, etc. 12mo, pp. 341. New York. A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, \$1.75.

For their reverent spirit, evident scholarship, and sensible exegesis these *Studies* are to be commended. From the Preface we learn that they complete a series of expository works upon the epistles written by Paul during his first Roman imprisonment. Of the method followed in his present work Dr. Moule writes: "As in dealing with the epistles to Philippi, Colossæ, and Philemon, so with this to Ephesus, or more properly—as we shall see—to Asia, the author has sought, as his one aim, to exhibit something of the treasures of 'edification, exhortation, and comfort' lodged for us by the inspiring Master in the wonderful work of the inspired servant. To this everything else has been subsidiary, alike the brief historical and critical introduction and the occasional grammatical discussions. The highest aim of the interpreter has been to bring the reader into closer contact with the 'celestial letter' itself, and with the mind and message of God in it."

*God and the People*, and Other Sermons. By DAVID JAMES BURRELL, D.D., Pastor of the Collegiate Church at Fifth Avenue and Twenty-ninth Street, New York. 12mo, pp. 350. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

The commendations we have pronounced upon previous volumes of Dr. Burrell's sermons might well be repeated in the present instance. Few discourses read better. They are at once honest in exegesis, vivid in the portrayal of truth, pungent in appeal, and wide in their sweep of thought. The reader is insensibly reminded of the majesty of the ministerial office, and comes to feel in their perusal that the metropolis of the New World has few more earnest preachers than Dr. Burrell.

# METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, L.H.D., Editor.

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# METHODIST REVIEW.

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MAY, 1901.

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## ART. I.—THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

THE term "Counter-Reformation" must not be understood as implying merely a movement in opposition to the Reformation. It was largely that, beyond question, and from our Protestant point of view we can hardly do otherwise than to regard it chiefly in this light. Yet it was also a positive and very important movement of reformation and rejuvenescence within the Roman Catholic Church. It was, indeed, a definitive and determined rejection of the teachings of Luther and Calvin. It was also a rejection of the appeal to the patristic Church on which Anglicanism, although accepting the alliance of continental Protestantism, laid special and increasing weight. The Counter-Reformation resolutely maintained not merely the Catholic system at large as this, for instance, is held by the Greek Church, but the Roman Catholic system in particular as this is defined by the schoolmen, particularly by Thomas Aquinas. Still, within the limits of this system, it was a positive and very energetic movement of reform. The leaders of it, indeed, finally shrunk from pressing the full compass of the reforming propositions laid before Pope Paul III by a commission of cardinals, including even the vehemently Catholic Caraffa, afterward Paul IV.

There were various prerogatives assumed by the Roman *Curia*—for instance, the granting of dispensations of a great many kinds—which, although excessively liable to abuse, were nevertheless seen to be so inextricably interwoven with the Roman claims over the Church that to deal radically with them seemed to involve danger of shattering the whole



machinery of the central administration. Yet even these impregnable prerogatives have unquestionably been vastly restricted in their scope and reduced to the control of a caution and conscientiousness profoundly different from the wanton venality with which they were flaunted in the latter part of the Middle Ages. In the matrimonial causes of the great the Roman *Curia* seems to have retained no small share of its ancient hypocrisy and venality. Yet, speaking generally, the Roman extortionateness—especially as this was displayed after the breaking out of the Great Schism, when there were two and at last three papal courts to keep up—is a thing of the past. The expenses of the papal administration, after the Counter-Reformation gained force, were mainly met by the revenues of the ecclesiastical State, so long as this lasted, and are now chiefly dependent on voluntary contributions. The intrusion of Italians into foreign benefices has been for several centuries unknown. Whatever scandals may here and there hang about the episcopate in some of the Latin countries, especially in South America, yet the general standard of episcopal character is vastly higher than in the time of Leo X. In short, while such a self-controlled hierarchy as the Roman Catholic, cut off from the wholesome safeguards of family life, and so unevangelically dominant over the laity, must always be excessively open to abuses, yet its general tone is vastly more worthy of a Christian Church than in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Of this elevation of character the Counter-Reformation, though not the sole, may well be regarded as the immediately guiding, cause.

The fundamental character of the Reformation is that it is a repristination not of Christianity, to which both sides were equally devoted, but of apostolic Christianity in its deepest form, the Gospel of Paul. His repeated use of "my Gospel" or "our Gospel" seems to show a sense of a profound peculiarity in his preaching, exposing him to vehement attacks from Jewish believers and to occasional qualms on the part even of the twelve, and still more of James, the Lord's brother, who may be regarded, even more than Peter, as representing the Catholic conception of the Gospel as a *nova lex*, in distinction from Paul's great apprehension of it as a gratuitous commu-



nication of a spirit of life. Paul's own churches of the second generation seem already to view Christians rather as servants than as sons. The conception of good works, therefore, as a condition precedent to rewards, rather than as being, in the beautiful language of the Heidelberg Catechism, "the fruits of thankfulness," is already in the first century fast gaining ground. Catholic Christianity to this day, while not denying our adoption as children, shrinks from a free actuation of this very much as the prevailing English Christianity shrank from the cheerful filial confidence of the early Methodists.

Of course, the filial character and consciousness have their own peculiar temptations—presumption, negligence, irreverence. And we all know, though few know in its full extent, the extravagance of the language which Luther used in his rebound from the dejected servilism of the elder system. Doubtless, as Heinrich Heine says, "the sublime brutality of Brother Martin" was necessary to communicate to the Reformation a prevailing headway against the dead weight of the hierarchial Church. Vituperation is assuredly immeasurably less reprehensible than burning people alive. But, whatever advantages this unbounded intemperateness of language may have implied for the Protestant regions, there is no doubt how it must have sounded to Latin Christendom. It violated every instinct of reverence toward Christianity as it had been understood and practiced for at least fourteen hundred years; toward the immemorial hierarchy of the Church; toward that papal majesty which, even in an unworthy man, could, as Catholics held, no more lose the sacredness of its delegation from Christ than Caiaphas lost his divine delegation even by the murder of the Redeemer. To Latin Christendom, accustomed to clearly defined forms of belief, to definite and ancient religious authority, and to a rich affluence of ceremony, the surging, tossing confusion of the North seemed a sheer outbreak of uncontrollable barbarism against Christian civilization. Almost as one man the religious depth, no less than the policy and craft of Italy, and also of Spain—to say nothing of France—rose up against this threatened irruption of Gog and Magog, determined alike to enter into no compromise with the barbarian heretics, to banish alike the sensualism and the freedom

of the Renaissance, to purge away the crying abuses of the Church, to draw tight the reins of the central authority, and to encourage every form of genuine Catholic devotion, ancient or recent, to unfold its fullest capabilities. This profound determination of the Counter-Reformation, at once relentless and fervent, developed itself on one side in persecution, and on the other in rich religious fruitfulness.

The fundamental principle of the Reformation, as we know, is justification by faith alone. Does God gratuitously justify the believing soul, and is holiness the result of this antecedent justification; or does he wait for holiness, and justify on the ground of that, even though that holiness be his own work? Protestantism took the first position; Catholicism the second. Protestantism assumed a wholly unmerited act of God in justifying the sinner, who, in the consciousness of this justification, opens his soul to the divine Spirit, that justification may pass on into sanctification. Justification is the root, sanctification the fruit. The attitude of the soul is from first to last neither passive nor toilsome, but receptively active, working in the strength and joy of God, and appropriating a redemption which it can do nothing to effect. Catholicism, on the other hand, declares that "God is minded to have the fruits of his own grace become the merits of his creatures." There is here, therefore, a strong temptation to tormenting self-examination and to self-originating activity, pleasing itself in the thought of laying up claims against God. Undoubtedly the Catholic position in many approximations has largely invaded Protestantism, particularly in our day. Yet, as Dr. R. W. Dale well says, if it prevails, the whole work of the Reformation will have to be done over again. This question is not an idle speculation; it is the root of the whole spiritual life. Even the vast secular activities of Protestant lands, however adulterated with worldliness, have had their deepest spring in the spirit of filial gladness engendered by the Reformation.

At first there seemed to be hope that justification by faith alone, thus interpreted, might be accepted even by Rome. Two great cardinals—the English prince of the blood, Reginald Pole, following the Teutonic instincts of his race, and the Venetian Gaspar Contarini, imbued with the Venetian

love of the Bible—were zealous on this side. When Pole, years later, became papal legate and the last Roman Catholic archbishop of Canterbury, he was still, as Dr. Fuller says,\* “an absolute Protestant on the point of justification.” He used to say, “Too much cannot be taken away from man’s power, nor given to God’s grace.” Yet, after some wavering, Rome and Trent decidedly rejected this higher doctrine of justification, and established the lower. Apparently Pole was saved only by his death from a trial for heresy.

It is true that the Lutheran doctrine was trumpeted in the extravagant and often revolting forms. How could it sound to Catholics when Luther declared that if it were possible for a man to commit adultery in faith he would not be guilty of sin? How easy to turn this into a declaration that to a believer adultery is not a sin. A disciple of Luther declared, “Good works are prejudicial to salvation.” Besides, for two centuries the Reformation was deeply involved in the preposterous assumption that to be justified we must already say, “I believe myself to be justified”—an absurdity to which some schools of Protestants yet cling. Thus, multitudes of tender souls were put under a new yoke, heavier than the old. Yet from the beginning Catholicism had been averse to the free gladness of the evangelical view in itself, apart from all these caricatures of it, so that its final rejection by Trent may be said to have been predetermined from the last years of the first Christian century. Rome has always been afraid of Paul, in spite of honors rendered him. And, as Renan says, there is no Church more incapable of understanding the epistle to the Romans than the Roman Church of to-day.

The Counter-Reformation did not succeed the Renaissance without an undetermined interval. Good Pope Adrian, indeed—Leo’s immediate successor, the plain, frugal Dutchman, not even speaking Italian, chosen by the bewildered cardinals in the first confusions of the Reformation because he was utterly unlike themselves and because he had been the emperor’s tutor—lived too short a time to do anything. He published to all the world, as we know, the most ample acknowledgments of the unbounded corruptions which had flowed out

\* *Church History*, book viii, ¶ 50.

over the Church from the Roman See. His plans of reform were most thorough and most sincere, and, could he have lived twenty years, might have given the Counter-Reformation a character far less divergent from the Reformation than it actually assumed. It is even possible, Teuton as he was, that he might have thrown the papal influence decisively on the side of Pole and Contarini, to the higher doctrine of justification. On the other hand, it is perhaps as probable that the Latin episcopate would have risen in its wrath and forced the intruding Fleming out of the sacred chair as an heresiarch in disguise. "What matters it," said the benevolent and godly man, in his epitaph, "that a man has the worthiest aims in an obstinately unworthy age?" We have given an interpretation rather than a transcript, for Adrian VI deserves it.

Clement VII, the illegitimate Medici, Leo's almost immediate successor, was, like his predecessor and cousin, deeply imbued with the sumptuousness and luxury of the Renaissance. Neither in Church nor State was his policy much more elevated than Leo's. Selfish astuteness and magnificence are essential Medicean traits, though this famous race has only produced one monster, Catherine. Yet even in Clement the mighty bulk of the papacy begins to swing about in a new direction. His personal character was blameless, his enjoyment of the religious offices profound, and his rendering of them majestic. The airs of the coming age began to breathe, although they were to be crossed by the contrary currents of more than one pontificate before the full seriousness of the Counter-Reformation was established in control. Under Clement begins that strange relation of the popes to the emperor which lasted well through the century, and whose vicissitudes were of vital service to the Reformation. As heads of the Church, the popes could not fail to be intensely eager for the suppression of the great northern revolt. The only capable instrument of this achievement was the emperor—the secular chief of Christendom, the sovereign of the great Austro-Hungarian dominion, of the Netherlands, of Spain, Sicily, Naples, and Milan, of golden Mexico and Peru, and the federal head of Germany. Yet this very greatness of his power terrified the popes. As Italian princes they were in a vise

between Naples and Milan, while even as chief pontiffs there was danger, if the emperor absolutely crushed the Protestants, that the popes would sink into mere archchaplains of a second Charles the Great. This involved a perpetual and sometimes absolutely ludicrous vacillation between eager pursuit of the Protestants by the pope and secret encouragement of them against Charles V. Humanly speaking, this wavering in the papal policy saved the Reformation, especially as being parallel to a similar fluctuation of Catholic France, which likewise rocked to and fro between her dread of the Protestants and her dread of the emperor. Even after the Hapsburgs divided into a Spanish and an Austrian line, the still subsisting family understanding kept the popes uneasy. These alienations of their policy were principally active under Charles V, before 1555, yet they can hardly be said to have altogether subsided before the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648.

Commonly, where there is a protracted struggle between two powers, it becomes most aggravated toward the end. Poor Clement VII, however, was destined to feel the reverse of this. The most terrible blow from the emperor came upon him in the sack of Rome by the imperial army, with its unspeakable horrors and its infinite spoliation, in 1527. A century of the Renaissance had filled the papal city with an untold affluence of wealth, in its most precious and delicate forms. All this disappeared in a day. The great churches, paintings, statues remained, but every form of opulence took wings. Yet, as the double sack of Alaric and Genserik had lightened Rome for the spiritual leadership of the Middle Ages, so the sack of Rome by the army of the Constable Bourbon left her less alien to the great religious revival of the Counter-Reformation.

Paul III was a mere Renaissance pope, although worthily noted for his energetic seconding of Lasbasas and the Dominicans for the protection of the Indians, forbidding the bull of Alexander VI to be interpreted in any way that should prejudice aboriginal rights. Julius III was of even more dubious reputation, and let the great interests of his office pretty much go by default. Marcellus II was a man of eminent worth and holiness, but like Virgil's Marcellus he was only shown

to the world to be taken out of it. After him the Counter-Reformation became definitely established in control, in the person of the fiery Neapolitan zealot, John Peter Caraffa, who took the name of "Paul IV." Although now seventy-nine years old, his deep-set, blazing eyes betrayed all the energy of youth. His soul was absorbed in the purpose to restore the ancient Church and destroy the Protestants. Happily he had a third passion, very much at variance with this, an invincible hatred of the Spaniards. He was deeply intent on rehabilitating the Italian Inquisition and reestablishing monastic discipline, and on reforming the Church in various ways; but the mutual antipathy between him and the emperor, and to Philip II, which he was incapable of even wishing to restrain, redounded greatly to the benefit of the Reformation. He was a most intense Catholic, but an almost equally intense Italian, and this latter passion setting him against the Spanish king, greatly baffled the hope of future Catholic victories against the Protestants in Germany. He even had the audacity to threaten that Charles and his son should be tried for heresy, a threat which the Spanish Inquisition treated with sovereign contempt. His scornful and furious answer to Elizabeth's respectful notification of her accession, in 1558, sent England away again, this time hopelessly, from the Roman chair. He is a pope to whom we, as Protestants, ought to be profoundly obliged, for although he meant not so, he has certainly done our cause great and lasting service.

Catholicism actually benefited from the fact that Paul's successor, Pius IV, was at heart a calculating, worldly man. Caraffa's furious resentments were at least the expression of a nature that had no private ends. Even his nepotism rested on a sadly miscalculating public zeal, and was abandoned as soon as it disappointed this. He was as unworldly as he was unamiable. But his boiling Neapolitan nature, like that of an earlier Neapolitan, Urban VI, who precipitated the Great Schism, was incapable of all self-restraint. His powerful personality gave a mighty impulse to the determinate victory of Catholic Puritanism over the Renaissance. Yet he wrecked the hopes of Roman Catholicism in England, and did his full part toward wrecking them in northern Germany. His

successor, Cardinal Medici of Milan—in no way related to the great Florentine princes—a cool commercial Italian of the north, was just the man to redress Caraffa's mistakes. He understood the rising spirit of religious earnestness, and promoted it without ever being really inspired by it. His cold-blooded execution of one thousand five hundred Waldenses in Calabria, although it seems to have exceeded many fold all the Italian persecutions of Caraffa, was so managed as scarcely to have made an impression on history. In Rome itself he very decidedly tempered the inquisitorial severity of his predecessor. His own want of real devoutness was largely covered by the wonderful unworldliness and sanctity of his nephew, Saint Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan.

Charles was the consummate flower of the Counter-Reformation. His intense Catholicism led him to cling still, in theory, not in practice, to the mediæval tenet that a proclaimed heretic, like a proclaimed traitor, may lawfully be killed by anyone. His Catholicism also led him to count it no waste of time when he consecrated three hundred altars in his diocese, each consecration taking up eight solid hours. On the other hand, he was embodied purity, unworldliness, heavenly-mindedness, benevolence toward all men, high and low. In the time of a great plague he wore himself out in offices of love, and died at forty-six. He was also a model of episcopal energy and wisdom, and has for the whole Roman Catholic Church permanently raised the standard of pastoral devotion. The Nonconformist monument in London worthily places his name at the head of Sunday school workers. Dr. Arthur T. Pierson's little portraiture of him is a jewel of ecclesiastical biography. His younger cousin and ultimate, though not immediate, successor in the archbishopric, Cardinal Frederic—portrayed in Manzoni's great romance, *I Promessi Sposi*—almost literally reduplicated his kinsman's episcopate, even to the great plague, and seems to have been of yet deeper piety and benevolence. Thus the elevation of the worldly Pius IV, in setting forward his nephews, seems to have opened in Italy the purest and most refreshing fountains of Catholic piety.

Constance and Basel, with their lofty and, for the former, its successful, assertions of superiority for the collective

Church over the papacy had taught Rome to hate the very name of "General Council." Yet Paul III in 1545 had yielded to Charles's peremptory urgency, and had consented to assemble one. Trent, in the Tyrol, was chosen for the locality—an imperial city, it is true, but Italian in speech and feeling. Care was taken to give the Italians a large majority over all the others together. The votes were no longer, as at Constance, by nations, but individual. The cardinals and monastic generals peculiarly attached to Rome were, even though not bishops, allowed to vote. To the papal legates was assigned a control over the proceedings hardly less stringent than at Rome in 1870. The Council, it is true, could not be persuaded to define the papal prerogatives, or even to say that the papacy is of divine right. Yet practically it was as obsequious as theoretically it remained independent. As Herzog-Plitt remarks, the Vatican Council had but little to do but to crown the work of Trent.

In doctrine Trent was obstinately hostile to Protestantism at every point. The freedom of the elder Western Church, which, content with practice, left alternate theories very much at liberty, was here narrowed down to a determinate Roman Catholic denomination. Justification was defined by only sixty prelates, not one a German. The Apocrypha were definitely canonized; the Vulgate was declared not, indeed, inspired, or exempt from errors of translation, but sufficient and final for the determination of doctrine. Primitive tradition was declared equally authoritative with Scripture. All sorts of prerogatives which the Church had practiced, including the right of forbidding priests to marry, were established on articles of faith. At not one point does there appear the slightest concession to Protestant scruples, opinions, or claims. Absolute submission or permanent excision are the only alternatives offered. The hand of Rome is seen throughout. Indulgences are very guardedly defined, and the traffic in them forbidden. Outside of Spain there has been little of it since. Purgatory is defined in very mild and general terms, but practically, in the Latin countries at least, the grossness of mediæval superstitions concerning it is hardly abated. Within these sharply defined limits, the Council of Trent was vigor-



ously reformatory. It enlarged episcopal rights against monastic encroachments; enforced episcopal and pastoral residence; provided for better training of the clergy; set on foot catechetical instruction; and passed a great many reforming edicts touching laymen, monks, nuns, priests, and bishops. It nowhere descended to the deep springs of spiritual renewal, but it provided for a wise disposal of the spiritual forces already at hand. On the other hand, it instituted a rigid censorship of books, and did its best to promote the long contest of the Roman Catholic priesthood against the mental emancipation of mankind. Accordingly, the deeper thought and research of Catholic countries have either been quenched or have inclined to actuate themselves in hostility to the Church. The doctrinal decrees of Trent, when papally ratified, were of force at once, *proprio vigore*. Disciplinary decrees, however, take effect only by publication in each country, and indeed in each diocese. Accordingly, these latter decrees of Trent have been received in very varying proportions in different regions. Yet on the whole the Tridentine legislation, modified by later popes and assumed in all papal transactions, has controlled ecclesiastical administration, and, save for its restrictions on freedom of thought, has been generally beneficial.

The great organ of the Counter-Reformation, however, was the militant Spanish institute of the Company of Jesus. Its founder, the warlike Biscayan nobleman, Ignatius Loyola, gave it this military title, not as having, like the Salvation Army, a military organization—the title “General” is a mere abridgment of “General Superior”—but because he wished its members to esteem themselves in an eminent degree the soldiers of Christ. He also exalted the military duty of obedience, not indeed to quite the height commonly assumed, but perilously near it. The order was founded at Paris in 1534, and papally confirmed in 1540. The aim of the Society of Jesus—*Societas* being a rude Latin translation of the Spanish *Compañía*—was to advance mediæval Catholicism, concentrated in the papacy, by weapons adapted to grapple with the Renaissance and with the Reformation. Therefore it has always combined fixedness and flexibility to a degree that has

made it the marvel and often the terror and the horror of the world. No association has had more genuine saints, and none more unscrupulous politicians\* whose wiliness has been covered by the sacred simplicity of their colleagues. What has been said of Roman Catholicism at large is eminently true of this quintessence of it, that it is a masterpiece of God, man, and the devil. Only the eyes that are as a flame of fire will ever be able to resolve its good and its evil.

Jesuitism, casting aside all cumbersome monastic observances, debilitating austerities, and distinguishing attire, holding each member ready for any service as spiritual ruler, preacher, teacher, scholar, confessor, missionary, took at once the whole conduct of the Counter-Reformation. Ultimately favoring moral laxity, it began by breaking the yoke of moral rigorism. Highly favored by the aristocracy, it warmly pleaded the cause of the people, and had much to do with the ultimate triumphs of democracy. Intensely Catholic, Pelagianizing, and ceremonial, it was yet so deeply imbued with the new influences that the old Church under its lead renewed her conquering confidence. As Macaulay says,† by the end of the sixteenth century Catholicism was hardly safe on the shores of the Mediterranean. Before the middle of the seventeenth Protestantism was hardly safe on the shores of the Baltic. The Thirty Years' War, ending in 1648, and costing Germany half her population, and Bohemia at least two thirds of hers, put a term by mutual exhaustion to these mutual aggressions. Since then there has been in Europe generally but little fluctuation in the boundaries of the two creeds.

In Pius V, reigning from 1566 to 1572, the Counter-Reformation reached its papal culmination. He had been grand inquisitor of Rome, and had never been known to mitigate a capital sentence. Less furious than Caraffa, he was still more inexorably and searchingly severe against heresy; yet toward Catholicism he was mildness and benevolence itself. Profoundly devout and unworldly, he was personally as simple and humble as a child. Under him Rome, allowing for its so much greater population, became as gravely devout as Geneva,

\* Gioberti: *Il Genita moderno*, tomo secondo, p. 158.

† So, in substance, in his Essay on "Ranke's History of the Popes."

and hardly less austere moral. This character it long retained. Savonarola would have rejoiced could he have beheld the change that had passed over the Italian cities. It is not strange then that, under Pius V, Rome solemnly absolved Savonarola's memory from all taint of heresy. Pius, indeed, might almost be called a Savonarola in the papal chair—a greatly reduced Savonarola, it is true, for there was a largeness about the Florentine friar of which there are no traces in Michael Ghislieri. Pius V is the one pope since 1313 whom Rome has thought worthy of canonization. Ghislieri is the last pope that, in his bull against Queen Elizabeth, has undertaken to depose an actually reigning sovereign, and the last to excommunicate a king or queen by name. Napoleon, Victor Emmanuel, and Humbert have been merely excommunicated by inference. The bull of Pius against Elizabeth, determined but dignified, was very effective, but brought down the bolts of persecution upon the English Roman Catholics.

After the politic and temperate Gregory XIII, the reformer of the calendar, Sixtus V, from 1585 to 1590 conducted the Counter-Reformation with rude peasant energy, but with thoroughly disciplined judgment. He knew just when to advance and when to pause. He blessed the Invincible Armada that was to reconquer England, but out of the vast papal treasure would not advance a crown toward it until it should have succeeded. When it was hopelessly shattered he at least took comfort in his own prudence. The course of Roman Catholic missions in England went on, and for many years, with great results, but all serious thought of reconquering England as a nation seems to have slowly waned away.

In Germany, Catholicism led by the Jesuits and the princes reconquered Austria and most of the South, and at last, in 1618, advanced in military force against the North and against Bohemia. The latter kingdom was almost depopulated, and its Protestantism completely crushed. In the North the intervention of the Swedish hero, Gustavus Adolphus, and after his death of the French statesman, Cardinal Richelieu, finally checked the Catholic advance and left Protestantism—leaving out the Austrian provinces—with about two thirds of the population as proportions are now. Of this most fearful of

wars Archbishop Trench assigns three causes—the despotism of the Catholic princes, the intrigues of the Jesuits, the utterly loveless spirit of Protestant controversy with Rome. The third cause may well be pondered by us, much of whose popular controversy with Rome, as has been well said, breathes the very spirit of a religious war.

In Antigua, a generation back, appeared a strange disease on the cocoanut trees. They grew healthily until they reached a man's height, and were then stopped by an invincible web of blight. Even so, for all those strata of Italian and Spanish—and more or less of other—countries that were not much troubled with thinking the Counter-Reformation was a deep and lasting religious benefit. But minds and characters above mediocrity were, by no means universally, but only too generally, under its iron restraint, smitten with decay. Whether Catholicism in our day can burst these limits and, retaining its distinctiveness but losing its confining mediævalism, enter into a more generous and believing future remains to be seen.

*John F. Hurst*

## ART. II.—THE MUSIC OF THE BIBLE.

IN the days when "music, heavenly maid, was young," there were, according to one theory advanced, three stages of development. The first brought the class known as percussion instruments, consisting of drums, cymbals, and tambourines, as well as the ancient tabret. The second gave the world wind instruments—as the pipe, flute, organ, clarinet, and trumpet. The third brought the highest class, that is, such stringed instruments as the harp and violin. The piano belongs to the first and third classes.

This theory is worth considering. Percussion instruments undoubtedly came first, for it is well known that the pulsations of music affect persons of the lowest intelligence, while many of higher mental force are sometimes unable to distinguish between two very different melodies. The clapping of hands and stamping of feet probably originated this class of instruments, which could also be more easily made and played. Wind instruments would naturally come next. The wind sighing over a bed of reeds or whistling through the trees must have suggested sounds worthy to be imitated. The same reed over which the wind sighed was fashioned into the primitive pipe, and later pipes were bound together to form the Pandean pipes. The warrior loved his bow and, as he twanged its cord, was pleased with the sound and resolved to utilize it for a gentler art than war. The harp was the result. This theory may or may not be correct, but it at least furnishes us with a convenient grouping of instruments into three great classes in the order of their importance.

In general terms we may say that the Hebrews derived their music from the Egyptians, as did the Greeks and Romans. The first mention of music in the Bible is in Gen. iv, 21, where Jubal is characterized as "the father of all such as handle the harp and organ;" and thence, throughout the Scripture, there are numerous references to music, for the love of melody led the Hebrews to burst into song on any occasion of joy or sorrow. Solomon speaks of their musical instruments as "the delights of the sons of men." The birth

of a Jewish boy was celebrated with music, and when he was laid away in the sepulcher his friends and numerous hired mourners gave vent to their grief in melancholy strains, so that, literally, from the cradle to the grave the Hebrew lived in an atmosphere of music. It is recorded that four thousand musicians were employed in the temple services, while Josephus writes that later the number was raised to two hundred thousand trumpeters and forty thousand players on harps and other stringed instruments. Possibly these numbers are exaggerated, but we are at least sure that music held a wonderfully high place among this venerable people.

*Mistranslations.*—Unfortunately the translation of the names of instruments and of musical terms in the Bible is often erroneous. One English word is often used to indicate different Hebrew instruments which are sometimes very diverse in character and use. Among those of the percussion class we find three terms, *metziltiam*, *tziltzelim*, and *shalishim*, which are severally translated “cymbals.” Among wind instruments three words, *keren*, *shophar*, and *chatzotzerah* are all translated “trumpet.” The second, *shophar*, is also translated “shawm.” *Keren* and *shophar* are both translated “cornet,” which also translates *mena'an'im*. The “dulcimer” of Dan. iii, 5, 10, 15, should be “bagpipe.” The word translated “flute” is very doubtful. “Pipe” translates three words, *chalil*, *machol*—which denotes either a percussion instrument or a smaller pipe—and *machalath*. The translation of the names of stringed instruments is even more misleading. “Harp” translates four different words, *kinnor*, *nebel*, *asor*, and *kaithros*. *Nebel*, the second, is also translated “lute,” “psaltery,” and “viol.” The “sackbut” of Dan. iii, 5, 7, 10, 15, was probably a small harp with a large number of strings, giving a full rich tone.

*Instruments of Percussion.*—Bells (Heb., *metzilloth*), it seems, were not used in a strictly musical way; yet their use so nearly approached this that it may not be profitless to give them some consideration. Their most marked use was upon the robes of the high priest, who wore seventy-two golden bells about the hem of his ephod. Their purpose, it is explained in the case of Aaron, was that “his sound shall be

heard when he goeth into the holy place before the Lord, and when he cometh out, that he die not." In Zech. xiv, 20, occurs the passage, "In that day there shall be upon the bells of the horses, HOLINESS UNTO THE LORD." The so-called "bells" were likely fiat or slightly hollowed plates of brass, attached to the harness for the sake of ornament or because of the agreeable tinkling. The Authorized Version in the margin gives "bridles," it being perhaps customary to ornament bridles in that way. It is also a modern, as well as an ancient, custom for the women of Eastern countries to wear bells about their ankles.

There are two kinds of cymbals \* mentioned in Psalm cl, the "loud cymbals" and the "high sounding cymbals." The difference, no doubt, was in the size of the hollow in each brass plate. The "high sounding" cymbals, being smaller and much more concave, were struck sharply together in accompaniment, as we use cymbals to-day. They were employed by the Hebrew women in their national dances.

The timbrel and the tabret † (Hebrew, *toph*; Greek, *τύμπανον*), instruments of Egyptian origin, were the same, and were practically no different from our tambourines. They were used very largely by the women. We read of them in Exod. xv, 20, where Miriam "took a timbrel in her hand," accompanied by the women; in Judg. xi, 34, where Jephthah's daughter "came out to meet him with timbrels and with dances;" in 1 Sam. xviii, 6, where "the women came out of all cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet king Saul, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music;" and in Psa. lxxviii, 25, where we learn that in processions "the singers went before, the players on instruments followed after," among them being "the damsels playing with timbrels." The tabret, or timbrel, was a very popular instrument at social festivities. It was used in very early times by the Syrians of Padan-aram at merrymakings. Laban said to

\* Two Hebrew words are translated, "cymbals:" 1. *Metsiltam* (Greek, *κύμβαλα*), 1 Chron. xv, 16, 19, 28; xvi, 5, 42; xxv, 6; 2 Chron. v, 13; xxix, 25; Neh. xii, 27; Ezra iii, 10. 2. *Tsitsetim* (Greek, *κύμβαλα*), 2 Sam. vi, 5; Psa. cl, 5.

† 1 Sam. x, 5; 2 Sam. vi, 5; Isa. xxiv, 8; Job xxi, 12; Ezek. xxviii, 13; Jer. xxxi, 4; Psa. lxxxi, 2; cxlix, 3; cl, 4.

Jacob, "Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly, and steal away from me; and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth, and with songs, with tabret, and with harp?" Isaiah, in an invective against the house of Israel, tells us that "the harp and the viol, the tabret and pipe,\* and wine, are in their feasts;" and in another place he says that, when the judgment of the Lord falls on the land, "the mirth of tabrets ceaseth." The tabret was also a token of peace and joy. In Job xxi, 12, we read, "They take the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of the organ." In Isa. xxx, 32, it is written, "And in every place where the grounded staff shall pass, which the Lord shall lay upon him, it shall be with tabrets and harps: and in battles of shaking will he fight with it." And Jeremiah, speaking of the restoration of Israel, says, "Again I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel: thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry." We thus see that the tabret was also an article for feminine adornment.

The *sistrum*,† also of Egyptian origin, was used to a large extent in the same manner as the tabret, and was also employed in the temple service to notify the worshipers that the solemn moment had arrived—a purpose now served by bells. It consisted of a loop of metal attached to a handle and having loose bars which were run through the loop. It was shaken vigorously by the handle.

The Hebrew word *machol* ‡ is generally rendered "dance" in the Septuagint and the Authorized Version. The Authorized Version, however, in one marginal reference denotes "dance" as a "pipe." It was really an instrument of the percussion class, used in very early times by the Hebrews. We read of it in Exod. xv, 20, where "all the women went out after her [Miriam] with timbrels and dances," and in Jer. xxxi, 13,

\* Note the expression "tabret and pipe." It seems clear that they were companion instruments.

† In 1 Sam. xviii, 8, where the women came down "to meet king Saul, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music," the phrase "instruments of music" translates the Hebrew *shalishim*, which occurs only here in the Bible. The Revised Version in the margin gives "triangles, or three-stringed instruments." It seems probable that *sistra* are meant.

‡ Psa. xxx, 11; cxlix, 3.



where he says, "Then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance." It is mentioned among the instruments of praise in Psalm cl. It is thought to have been made of metal in the form of a circle, perhaps with a row of bells around it. Women played it, and used it as an accompaniment to their singing at weddings and merrymakings. By some, however, the instrument is thought to have been a small flute used with the tabret for dancing.

*Wind Instruments.*—The word \* translated "organ" in the Authorized Version in Gen. iv, 21; Job xxi, 12; xxx, 31, means perhaps a pipe or reed flute. Possibly it refers to a box with tubes attached, on the principle of the modern organ, and operated by a bellows. Such an instrument was known in ancient Egypt. Its greatest use was in the temple, especially in rendering the Hallel, that is, Psalms cxiii-cxviii. Some identify it with the Pandean pipes.

The Hebrew word † translated "pipe" comes from a root meaning "to bore, perforate," and hence we may conclude that it was a very simple instrument. Its wonderful popularity and adaptability lead us to the same conclusion. The oldest form was a sort of oboe made from a reed, in which the mouthpiece was at the end.‡ There were many other varieties also, some being made of bone. Isaiah speaks of the pipe in reference to lightness of heart, "as when one goeth up with a pipe to come into the mountain of the Lord, to the Mighty One of Israel." It was used at great public demonstrations. At the anointing of Solomon it is recorded that "all the people came up after him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound of them." Though perhaps not used in the temple itself, the pipe also had a prominent place in processions, it being said of these, "The singers went before, the players of instruments followed after; among them were the damsels playing with timbrels." In Ps. lxxxvii, 7, where this is alluded to, "players of instruments" should be "pipers."

\* *Ugab*; Greek, *ψαλμός*, *δργανον*.

† *Chalil*; Greek, *αὐλός*. Another word translated "pipe" (*machalath*; Greek, *μαχλίθ*) occurs in the titles of Psalms llii and lxxxviii. It probably refers to instruments of accompaniment. Gesenius translates it "lute."

‡ 1 Kings i, 40; Isa. v, 12; xxx, 29. In Amos vi, 5, it is rendered "instruments of music."

Nor can we forget the passage, "They are like unto children sitting in the market place, and calling one to another, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned to you, and ye have not wept." This little instrument served not only those who rejoiced, but those who mourned as well. Jeremiah, lamenting for Moab, cries, "Therefore mine heart shall sound for Moab like pipes, and mine heart shall sound like pipes for the men of Kir-heres: because the riches that he hath gotten are perished." It also adapted itself to the saddest and most sacred of uses—the burial rite, "And when Jesus came into the ruler's house, and saw the minstrels [literally, 'pipers;'] the original is *ὀψλητὰς*] and the people making a noise, he said unto them, Give place: for the maid is not dead, but sleepeth." A rabbinical rule required at least two flute players and one mourning woman in such cases.

The word (Chaldee, *mashrokitha*; Greek, *σῦριξ*) which is translated "flute" in Dan. iii, 5, 7, 10, 15, occurs only in these passages\* from the ancient prophet, and the nature of the musical instrument named is hard to be determined. Some authorities describe it as a "double flute;" some as Pandean pipes, and some as an "organ"—with the final conclusion as to its character yet to be made.

*Trumpet and Cornet.*—These instruments, aside from their use on the field of battle, were employed by the priests to assemble the people and by heralds to announce the approach of a monarch, though, even as late as 59 A. D., the trumpet is spoken of in 1 Cor. xiv, 8, as distinctively a war instrument. The priests, as distinguished from the trained Levites, did not play or sing, and necessarily could use only a simple instrument; hence they very largely employed the trumpet and cornet. The sound of the trumpet was deeper and more hoarse than that of the cornet, which was high and clear, like a bugle. The primitive trumpet was the horn of a ram or chamois, as in Josh. vi, 4. That which

\* These much quoted references have to do with the music of the Assyrians, rather than with that of the Hebrews. The story of Nanarus mentions one hundred and fifty female musicians, singers, and players of instruments. Among the instruments mentioned are those referred to in Daniel. Sculpture could hardly depict so large a band, but a bas-relief of a date somewhat earlier than Nebuchadnezzar's time shows twenty-six performers. The Assyrians had eight or nine different instruments. See *Egypt and Babylonia*, Rawlinson.

sounded when Moses was on Mount Sinai was a long, slender horn, turned up at the end; it was much used for stirring up religious and patriotic enthusiasm. The *chatzotzerah*,\* a straight trumpet of silver ending in a bell, was that which Moses was commanded to make, and the use of which was so minutely described in Num. x, 1-10. One hundred and twenty of these were sounded at Solomon's dedication.

The *shophar*† was the instrument Gideon placed in the hands of his three hundred chosen men when he used the stratagem of the trumpets, lamps, and pitchers against the Midianites. This was also the trumpet which Ehud blew in the mountains of Ephraim. In 1 Chron. xv, 28, and Psa. xcvi, 6, it is rendered "cornet." In the version of the Book of Common Prayer it is "shawm." *Keren* (Greek, *σάλπιγξ*), in Dan. iii, is translated "cornet." It seldom occurs, and is generally called a "horn." "Cornets" ‡ in 2 Sam. vi, 5, is the translation of *menu'an'im* § (Greek, *αὐλοί*). The Revised Version has "castanets," marg. "*sistra*." It generally translates *keren*. The "feast of trumpets"—Lev. xxiii, 24—was a day of blowing of trumpets. The "dulcimer" of Dan. iii, 5, 10, 15, is simply a bagpipe.

*Stringed Instruments.*—The principal instruments of this class in use among the Hebrews were the harp and psaltery. The psaltery bore a great resemblance to the Grecian lyre. The word translated "psaltery" in Kings, Chronicles, and Psalms is "*nebel*," which is a form of the harp and will be considered later. They probably had the soprano register, for in 1 Chron. xv, 20, we read that certain Levites were appointed to sound with psalteries "on Alamoth"—the latter term meaning "in the manner of maidens," that is, "soprano."

\* 2 Sam. vi, 5, 15; 1 Chron. xiii, 8; 2 Chron. xv, 14; xx, 28; 2 Kings xi, 14; Psa. xcvi, 6.

† Greek, *σωφέρ, σάλπιγξ, κεράτιν*; Joel ii, 1; Psa. xlvii, 5; lxxxi, 3; xcvi, 6.

‡ 2 Chron. xv, 14; Dan. iii, 5, 7, 10, 15; Hos. v, 8; Psa. xcvi, 6.

§ The word only occurs in this passage, and in conjunction with "cymbals," though translated "cornets" in the Authorized Version and "pipes" in the Septuagint. The Hebrew word is supposed to be derived from a root meaning "to sway to and fro," or "vibrate;" hence it is thought that the Vulgate rendering, *sistra*, is more correct, and that it was a rattle—very common in the East—consisting of an oval loop with a handle, having crossbars of metal rods, on which loose rings were threaded, jingling when shaken, like the plates of a timbrel.—*Oxford Sunday School Teacher's Bible*.

In the next verse we read that certain other Levites were appointed to sound with harps "on the Sheminith." This word means "eighth," and hence it is supposed that the octave lower is referred to. It seems that the psaltery and harp were sometimes made of fir wood, for "David and all the house of Israel played before the Lord on all manner of instruments made of fir wood, even on harps, and on psalteries." But Solomon "made of the alnum trees terraces to the house of the Lord, and to the king's palace, and harps and psalteries for singers: and there were none such seen before in the land of Judah." The psaltery that Daniel mentions as having been played before Nebuchadnezzar's golden image in the plain of Dura should be translated "dulcimer," as the instrument there mentioned was very much like the modern zither, except that the strings, of which there were ten, were struck with a hammer or *plectrum*. It was the germ of the modern piano, the *plectrum* being an invention that is credited to Sappho, the great poetess of the Greeks.

The harp proper, being, as stated before, of lower range than the psaltery, necessarily had longer strings, and perhaps in some way corresponded to our bass viol. The general term "harp" includes three instruments. The first—the *kinnor*,\* of Syrian origin—was the most ancient. It is described as a "triangular lyre, formed of two flat pieces of wood, whose ends were united with eight or nine animal strings." It was held under the left arm, and played by the fingers or with a *plectrum*. Josephus records that it had ten strings and was played with a *plectrum*, making no mention of its being played with the fingers. In 1 Sam. xvi, 23, we are distinctly told that "David took a harp, and played with his hand." This is the instrument which was hung on the willows of Babylon.

The second kind—*nebel*,† a later instrument of Phœnician

\* Gen. iv, 21; Job xxi, 12; xxx, 31; Psa. cxxxvii, 2; Isa. v, 12. The word *kinnor* is thought to be Phœnician, which leads many to suppose that the instrument is of Phœnician origin. This is clearly not the case, however, for Phœnicia was not in existence for several centuries after the time of Jubal, in connection with whom the instrument is first mentioned. It may be that the name was applied to Jubal's instrument long after the times covered by the narrative.

† 1 Sam. x, 5; 2 Sam. vi, 5; 1 Chron. xiii, 8; xv, 16; xxv, 1; 2 Chron. v, 12; xxix, 25; Psa. xxxiii, 2; lxxi, 22; lvii, 8; lxxxii, 2; xcii, 3; ci, 3; Isa. v, 12; Neh. xii, 27. *Nebel* is translated "psaltery" wherever it occurs, except in Isa. v, 12; xiv, 11; Amos v, 23; vi, 5, in which places it is translated "viol."

origin—had three sides, one curved, and ten strings. This is the instrument already mentioned in connection with the psaltery. It was there stated that probably it was of the soprano register, and the fact that it was generally played with some other instrument would seem to strengthen this supposition. *Nebel* is also translated “lute” and “viol,” the ancient viol being a six-stringed guitar.

A third kind of harp—the *asor*, referred to in Psa. xxxiii, 2; cxliv, 9; a smaller instrument of Assyrian origin—is mentioned only with *nebel*. Perhaps it supplied the bass, but that is very doubtful, as it was smaller in size than the *nebel*. It is more likely that it took a sort of alto part.

It is thought by some that “sackbut,”\* in Dan. iii, should be translated “harp.” The latter word in these passages is a translation of the Chaldaic *kaithros* (compare Greek *κίθαρις*, Latin *cithara*, A. S. *cytere*, Eng. “cithern,” “guitar”). This was a four-stringed lyre which was imported into the East from Greece.†

The tone of the harp was soothing in its effect; for “when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, . . . David took a harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him.” This harp—*kinnor*—is the same as that mentioned in connection with Jubal, a thousand years before. The harp was the leading instrument of the Levitical orchestra. Certain Levites were appointed to sound with harps “on the Sheminith to excel [that is, to lead].” The chief harper was therefore the director. The harp, it may be observed, is the only stringed instrument mentioned in the Pentateuch.

*Vocal Music.*—The vocal music of the Hebrews is perhaps of more interest to us than the instrumental. The Hebrews were a nation of singers; they sang on occasions of every kind. We find that among them the singing was done almost entirely by men at first, while later it was done almost entirely by women. “Women singers,” even in those early days, made trouble. The son of Sirach, in the Apocrypha, says, “Be-

\* The word is the Chaldaic *sabbea*. The sackbut was a wind instrument.

† Strabo tells us of a Greek who served in Nebuchadnezzar's army. Several like incidents incline us to the thought that Assyria may have derived her instruments in a more or less direct way from Greece.

ware of female singers, that they entice thee not with their charms." One of the earliest expressions of rejoicing was the song of Miriam, "Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously;" and, at a later time, "when David was returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, . . . the women came out of all cities of Israel, singing and dancing . . . with joy." Social festivities were enlivened with vocal music. In Gen. xxxi, 27, already referred to, Laban reproached Jacob for fleeing away without giving him an opportunity to speed the parting guest "with mirth, and with songs." Amos, in condemning the hypocritical feasts of Israel, cried out, "Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs."\* The older brother of the prodigal son, "as he came and drew nigh to the house . . . heard music and dancing."† Great triumphs were celebrated with a song. The grape gatherers and laborers at the wine presses enlivened their toil with singing. A love song is found in Isa. v, 1, and Psa. xlv is a "song of loves." The marriage festivities were enlivened with singing. Music was also turned to idolatrous purposes, for Joshua heard the "noise" of them that sang and danced before Aaron's golden calf. Isaiah affords us an interesting and instructive picture in chapter xxiii, 15, 16: "After the end of seventy years shall Tyre sing as a harlot. Take a harp, go about the city, thou harlot that hast been forgotten; make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered." Amos bitterly denounces the wantonness and effeminacy of Israel—they "that chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music, like David." The power of music in arousing patriotism was well understood by Jehoshaphat, who, "when he had consulted with the people, . . . appointed singers unto the Lord, and that should praise the beauty of holiness, as they went out before the army." This was the occasion when the riches of the enemy were so great that Jehoshaphat's army was three days in gathering up the spoils.

From the very earliest ages music has been the handmaid of religion. Max Müller pictures the prehistoric Aryan fam-

\* Note the sarcasm in "noise." For other instances of this sarcastic use of the word, see Exod. xxxii, 18; Ezek. xxvi, 13.

† Συμφωνίας, "music;" καὶ χορῶν, "and dancing together with singing."

ilies as gathered about their altars at early morning and singing or intoning, with hands upraised, their chant to the god of the sun. This union of music and worship was peculiarly characteristic of the Hebrews.\* We are told that, after David had "made him houses in the city of David, and prepared a place for the ark of God, and pitched for it a tent," he made arrangements to have the Levites carry it to its place and minister before it. His arrangements in regard to the music are then described at length, and were elaborate. Among all else he assigned a large body of musicians to each of the chief musicians, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun. The whole "number of them, with their brethren that were instructed in the songs of the Lord, even all that were cunning, was two hundred fourscore and eight." These were divided into twenty-four groups, generally of twelve each, who assumed charge of the musical part of the services in turn.

In the eighteenth year of his reign Josiah prepared a solemn passover. Great preparations were made. The king and the leading men all gave freely of their substance, that it might be a success. "And the singers the sons of Asaph were in their place, according to the commandment of David, and Asaph, and Heman, and Jeduthun the king's seer; and the porters waited at every gate; they might not depart from their service." This compulsory attendance of the musicians shows us how important their services were considered. In this instance "there was no passover like to that kept in Israel from the days of Samuel the prophet."

Women took occasional part in the temple services. In the second temple the whole congregation did not usually sing, but joined in the amen. In the Hallel they repeated the first line of each verse, and after the second line fell in with the "Hallelujah." At the dedication of the city wall Nehemiah appointed "two great companies of them that gave thanks." By many this is considered an instance of "antiphonal" singing, the first instance of "antiphonal"—more correctly "alternate"—singing seeming to be the song of Miriam's company of women in answer to the song of the men, when Exod. xv, 1, was sung by men, and verse 20 by women, in answer.

\* 1 Chron. vi, 32; xv, 16, 19; xvi, 5; 2 Sam. xix, 35; Ezra ii, 65; 2 Chron. v, 13.

Another early example seems to be the singing of the women in 1 Sam. xviii, 7, where they "answered one another as they played, and said, Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands." Alternate singing was also performed in such cases as in Psalms xxix and cxxi.

The services when "man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets," as has before been suggested, were incomplete without singing. We read that after Josiah was killed Jeremiah lamented for him, "and all the singing men and the singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations." And Amos says, "They shall call the husbandman to mourning, and such as are skillful of lamentation to wailing." Many, especially women, made a profession of mourning at funerals or other solemn occasions, and must have been very successful at inducing sadness, for Jeremiah calls for "mourning women," and adds, "Send for cunning women, that they may come: and let them make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our eyes may run down with tears, and our eyelids gush out with waters."

*The Psalms.*—From a musical standpoint these compositions present many features of interest. The word "psalm" (*ψαλμός*) has two meanings. The first is the music of a stringed instrument; the second a song sung to the accompaniment of such music. The Hebrew, *mizmor*, rendered "psalm," is prefixed to fifty-seven psalms and denotes a psalm with the accompaniment of instruments. *Shir*, meaning "a song," and either preceding or following *mizmor*, is the general term for a song. It occurs thirty times in the titles of the psalms. "Shiggaion," the title of Psalm vii, comes from a verb meaning "to wander away," and is supposed to refer to the musical setting, indicating no doubt a much freer, perhaps an agitated, style of music. The prayer of Habakkuk is "set to Shigionoth." There are fifty-five psalms to or for "the chief musician." "Selah" occurs seventy-one times in the Psalms and three times in Habakkuk. Almost all the psalms in which "Selah" appears are "for the chief musician," and no doubt were intended to be sung. If this is the case, "Selah" is clearly a musical term. The word is of so great antiquity that its meaning is lost. Hebrew tradition gives it



the meaning "forever," which has the disadvantage of not "making sense." Modern research derives the word from a root meaning "to raise." This would signify a louder accompaniment, or an interlude during a pause by the singers.

The titles of many of the psalms refer to musical setting or instruments:

"On Neginoth" (iv; vi; liv; lxvii; lxxvi) means "on stringed instruments."

"On Neginah" (lxi) means "on a stringed instrument."

"On Nehiloth" (v) means "on wind instruments," probably flutes.

"On Alamothe" (xli) is supposed to mean "for maidens' voices"—that is, soprano.

"On the Sheminith—that is, "eighth"—(vi; xii) no doubt means the octave lower, referring to tenor or bass.

"On Gittith" (viii; lxxxi; lxxxiv). This is a feminine adjective from Gath, and refers either to some Gittite instrument or to a Gittite song.

"To Jeduthun," or, as the Revised Version has it, "after the manner of Jeduthun" (lxii; lxxvii), probably refers to a melody composed by Jeduthun, or to some peculiarity of his in rendering the music. In the title of Psalm xxxix Jeduthun is given emphasis by the words "To the chief Musician, *even* to Jeduthun."

We find that much of the music of the temple services was adapted from the popular songs of the time, since many of the titles of the psalms are taken from the names of tunes or from the first words of songs. Psalm xxii is set to the tune *Aijeleth Shahar*, "the hind of the morning." Psalms xlv and lxix are set to *Shoshannim*, "the tune of the lilies." Psalm lx is set to *Shushan-eduth*, "the lily of testimony." Psalm lxxx is set to *Shoshannim-Eduth*, "lilies, a testimony." Psalm lvi is set to *Jonath-elim-rechokim*, "the silent dove of them afar." Psalms lvii, lix, and lxxv are set to *Al-taschith*, "Do not destroy." This is also thought to be the vintage song of Isa. lxxv, 8. Psalm ix is set to *Muth-labben*, "Die for the son"—but this latter is considered doubtful.

*Schools of Music.*—Up to the time of David we find but few traces of a systematic cultivation of music. In the schools of the prophets which Samuel organized, music seems to have been cultivated. We are given a hint that David had "singing men and singing women" about him, for Barzillai,

when pressed to make his home with David, said, "I am this day fourscore years old: . . . can I hear any more the voice of singing men and singing women? wherefore then should thy servant be yet a burden unto my lord the king?" Solomon was also a patron of the art, saying, "I gat me men singers and women singers, and the delights of the sons of men, as musical instruments, and that of all sorts." He was also a prolific composer, for "his songs were a thousand and five." The general conclusion from Ezra ii, 65, where he says, "There were among them two hundred singing men and singing women," seems to be that there was an equal number of each, and that they sang alternately. These singers formed a distinguished class, and were given maintenance. "It was the king's commandment concerning them, that a certain portion should be for the singers, due for every day." Cities were also assigned to them, for we read that "the priests and the Levites, . . . and the singers, . . . dwelt in their cities." We are given no information on the methods of teaching music among the Hebrews, but our biblical type of music master is Chenaniah, chief of the Levites, who "was for song" and "instructed about the song, because he was skillful."

The following table from Nelson's Bible illustrates in a clear and forceful manner the temple service of praise:

<i>Performers.</i>	<i>Instruments.</i>	<i>Function.</i>
Priests.....	Trumpet and Cornet.....	Processions and feasts.
Orchestra of Levites }	{ Psaltery (Lyre or Lute) .. Harp (or Viol)..... Flute..... Cymbals.....	{ Treble. Bass. Occasional use. To keep time.
Choir.....	{ Levites Boys... Women }	{ Ordinary and antiphonal singing.
Congregation.....		Amens and responses.

In the second temple a platform was occupied by an orchestra of at least twelve instruments—nine harps, two psalteries, and one cymbal. Occasionally the organ (flute) was added.

*Conclusion.*—The ancient Hebrews never succeeded in raising music to the standard of a real art, and, in view of the universal use they made of it, it is remarkable that there was so little development of it. Their musical instruments were

practically the same in A. D. 70, when the Romans sacked the great temple at Jerusalem, as they were in the days of Jubal. The little triangular harp of Jubal's time, the *kinnor*, suffered some change and had had several strings added. Its companion instrument, the shepherd's pipe, had developed into several subvarieties, and trumpets had been brought into use. This was the sum total of development in about fifteen hundred years.\* The early music of the Hebrews is of little practical moment to this generation, but its historical interest is great. They knew and appreciated the great value of music as an expression of emotion, and in joy or sorrow tuned their hearts to a song. In their beautiful temple services they truly worshiped in "the beauty of holiness."

As for the times of the New Testament, music was then of much less moment to the Hebrews than formerly, and hence the references to musical instruments are somewhat meager and of slight interest. Even when the subject is mentioned, the allusion is not specifically to music, as "the last trump." The language of the New Testament is of course not that of the Old, and in mentioning musical instruments and kindred subjects perhaps it was not possible to find an exact Greek equivalent for the Hebrew, while the music and instruments of Palestine must have been modified by later developments in the art. At all events Hebrew music had become too cosmopolitan to afford much present interest as a special study.

\* It is of interest to note that many of the master minds in music have since been of the Hebrew race.

*J. H. Simpson*

## ART. III.—THE TWENTIETH CENTURY PREACHER.

THE ideal preacher has been realized but once in history, and, should he appear now, would not be recognized as the man of the hour. As before, he would be "despised and rejected of men." Our purpose is simply to name a few of the distinctive features of the Gospel preacher which the nineteenth century has produced and projected into the twentieth. Nor do we mean to assert that this product is common. Every century has its anachronisms. Ghosts of the past haunt the present, and are trying to scare us into the belief that the rejuvenescence of the future can be secured only by lying in the skeleton embrace of death. Antiquated systems frequent a new age like withered hags, clad in decaying garments dripping with mold and emitting the odor of the sepulcher. The mediæval priest crosses the threshold of 1901 counting his beads, reciting his *Pater Nosters* and his *Ave Marias*, and kissing his holy relics. Scribes and Pharisees of every age come enforcing their dogmatic and ecclesiastic narrowness as the ancient truth of God and the only hope of the future. Antediluvians are here with the spirit of Cain, worshipping nature and endeavoring to recover their lost Eden by their own works. The odor of antiquity is easily mistaken for the incense of the sanctuary, and there are multitudes who fear that in turning from the past they are turning from God. The new man, the minister of the hour is a lonely soul, and can in some measure understand the profound pathos which is found in our Saviour's utterance, "Behold, the hour cometh, yea, is now come, that ye shall be scattered, every man to his own, and shall leave me alone: and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me."

A distinctive feature of the twentieth century preacher is a mind released from the thralldom of dogmatical and ecclesiastical authority. The last century has witnessed a remarkable reaction on the popular heart from the lifeless forms in which religions thought had congealed. The Augustinian theology which had dominated the greater part of Protestantism had lost its vitality. Mighty as it once was—as when it hurled "the

sovereignty of God" against the pretensions of the papacy and thus secured liberty of conscience for the individual; and, again, when under the massive genius of Edwards it swept like a rushing wind over the heart of New England—it had during the last century fossilized into a rigid system of logic, incrustated with endless definitions and exhausting polemics. Quite as dead was Arminianism in the English Church before the Wesleyan revival. It is thought by some of our best students that this form of theology was a political expedient adopted in England to differentiate the Anglican Church from the rest of Protestantism and yet not identify it with popery. The elements of truth that lay in the system could not have saved it, unless it had been disengaged from the political and sacerdotal fungi that were eating out its life.

The Oxford movement, which originally sought to recover a dying Church by a return to the sacerdotalism of Rome, was like an attempt to appease hunger with shells from which the meat had been taken. The form of religious thought—if, indeed, it can be called a form of thought—which has been so singularly fatal to the life of nations, and so feeble in the elevation of communities could not be commonly received as the bread of life. In England the reaction soon came, and its force was soon spent. Dr. Watkinson says that in many of the Romanizing churches the attendance is small, and when such churches are popular the congregations have little or no sympathy with the ideas which find expression in novel gestures and symbolism, and the innovation is endured with more or less impatience. From dead and deadening theologies the heart was sure to revolt. The prophets and conservators of this revolt were of widely diverse characters. On the one hand were men like Martineau, Maurice, Emerson, Channing, Romanes—great hearts who preferred to cross the circle of prescribed opinions and brave the perils of the outlying infinite, rather than to choke in an atmosphere thick with the dust of ages. On the other hand were men like Wesley, Bushnell, Brooks, Moody, Booth, Bruce, who believed the life could be found within that circle, if they would only go back far enough toward the center, where they would find in conscious experience the great truth which reason failed to prove.

Thus, both from within and from without the orthodox circle there has arisen a distrust of all human interpretations of divine truth.

This distrust has furthermore been strengthened by the trend of events in politics and commerce which have trampled under foot ancient traditions and have moved steadily on in the very face of priestly anathemas. The martyred heretics have proven to be the world's light bearers. The most efficient evangelists have been those who were the least encumbered with metaphysical and theological systems. The most sublime characters—sages, seers, and saints—have spoken out of the most opposing schools of thought. The area of divine truth is too great for any individual to cover. The quarrels of the ages over conflicting systems have led us to suspect that we have overlooked the full significance of the commandment, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image." It is a remarkable fact that while Rome seeks to save her life by affirming her infallibility Calvinism would save hers by either burying or modifying her confession. One effort is as vain as the other; for religion is not a creed but a life—a life infinite in its adaptations to every people and to every century, varied and changing in its forms according to the material and the conditions on which it works.

Theology is not Christianity, but only a form of thinking it. If it be no more than a correct form of thought, although the river of life pours into it, it is a Dead Sea in which no living thing swims. On the other hand, the true life often thrives in a wrong theological system. It is this conviction that has liberated the twentieth century preacher from the thralldom of traditional theology. We do not say that scientific theology is doomed in the world. The closing years of the nineteenth century have not witnessed, as Comte prophesied, "the utter extinction of theology and the enthronement of the *Grand Être*." On the contrary, these years have proven to be a period of the reconstruction of theology. Its changing form does not mean decay, but unfolding life. But the very fact that it is changing proves that it is not yet perfect. Science is systematized knowledge; and, before theological or any other science is complete, it must not only have all the facts, but

must know those facts in all their causes and consequences. In short, it must be omniscient. This fact alone releases the mind of the preacher from slavish faith in the divinity of any form. Nevertheless, for us to affirm that he has no form of theology at all would be for us to deny his intelligence. Every active mind demands some intellectual shaping of the great facts of spiritual life. Nor can it rest while these facts lie in chaotic disorder. They must be systematized. But the preacher's system is not his final appeal. To make it so would be for him to claim to have exhausted the infinite, and to do for the living truth what the Pharisees did for the living Mosaism, who made their temple the sepulcher of their faith.

Another trend of the religious thought of the last fifty years which has given distinctive character to the preacher of the twentieth century is that faith should rest on historic fact, rather than on speculative theory. Hostile thinkers were alarming the Church by appealing to history. Our preachers were charged with preaching what was essentially the Gospel according to Paul, and misnaming their Paulianity Christianity. Renan said that the real danger to Christianity was not metaphysics but history. It was there that Strauss and others pitched their camp and set their guns. It was a fortunate alarm, for it led to a reexamination of the historic foundations of our faith. An appeal came to us like the voice of a prophet, "Back to Christ." There has never been a time since the apostolic age when Christ has been so earnestly and so universally studied as during the last half century. Never have so many and so able historians written the story of his life. It has been repeatedly told in the form of fiction, and poets have put it in rhythmical verse. Popular monthly magazines and weekly journals have told the old story in thoughtful and systematic order. This new study came like a fresh descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Church, and has given character to the age. It has been happily called "Johannine," which describes a more intuitive perception of the glory of Christ and a greater simplicity and depth of Christian thought and experience than characterized the Pauline or the Petrine era.

The preacher who is awake to the time has come to believe

that the one thing essential to the salvation of the century is the "Me and my words" of the gospels. He preaches Jesus—not the scholastic and the ecclesiastic caricature which has been too often thrust upon the consciences of the people and is as unlike the real Redeemer as is the painted effigy over the altar of a Romish church, but the historical Christ, his character, his work, and words. Everything, whether of thought-activity or morals, is brought to this final test for consideration and settlement. There is perhaps nothing that will explain the many excellencies of the distinctively twentieth century preacher as these two words, "Jesus only." Here lies the secret of the vitality of his ministry. It is intensely personal. The preacher believes that he is not merely to preach about Jesus, but to preach Jesus. His chief mission is not merely to present a great salvation, but a great Saviour. He cannot safely separate the thing he teaches from the Teacher. We do not question the fact that what Jesus taught is true even when separated from him. But it is truth in the abstract, beautiful as a statue and as cold and lifeless. To give a single illustration, Jesus once said, "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it." We all assent to it; but whose life does it influence? We go on in the old way, every man selfishly trying to save his life. It is a practical untruth. But in Jesus that truth becomes a living verity. We see him welcoming poverty, not because poverty is good, but because he would enrich the poor. We see him shortly after his transfiguration, when he might have ascended up on high, "steadfastly" setting his face "to go to Jerusalem," choosing to die that others might live. From the struggle of Gethsemane he goes calmly to the cross. Then it is that the truth incarnated glows with all the charm of life. Now, by his impersonation of it, it lives in the breast of millions who see that a life given to others is the highest life. And so of everything he taught. He embodies all in his own magnetic person. It is in the charmed circle of this personality that the preacher lives. And that calls out everything that is noble and joyful in him. It awakens slumbering endowments and brings them forth in rich thought and glad songs. It discovers to him his better self, and fills him not



only with a desire to be divine, but also with a conviction that he can be so and a determination that he will.

This vitalizing effect of a personal union with Jesus is furthered by the habitual study of his words, which the preacher believes he is called to preach. There is something in the words of Jesus which is not easy to explain, by virtue of which they flow into our lives like that river which, parting into four heads, went out of Eden to water the garden. The secret is not to be found merely in what he said, the words he spoke. Many of these in one form or another may be found hidden away in the old law or psalms or prophets or the comments of the great rabbis. Aye, some of the loftiest utterances of Jesus had been spoken by rare spirits outside of the recognized circle of faith, and centuries before he came. His mission was not to say new things, but true things. But, when he says them, they come like something new. They throb with the might of his own personality. They awaken slumbering divinity in us. Like the spirit, they "quicken." He himself explains the mystery, "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." Augustine says that what Jesus meant when he spoke these words was that they were the statement of spiritual truths in distinction from historical and scientific truths. But there is certainly a larger meaning than that in this strong utterance. He makes his words not merely the carrier of spiritual truth, but they bear somewhat of the very spirit that created them: "My words are spirit. It is the spirit that giveth life." His words come to the receptive soul like the breath of the Creator in Adam's nostrils. They carry not simply the thoughts of the Redeemer, but they are the bearer of his own life which he communicates to us in his utterance and so re-creates himself anew in us.

Another very characteristic feature of the last half of the nineteenth century is a strong current of materialism which has poured through the age with disastrous results. Its flotsam and jetsam are secularization of piety, despair of faith, and wreck of morals. It arose chiefly out of the stupendous discoveries which science has made in the realm of nature and the still more stupendous application of those discoveries to practical uses. Never has the world witnessed such sudden

and enormous changes in its material wealth and consequent social conditions as those that have occurred during the present age. The extravagant fictions of the Arabian imagination are the sober realities of our day. Science has discovered the Aladdin lamp and how to command its genii. Obeying the first command, "Subdue the earth," it is rapidly fulfilling the divine purpose, "Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet." The forces of nature have become our willing servants and are relieving us from the curse of slavish toil. The old image of our drudgery, "The shoulder to the wheel," has been changed to "Touch the button." How rich we are! The average man of to-day lives in the enjoyment of comforts of which the most luxurious princes of the centuries past did not even dream. Does he want gardens with fountains, lakes, and winding avenues? Here they are as free as the air he breathes. Does he want the breath of the hills? The chariot is at the door, drawn by the steeds of the sky. Does he want books? The library is free, his for the using. The elves of the air tell him the story of the world's yesterday while he eats his morning meal. The springs of the mountain pour their streams into his room. The lightning turns his night into day. The sun paints his pictures. The orchards, vineyards, pasture fields, and granaries of every nation lay their treasure on his table. Such is the opulence of our civilization. But material prosperity has its perils. Ascribing its progress to the intellect of man, its temptation is to deify reason and debase faith. It emphasizes the outward good, to the neglect of the inward; and earthly wealth is often the sod that lies on buried simplicity, purity, and joy. It creates a false measurement of personal worth, making success the gauge of a man. It lowers our ideals, discarding the old-fashioned notion that virtue is peerless and exalting the rich man as the noblest work of God. It carries its method into the house of the Lord. Organization passes for piety, bustling activity for holiness, generous giving for consecration, æsthetic ceremonial for worship. The pulpit becomes the platform for literary, scientific, and humorous lectures on "up-to-date themes." The kitchen, the parlor, the stage are features of the holy house.

The club invades the church. The result is a lamentable secularization of holy things, in which we fail to distinguish what is of the world and what is of God. Far be it from us to say that this has been the universal condition of things in the time of which we are writing. In some respects this age has been unparalleled in many centuries in the depth and breadth of its work for Christ. Yet there can be no question but that the nineteenth century has been troubled by the destructive sweep of a resistless cyclone of secularism.

The philosophical justification of the dominating secularization of life is materialism. Although it has been called a science, most of its tenets are hypothetical statements, rather than proven facts, and are utterly lacking in scientific classification. The inchoate cult is better called an intellectual drift. For this reason it is difficult to seize or resist. Like Laodamia, we may think we clasp a body,

But unsubstantial form eludes our grasp.

Its basis is the ancient atomic theory which reduces the universe, including God, to the atom and motion. Spirit, soul, life, character, love are only "a heap of dust." That godlike being we call man is resolved into physiological chemistry. The crucible and the microscope explain him. Life is only matter in motion—"aquosity." Soul is no more than a vibration of the cerebral nerve, a music which has no existence aside from the strings which evoked it. It differs from the animal, not in its kind but in the measure of its nerve forces. As the sun is the giver of all kinds of force—vital and nervous, as well as mechanical and chemical—the life of the soul is the sun. Thus this modern atomist builds anew the ruined altars of Assyria. O Baal! Ideas are changes in the gray matter of the brain, their clearness and force being proportioned to the quantity of phosphorus and other chemicals it contains. Pharmacy explains the scholar. That imperial thing we call the will is but a current of electricity. Moral character ceases to exist, and ethics is simply a question of voltaic batteries. Conscience is automatism, and character a chemical product. Religion is self-delusion. The only immortality, as Moleschott states it, is that "when the body is

disintegrated its ammonia, carbonic acid, and lime serve to enrich the earth and to nourish plants, which feed other generations of men." This, then, is the sum of this high imagination of modern secularism; out of the atom we came, chemistry is our career, and our destiny is compost.

From this withering atheistic materialism there has already come a powerful rebound. The pendulum is swinging over to the other extreme of idealism, which affirms that the unseen alone is reality and the seen is only its expression. Spirit is the cause, and matter is the effect. "Spirituality" is the word of the hour. How ready the age was for this new thought is seen in the eagerness with which the hungry heart turns to the many tables on which is supposed to be spread the "hidden manna." That weird *olla podrida* of oriental religion and occidental science known as "theosophy" has had an astounding growth, and that in spite of the exposed fraud of its great prophetess. Studies in the occult are not only fascinating the intellect, but are commanding the heart's devotion. There men are erecting their altars. The followers of spiritism are numbered by the million. "Metaphysical science" has become a Church, with a membership that is phenomenal in its rapid increase and in its sweet contentment. Books on the immanence of God, psychic phenomena, and the power of silence are of a high literary grade, and are having an enormous sale. Professors in our universities are making special studies in the psychology of spirituality.

The effect of all this on the preacher of the Gospel who is sensitive to the temper of the times is to convince him that he must live in conscious personal union with God. His life is the constant inhaling of that Spirit by which originally man became a living soul. No system of thought or order of worship or mode of behavior, however correct it may be, can be a substitute for the life of God in the soul of man. The subjective features of spirituality are not easily defined. The phenomena of life within the sphere of the soul seem to belong to that class of occult themes which do not come in the category of common thought. The word "life," even in its simplest and most obvious sense, has not yet been satisfactorily defined. How, then, can we unveil this Isis who sits

enthroned in the profound depths of our being? One thing, however, is sure—spiritual life is not to be identified with any particular form of emotionalism or intellectuality or moral behavior. It interpenetrates and gives character to them all, “bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.” Nor is it sufficiently accurate to say that it is a life like Christ’s which we attain by a laborious imitation of him. It is his very own imparted to us by his Spirit, as we impart our thought and feeling to others, enriching them without impoverishing ourselves. It is, first and chiefly, “Christ in us.”

There are three features of this inner life which our century is emphasizing. The first, which distinguishes it from the spirituality of the Mystics, is that it values this outer world as the expression of the immanent God and the sphere of the soul’s activity. Not in the caves of Thebais or the cells of the monastery, with their night-long vigils and wasting austerities, does the spirit of man find its divinest ideal, but where Christ found it—in the household, by the wayside, in the market place, in the scenes of recreation, or in the place of toil. The true preacher of the century is, in the right sense of the word, a man of the world, who becomes holy, not by giving up his horses, but by writing on their bridles, “Holiness unto the Lord.” Though his citizenship is in heaven he cannot separate himself from this world. He enters into its politics, its education, its benevolences, its social and business relations. But in doing so he contributes in his measure toward bringing down to earth the heavenly city, the New Jerusalem.

The second feature of his spiritual life is practical morality. A word commanding attention in these latter days is “ethics.” It expresses a healthful movement of religious thought. We prefer it to the more common word “morals,” because it is deeper and states more accurately the true relation of conduct to religion. The Latin word *mores*, “manners,” simply describes behavior. The Greek word is “character,” including conduct but tracking it back to its spring. It is suggestive of the Sermon on the Mount, which lays bare the fatal defect of conduct regulated solely by rule—incomplete, delusive, slavish. True morality has its root, its liberty, its perfection in religion.

Religion is not a mere gush of pious sentiment, but a rugged principle of truth and duty. It is life that issues in conduct. Indeed, it is the act that is the final test of character. But, while that is true, Jesus has very little to say about the details of conduct. He rarely tells us in the great moralities what we shall and what we shall not do. We have often wondered why he did not speak more definitely about the great abuses, such as drunkenness, slavery, dice and other games, or the immoralities of trade. Instead of that he gave us great life principles, leaving it to the individual conscience to make the application of them to the incidents and occasions of life as they might arise. To borrow an illustration, Christ's directions are not finger posts on the roadside, which are of service only in the place where they are set up, but rather a pocket compass which rightly used and understood will give a man his bearings everywhere and always. That is life.

And that is the third feature of spirituality which our century emphasizes—liberty. We are free, not to do wrong, for that would be enslavement indeed; but, by virtue of the inner life of holiness, we are free to do the thing we wish. As Dante was told by Virgil when about to enter Paradise,

Take thy pleasure for thy guide henceforth;

Free and upright and sound is thy free will,

And error were it not to do its bidding;

Thee o'er thyself I therefore crown and miter.

Another characteristic feature of the time which has given color and tone to the preaching of the century is brotherhood. It is by no means a new idea in the world. It was dreamed by the classics; but their most extravagant dreams were hardly a hint of what the close of the nineteenth century has realized. It was clearly taught by Jesus; but the limitations of the common thought made it possible for none but the noblest minds to accept it. It staggered even such men as Peter and James. Later, the idea was debauched by becoming the battle cry of passion. Fraternity was lost in communism. But the divine idea has been spoken and emphasized during the past hundred years as never before in history; and we believe that this century is to witness a wonderful

approach toward its realization. Many and varied have been the forces which have contributed to this end. The sciences have done much. If steam and electricity have not literally annihilated space, they have certainly compressed this world and brought its parts into closer touch. The traveler makes the tour of the world now as quickly and with greater comfort than he could have traveled from Boston to San Francisco one hundred years ago. And during his journey he can pause and converse with the dear ones at home. Geographically the nations are not wide asunder. The other country is simply my neighbor's garden. Physiology and anatomy demonstrate the identity of the human species. Ethnology affirms the essential unity of the race. Philology confirms it. More and more is science assenting to St. Paul's declaration that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." Amid a great variety of men, there is but one humanity. Commerce is another factor in affirming the kinship of man. However selfish it is at heart, and however conscienceless it often is in its methods, it has made it impossible for the nations to live in isolation. China is an instance in point. Commerce has proven to us how needful we are to each other. Our daily wants must needs be supplied by the gifts of all the lands. We cannot live apart. Another thing which serves this end is the spirit of exploration and colonization which possesses the heart of all the civilized nations. If it were the glory of the fifteenth century to discover continents, it is the glory of the nineteenth to explore and more fully occupy them. Livingstone, Speke, Schweinfurth, Stanley are names of our time. The ambition of nations is no longer to unfold their individual life within the limits of their own territory. Their outlook is world-wide, and expansion is their law. Many of us believe that we are in the dawn of the day which is to realize the confederation of the nations. Literature has been another factor contributing to the growth of the passion of brotherhood. All the great poems, dramas, romances breathe a spirit that is cosmopolitan. Goethe, Shakespeare, Dante, Molière, Balzac, Camoëns, Longfellow, and all the goodly company which held the pen of genius belong not alone to a nation but

to the world. In the literary Pantheon the Immortals are from every clime. The modern study of the religions of the world, wide apart as they are, also emphasizes the absolute oneness of man in his spiritual being. Everywhere he has the same sense of sin and guilt, the same premonition of penalty, the same feeling that relief is obtained only by sacrifice, the same aspiration for the divine. Wherever the Gospel of Christ has been received, it works the same sublime regeneration and holiness of heart and life as among us who have come into it by generations of culture.

The effect of all this on the preacher is to fill him with the missionary spirit. "Wise men who know the time" have learned that the very law of the Churches' life is service. The luxury of selfishness is a deadly disease like a cancerous growth, which, while it enlarges, is eating out the very life both of the individual and the community. The luxurious minister—"up-to-date" as he believes himself to be—is only the deserted shell of the chrysalis. His venerable traditions, his splendid ritual, his dignified conventions are an empty sepulcher; and the only real service we can hope from him is that he will soon give his carcass to fill it. This is not an age for the expenditure of our strength in erecting pyramids or cathedrals, but in founding libraries, schools, hospitals, asylums, dispensaries, missions, which will help a struggling people out of their poverty, ignorance, vice, and misery into that divine manhood which is their birthright. This is the temper of the time, and he is the true preacher of the age whose heart is most in tune with this spirit. Browning strikes its keynote when he says:

The man most man, with tenderest hands,  
Works best for men, as God in Nazareth.

In closing our study of the preacher who enters this century, we cannot refrain from some denominational pride that the Methodist Episcopal Church has inherited or acquired so little to prevent our preachers from answering the highest demand of the modern world. We are not encumbered with an antiquated doctrinal system. The tenets of our faith are preached in every evangelical pulpit, and require no labored adaptation to the culture of the age. While we have an elab-



orate organism our genius is against the idolatry of any ecclesiastical form which would prevent the adjustment of our administration to every fresh requirement. Our Church originated in a hunger of soul for a genuine spiritual life ; nor has it forgotten the dream of its youth. Its ideal of holiness has become the aspiration of multitudes of leading spirits outside of the sphere of the denomination. It has from the first been a Church of the people and for the people. In exceptional instances where it has attempted to pamper to a class it has had a precarious existence and found itself out of harmony with its environment. It has always been missionary, both in spirit and practice. Its very soul is evangelism, and it believes the *dictum* of its founder, "The world is my parish." Truly, the Methodist preacher who aspires to meet the requirement of the age need seek no more favorable environment than that of his own denomination.

A. H. Tuttle.

## ART. IV.—AN INDICTMENT AGAINST MORMONISM.

THE Mormon hierarchy was never more thoroughly united and determined than now. The term "hierarchy" is used advisedly, as will be manifest in this article. The Mormons call themselves a "Church," but they are not such in the true signification of that term. In opposing them we are not antagonizing a Church, but rather a socio-political propaganda of the most virulent and vicious type.\* Multitudes of people throughout the East believed that with the entering of Utah into the sisterhood of States the offensive features of the system under review would pass away and be heard of no more. Those who were acquainted with the system by actual contact therewith felt morally certain, and did not hesitate to declare, that there was no real intention to give up any essential feature or abate one iota of zeal for its propagation. In the light of the most careful and thorough observation on the field during the past three years we unhesitatingly affirm that never before have the Mormons been so eager and determined as now in pushing their work, not merely in the far West, but in the South and East.

The influence of the Mormon hierarchy upon legislation is second only to that of the Roman hierarchy. Instead of being "a case out of court" Mormonism is one of the burning questions before both Church and State in these opening days of the twentieth century. That our readers may know more of this iniquity we present the following indictment:

First: The system had its origin in deceit and fraud. Engaged in digging a well near Palmyra, New York, in September, 1819, were Joseph Smith, Sr., and his two older boys. Loitering about in company with other idlers was Joseph Smith, Jr. The family was destitute of good name, but young Joseph was remarkable for shrewd cunning, and had won a large following among the clans. On this occasion he picked up a peculiarly shaped stone and carried it away to his wretched

\* The writer knows whereof he speaks, for it was his privilege to spend two years in educational work that brought him into frequent contact with the various phases of Mormonism before Utah became a State; and his present position places him in the city which is now, and has for several years been, the chief center from which are sent out missionaries all through the vast Southland.

home with an air of great mystery. He professed to see marvelous sights by looking through this stone. The others were greatly excited. Soon he began to see great chests and kettles of gold hidden away in the earth. Men ridiculed him at first; but he persisted until men and money were forthcoming to carry on the digging. One of the conditions revealed to him by an angel was, that no one should speak during the digging. Thus early did this "first prophet of Mormonism" have "special revelations" direct from God.

Notwithstanding the failure of seven or eight years of intermittent effort in unearthing these hidden treasures—some mishap always destroying the charm when they were just on the point of grasping them—dupes were plentiful, and the fame of these "diggings" became more than local. But this could not last always. Some new tack was necessary. During the summer of 1827 a stranger came often to Smith's house, and seemed very intimate with Joseph. At about this time the younger Smith also professed to have a wonderful vision. The angel of the Lord appeared to him, while engaged in secret prayer in the woods, and proclaimed to him that all the Churches were in error, but that to him should be revealed the true "way of life." Then there came another angel revealing to him the astonishing fact that he was to be the instrument of the "new revelation." These visions continued until he was finally commanded to go alone at a secretly fixed hour of an appointed day to a certain spot and dig out of the earth a metallic book of great antiquity and of lasting consequence to men, it being nothing less than a record in mystic letters of the long-lost tribes of Israel, which no human being but himself could see and live. To him also was given power to translate this wonderful book, which should become a supplementary Bible, or "God's newer revelation to men." At the time designated in the revelation Smith started off with every appearance of solemnity, and after some three or four hours came back with something closely wrapped in a large cloth. The tales he told about the miraculous occurrences while engaged alone in the digging rivaled anything his most superstitious listeners had ever heard. "Legions of devils," he declared, "disputed every inch of ground."

The query very naturally arises as to whence came the so-called "Book of Mormon," which was afterward published and which purports to be a translation of the golden Bible found in the hill near Smith's house. It possesses a large degree of literary merit, and entirely surpasses the powers of so illiterate a man as the pretended prophet. Taking into account the circumstances connected with the coming of the stranger to Smith's house, just previous to his wonderful "change of visions" from seeing gold to seeing a new Bible, and correlating them with other facts which it is needless to relate, the conclusion is almost inevitable that young Smith purchased from the stranger a stolen manuscript and concocted the scheme of "*finding*" the mysterious metallic book and by supernatural aid translating it. He worked faithfully many long and weary weeks, hidden away alone, translating the strange "divinely illumined" letters. When at last the translation was complete, namely, when Smith had copied such portions of the purchased manuscript as suited his purpose, and filled in such other matter as completed what he wanted to foist upon the people, dupes were found ready to accept it as divine and money was freely subscribed to publish it. As will be seen from these well-authenticated facts of history, Mormonism was conceived in deceit, born in fraud, and cradled in imposture.

Second : The first twenty years of the history of the Mormons is one of cumulative meanness and social ostracism. The reader need not long delay upon this proposition. Soon after the publication of the new and wonderful book the better class of people became disgusted with Smith's pretensions to supernatural power and threatened to see for themselves the marvelous metallic book, whereat he fled into Ontario County. There the professors of the new faith prospered for a little time; but in less than a year they became obnoxious to fair-minded men and were constrained to depart for Ohio. Mormon missionaries were sent out, full of zeal for the cause, "indued with power to speak in unknown tongues, exercise the gift of prophecy, heal the sick, and perform all manner of miracles." The same hard fate attended them in Ohio, by reason of their iniquitous practices, and in about a year Smith had a remarkable

revelation from the gods directing them to go to Missouri. There, in 1832, *The Evening and Morning Star* was established and began spreading Mormon doctrines broadcast throughout the entire region. The people became so exasperated that on July 20, 1833, they resolved upon the expulsion of the Mormons from their midst. They demanded that the *Star* office be at once closed, and that the Mormons immediately leave. The saints demurred, but the people demolished the printing office, and gave two of the leading Mormons a coat of tar and feathers. Some fled across the Missouri and some returned to Kirtland, Ohio. Here, in 1835, the first quorum of twelve apostles was ordained, one of whom was Brigham Young. The occurrence of greatest moment, however, was the finishing of the temple in March, 1836. It was constructed at a cost of forty thousand dollars, the amount being an immense outlay for one building in that day and region. The money was extorted from the faithful in various ways—largely by appealing to their love for the dead. Smith taught that it was necessary to salvation to be baptized in a Mormon temple, but that the living could be baptized for the dead. Of course they were anxious to remove their dead relatives from purgatory as soon as possible, so that willing hands hastened the work by voluntary toil and money came freely.

What was known as "The Danite Band," or the "United Brothers of Gideon," was formed and placed under the leadership of one of the apostles. This incipient army, it was confidently predicted, would one day subjugate the whole earth. They, however, possessed more the character of marauders and assassins than of good soldiers. The region was infested with burglars, and murders became exceedingly common. These "Danites" have been one of the chief instruments, during all subsequent years, for visiting sure and swift destruction upon those of their own number seeming liable to apostatize, and upon troublesome Gentiles. About this time Smith received a most wonderful revelation direct from heaven enjoining polygamy. Only the apostles and foremost elders were at first informed of this supreme revelation. It will thus be seen that although the popular thought of to-day regards Mormonism and polygamy as almost synonymous terms,

this was by no means the root whence Mormonism sprang, but an aftergrowth, having its germ in the licentious character of the founder. Soon the opposition proved too great in that region for the leaders, and a convenient revelation directed them to Nauvoo, Illinois. There their record is even darker. Smith and his brother were finally shot by the mob in the Carthage jail, whither they had been taken for safety. The twelve apostles being now supreme, a quarrel arose between the foremost two, Brigham Young and Sidney Rigdon, as to who should be president. Young proved more than a match for Rigdon, and on being recognized as the spiritual and temporal head of the Church cut off all dissenters and "delivered them over to the devil to be buffeted for a thousand years." In September, 1849, they had become established in Utah, and President Fillmore signed a bill organizing Utah Territory. Brigham Young was made governor. From that time to the present they have gone on increasing not only in numbers but in iniquity, whose stench has reached the nostrils of all the civilized peoples of the earth.

Third: Their peculiar social customs are not only so revolting as to forbid detailed description, but are rooted in their fundamental doctrines. None but those who have actually resided in those regions, coming into constant contact with the influences of their "peculiar system" and into frequent business or professional relations with it, can understand Mormonism. Let the reader be again reminded that this article speaks from personal observation. Those who visit Salt Lake City or any of the larger centers see Mormonism in company dress. Neither time nor expense is spared in case their leaders think a good impression can be made upon a representative man from the East. All the evil features are kept under cover. Their publishing houses and popular publications are freely shown, but not their secret books of doctrine. Their great houses, fitted up in superb style, having every convenience and luxury of the genuine Christian home, are thrown open with lavish hospitality. The most tactful efforts are constantly made to convince visitors that their domestic system is the sweetest and most harmonious ever known. But to see the typical Mormon habitation one must go into the smaller

towns where there are few Gentiles. There one often finds families of from two to five wives and dozens of children crowded into two or three large rooms and a loft. To even think of such herding of human beings under the sacred name of "home" is to outrage all the better instincts of our natures; to describe it fully no writer will dare.

We know no better way to let in the sunlight of truth without offense than to state a few of the fundamental doctrines of Mormonism on this subject and let the reader infer the inevitable results in actual life. No Mormon missionaries ever divulge these doctrines. They never show their sacred books when one is visiting their publishing houses. They will stoutly declare that there are no such doctrines. They are taught that to lie to a Gentile when it will help Zion is praiseworthy, and that when a Gentile tells an unwholesome truth concerning their system it will greatly aid the faithful Mormon to win celestial glory if he declares the Gentile a liar. The writer has frequently encountered their missionaries and heard them brazenly assert that he lied, when he has stated that they held such doctrines as those presented here and subsequently. But this is what we might expect from men who have been chosen for the "high and holy calling of a missionary" because of their zeal for the Church and evident faith in her doctrines including "no faith with Gentiles," as above declared. They lay down the following as three fundamental tenets: (a) There are a great many gods; (b) All the gods are polygamists; (c) The head of every polygamous family will in eternity come to be a god and have a celestial kingdom, the extent and glory of which will be proportionate to the number of his wives and children. Let the reader carefully note the sequence of these doctrines and draw his own conclusions as to why polygamy cannot be eradicated from this monstrous system. The children are thoroughly indoctrinated, while the proselytes from other regions are generally uneducated and readily accept the teaching of zealous catechists. Moreover, when going through the endowment house, or, in other words, being initiated into Mormonism, they are sworn to obey the priesthood in every least particular.

The orthodox Mormon fully believes that Jesus had several

wives and that he himself cannot be Christlike unless he has several. They teach that every saint who is commanded to enter into polygamy by the priesthood and refuses will be eternally damned. Many a man who loves the wife of his youth with sacred loyalty and would sacrifice every earthly consideration rather than violate the holy bond by taking another does so because not to enter into polygamy is to lose heaven. Having once launched upon the slimy sea, he is prone to take on all possible sail, to the end that his celestial glory may be very great. Thousands of faithful wives who would gladly endure every conceivable physical torture, rather than have another wife brought into the house, patiently submit in order to make sure of entering heaven, and incidentally in order that their husbands may shine as resplendent as others in the new Jerusalem.

It is almost impossible to comprehend the absoluteness of the power such a belief exerts over multitudes and how completely, together with other tenets, it holds them soul and body in a bondage of nameless misery. The following are two extracts from their authoritative deliverances: "When I trifle with the priesthood I trifle with the Almighty. I forfeit my salvation and every blessing I possess." "To me the word comes as the word of the Lord. He will come in flames of fire and will take vengeance on them that know not God and do not obey his priesthood and the power he has placed on earth."

As before indicated, it is not our purpose to say much about polygamy, but to leave the reader to draw his own conclusions. Nearly every writer and speaker dwells upon this feature of the system. So generally is this course pursued that most people have been led to think that this is about the only crime which the Mormon system fosters. But nothing could come farther short of the truth. The worst that has ever been written concerning polygamy has utterly failed to describe it as seen in practice in the smaller towns and country regions, not only in Utah but other sections; and yet lust is only one item in this bill of indictment.

Fourth: The Mormon system of extortion is more galling in many respects than that of the worst governed countries of



Europe during the Middle Ages. In those countries the rank and file were robbed under the semblance of civil law enforced by open violence. Under this system they are robbed by the hierarchy, whose mandates are enforced by secret violence and threats more terrible to the faithful than death or physical torture. By this practice of extortion the coffers of the propaganda are kept full, and at any time the president can command all the money needed to influence legislation, send out missionaries, pay the traveling expenses of the thousands they gather from the far-away East and South and even Europe, and do anything else that the interests of Mormonism demand. We are not now speaking of the "tenth," about which so much is written. They do not stop with a tenth. They often demand a fifth or a third, and woe unto the Mormon who fails to meet every demand. Sometimes by a special revelation from heaven "two thirds" is named as the Lord's share, and it must be forthcoming on pain of death.

The reader doubtless queries as to how the leaders can find out every man's income. We reply that not only is this known to the priesthood, but all his affairs besides, provided they are of sufficient importance to call for reporting. Their system of espionage is equal to, and in many particulars surpasses, that of the Jesuits in the darkest days of the Inquisition. This is a grave charge to make concerning a class of people in free America, but it is the literal truth. How do they do it? As follows: Here is a Mormon city, large or small as the case may be. It is divided unto wards, every ward is divided into districts, and over every district is placed a "teacher" so called. He is chosen on account of his faithfulness to Zion and his special fitness for the work. He is not a teacher in any true sense of the word, but a spy. He is not merely privileged but commissioned to know all the secrets of every household and of every person's affairs in his district. All the district teachers in a ward report to the ward bishop, All ward bishops report to the central bishop, who is very apt to be the mayor. Wherever Mormon majorities are sufficiently overwhelming this system is worked vigorously. Where Gentiles are numerous it is worked as fully as possible, and to the extent of their power they watch the Gentile

families also. Every teacher acts as a spur to every other one. Favoritism or negligence is next to impossible. Even zealous private individuals act as a guard upon their teachers. If any teacher fails to bring any member to book he may be degraded to the ranks, and some eager informant put in his place. Let the reader take note. This system cannot be fully and openly carried out where Gentiles are numerous. Moreover, Mormon missionaries and leaders of all grades will declare on oath that no such espionage exists anywhere. The reader is also reminded that these same leaders have solemnly sworn to uphold the priesthood in everything, and that they believe a lie either to or about a Gentile is honorable, and a help toward heaven, if the falsehood is calculated to benefit the Church.

Suppose, now, some man gets an advance in wages from a dollar to a dollar and a half per day, but continues to pay in only ten cents per day. The teacher will soon find it out and report him. He will be "warned," and perhaps a heavy money "penance" be exacted. Some wife becomes dissatisfied because her husband is planning to take another. He has been unable to convince her that the interests of his "celestial kingdom" demand the additional spiritual wife, and so he appeals to the teacher. She is warned, and if still incorrigible is reported to the ward bishop, who visits her; and if the case is one which lighter threats will not cure, she is reminded of the doctrine of blood-atonement through the operation of which her life will be taken if she persists in her opposition. In many instances such have persisted, and have been "missing;" but generally this awful threat conquers. Some poor proselyte who has listened to the smooth tales of a missionary and has come on from the East or South filled with the hope of better pay for labor and greater opportunities for advancement, assured that none of the peculiar exactions reported against the system by the "wicked Gentiles" will be put upon them, has awakened to the wretched reality and wants to get away. Her discontent becomes known to the teacher. Warning is given. Escape is almost impossible. The writer has had some bitter personal experiences in endeavoring to rescue such sufferers from an unforeseen bon-

dage worse than death. What mediæval despotism could equal this ingenious system?

Fifth: Mormonism teaches treason against the United States government. The following is the verbatim testimony given by one who had escaped from the Morimons concerning one of the oaths administered during the endowment house ceremonies:

We were therefore sworn to cherish constant enmity toward the United States government, to do all that we could toward destroying, tearing down, or overturning that government, to renounce all allegiance, and refuse all submission. If unable to do anything ourselves toward the accomplishment of these objects, to teach it to our children from the nursery, impress it upon them from the deathbed, entail it upon them as a legacy. To make it the one leading idea and sacred duty of their lives, so that the kingdom of God and his Christ, the Mormon Church and its priesthood, might subdue all other kingdoms and fill the whole earth. Curses the most frightful and penalties the most barbarous were threatened on nonfulfillment.

Any man who has been much among the Mormons knows that from infancy their families are carefully trained in accordance with these teachings. Moreover, wherever Gentile influence does not prevent, their preachers most persistently inculcate these doctrines. The following is an utterance taken down as it was spoken by one of their foremost priests:

God is greater than the United States, and when the government conflicts with him we will be ranged under the banner of heaven and against the government. The United States says we cannot marry more than one wife; God says different. We had no hand in the business. It was all the work of God, and his laws must be obeyed. If the United States says different, the saints cannot obey it. We do not want to rebel against the United States. Rebellion is not on the programme; but we will worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences. We want to be friendly with the United States, if the government will let us, but not a jot or a tittle of our rights will be given up to purchase it. Polygamy is a divine institution. It has been handed down direct from God. The United States cannot abolish it. No nation on earth can prevent it, nor all the nations of the earth combined.

And yet men of sturdy common sense seem to have been caught by their pretense of doing away with polygamy. Credulity gone daft! The only way to account for it is to

assume that those thus deceived have not known how thoroughly this doctrine is wrought into the very fiber of the orthodox Mormon's being. Of course they would profess to do away with it; and because it would give them a better chance to break away from all federal authority at a period later on, they would lay aside the open practice of polygamy for the present and win celestial favor by perjuring themselves for the good of Zion.

Treason is proven, but let us look again. "The kingdom of God is an order of government established by divine authority. It is the only legal government that can exist in any part of the universe. All other governments are illegal and unauthorized. Any people attempting to govern themselves by laws of their own making, and by officers of their own appointing, are in direct rebellion against the kingdom of God." This is the very essence of treason, the very core of nullification. Within the memory of most of us blood and treasure beyond all price were freely laid upon the altar of the Union. Have we so soon forgotten? Have we given the sovereign powers of statehood to a territory which is dominated by self-confessed traitors? This lust of power seems even more all-consuming among the leaders, the older hierarchy, than does the lust of the flesh.

Sixth: The Mormon hierarchy are systematic murderers, in the name of their gods and for the good of their so-called "Church." For many years it was a great mystery what became of so many of the proselytes who were known to have become dissatisfied after entering Mormondom, but of whom nothing further could ever be learned, either by old friends East or searchers on the ground. The same mystery hung about the disappearance of numerous Gentiles, who were known to have entered those regions, but from which they never emerged. In other instances they were known to have been murdered. It was no very uncommon occurrence at that time for some person to be found dead in an alley or out among the sagebrush. It was an exceedingly uncommon occurrence for even a suspect to be arrested. Many times we Gentiles were morally certain that the Mormon leaders knew all about who did the bloody work, but we were powerless

where the mayor, aldermen, policemen, and, in fact, nearly all officers were Mormons. Such murders are seldom ever heard of by the outside world. The mystery was, however, dispelled when it was discovered that one of the sacred doctrines of Mormonism is that of blood-atonement, whereby this horrible practice of murder is provided for. We quote enough of it to show the reader what it is:

There are sins that can be atoned for by an offering as in ancient days, and there are sins that must be atoned for by the blood of man: All mankind love themselves, and let those principles be known by an individual and he would be glad to have his blood shed. This would be loving ourselves unto an eternal exaltation. Will you love your brothers or sisters likewise, when they have a sin that cannot be atoned for without the shedding of their blood? That is what Jesus meant. That is the way to love mankind. This is loving our neighbor as ourselves. If he needs help, help him. If he wishes salvation, and it is necessary to spill his blood upon the ground in order that he be saved, spill it. . . . Did not Moses kill an Egyptian and put him under the sand, and have not we, the only people of God, just as good a right to kill a Babylonian and put him under the sod if the interests of Zion demand it?

Now with these teachings before him, let the reader call to mind the system of espionage above detailed, and he may be able to form some conception of the power of the Mormon hierarchy over both the persons and property of their subjects. He will also see how easily any obnoxious Gentile can be gotten out of the way. Let the mayor of the city or the president of the village be a Mormon priest, as is very commonly the case, and let the aldermen or the members of the village board be leading preachers, as they are almost certain to be in the smaller towns. Under these conditions the policemen or constables or sheriffs are sure to be true and tried Mormons. A teacher has given warning to some dissatisfied wife, but she has not heeded the admonition. The ward bishop has visited her, but still she gives signs of apostatizing. A council is held, and it is decided that she shall be blood-atoned, in order to save her soul. If there are but few Gentiles in the town or city, not much secrecy is observed. Almost any man may be commissioned to do the deed. But, if Gentiles are numerous, some Danite, policeman, or constable is

detailed to shed her blood. In due time it is done. There is no escape. From highest official to sacred executioner every man has done his sworn duty. The blood of the slain is upon all of them, but such blood only makes illustrious crowns and extensive dominion in the New Jerusalem more certain for the perpetrators. A Gentile is thought to be undermining the faith of his Mormon neighbors or in some way to be inimical to Zion. As before stated, the teacher who has charge of the district within which he resides has an eye upon him. Report is made. A more careful watch is instituted. If suspicions are confirmed, the same proceedings are entered into as in the former case, only much more cautiously, and in process of time that Gentile "bites the dust." His death is shrouded in the darkest mystery, and if any trouble is feared from the Gentiles large rewards are offered by the Mormons for the arrest and conviction of the murderer. As a matter of course he is never found.

These are not supposititious cases. Hundreds of such murders—"legalized killings"—have occurred. We mean just that. By actual count hundreds of them, where the neighbors or friends were entirely convinced that they were committed in the name of one of Mormonism's most sacred doctrines. But to undertake to prove it would be to jeopardize their own lives, while even if the most absolute proof could be furnished no jury could be found to convict. We might give numerous instances of the working of this bloody doctrine, from the waylaying of an innocent prospector, who seemed likely to encroach upon the claims of the saints, to that of one of the most beautiful wives of a leading missionary who had shown signs of insubordination during his absence; for any man who lives among the Mormons, and keeps eyes and ears open, will come to know that they visit these judgments upon all classes, as the interests of the system seem to demand. But we turn with horror from even the contemplation of such sickening crimes, feeling that every count in our indictment against Mormonism has been fully sustained.

*G. E. Ackerman*

## ART. V.—MISCELLANEOUS PROTESTANT BLUNDERS.

THIS paper, as its name implies, is meant to be a hodge-podge. We have already dealt with the central Protestant error respecting the Church of Rome, namely, that the pope is supposed capable, by his mere arbitrary act, not only of putting a man out of the Church, but, by this mere fact, out of a state of salvation. This error perhaps turns the whole Roman Catholic system of doctrine more thoroughly topsy-turvy than any other, as it is almost the worst of all in its influence on Protestant feeling. There is left, however, an infinity of prevalent blunders.

Roman Catholic theology is so vast and so widely ramified a system that—distinct as are its great lines and forming principles—it is hardly within mortal power to master it wholly. A learned divine, to whom the writer once remarked that, so far as he could see, almost no one could draw the line with perfect certainty in his Church between dogma and opinion, laughingly rejoined, “You might have left out the ‘almost.’” It is really amusing to see with what calm confidence writers of opposite schools will say of some proposition, “This is of faith,” when other men of equal learning and standing will declare it to be mere opinion, and perhaps ill-founded at that. Indeed, the learned Recollet friar Chrismann complains bitterly of such arrogance, which especially distinguishes what Newman calls “an aggressive and insolent faction.” We shall therefore try to treat nothing as a blunder which does not run against the main current of Roman Catholic teaching, as this may be ascertained out of any familiar Theology or tolerably extended Catechism.

To begin with what is first in our mind—a blunder fundamental but not in the least complicated with ill will—Dr. Charles A. Briggs, in the *New World* for June, 1897, says this, “The Roman Church does not recognize the validity of any orders but her own.” The writer could hardly believe his own eyes when he first saw this quoted in the *Sacred Heart Review*, and does not wonder that the editor uttered a loud exclamation of astonishment. A reference to any Theol-

ogy, or to the *Catholic Dictionary*, or to Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon* would have shown the author that Rome acknowledges unhesitatingly the validity of orders in the Greek Church, the Armenian, the Nestorian, the Jacobite, the Coptic, and has never seriously questioned that of the Church of Utrecht, which, indeed, the pope officially describes as "certain schismatical bishops," thus owning the reality of their episcopate. He does not call the Anglicans bishops of any sort, we believe. Rome requires for valid order only unbroken succession, sufficiency of rite, and sacramental intention. Jurisdiction is needful for its regularity, but not for its validity. Say Wetzer and Welte, "We do not question Anglican orders because they are heretical, or because they are schismatical, or because they are excommunicate, but because they come through a broken succession, and are transmitted by insufficient rites." The pope, in the *Apostolica curæ*, lays out his whole strength—we should rather say his whole weakness—on the latter point. He assumes, provisionally, Barlow's previous consecration, and, arguing on this assumption, signifies that even if Barlow were heretical as to orders the Edwardine ordinal, if explicit in a Catholic intention, might perhaps be owned as coercing the consecrators into a valid transmission of the episcopal and sacerdotal character. That the whole question has been settled negatively by the secession of England from Rome is something which has never entered any instructed Catholic head. As the *Catholic Dictionary* says, in the Middle Ages invalidity and irregularity were continually confused, but since the Great Schism, St. Augustine's doctrine, always maintained by the great teachers of the Western Church, has been fully reestablished, namely, that neither heresy nor schism invalidates order, if only it has unbroken succession, adequate ritual, and ecclesiastical intention. Nay, Pope Leo seems to intimate that the last may possibly be dispensable, provided the ritual is so thoroughly explicit as to secure what theologians and the pope himself call "external intention."

To make the matter worse, the Roman doctors—though not all Roman Catholic doctors—ascribe to the Eastern Church, as Döllinger points out, not merely true order, but the power of



the keys, or spiritual jurisdiction. This implies a true mission, from lawful superiors. The whole matter was thus summed up to the writer by his friend, the late Bishop Richard Gilmore, of Cleveland, an Ultramontane of the Ultramontanes: "We own the Greek, Monophysite, Nestorian, and Old Catholic Churches as having true orders. We own the Greek, Monophysite, and Nestorian Churches as having jurisdiction. We own the Anglican Church neither as having true orders nor jurisdiction." The same author, in the same paper, says, speaking of the Roman view of the English, the Scottish, and the Lutheran Churches, "They have no valid ministry, no valid sacraments." This seems to treat the latter defect as involved in the former, which is true of five sacraments, but not of the other two. Baptism has no dependence on order, and marriage only a contingent dependence. Rome teaches, not, as often said, that lay baptism is sometimes valid, but that it is always valid. Indeed, her claim to jurisdiction over us rests on this teaching. To the question, Who is the minister of baptism? Catholic theology answers, "Any human being possessed of reason"—"*quilibet homo compos rationis.*" It only requires the application of natural water, actually flowing on the head, in the triune name, "with the intention of administering the rite known among Christians as baptism." It is equally valid, though not equally regular, administered in sickness or health, by priest or layman, man or woman, Catholic or heretic, Jew, Moslem, or pagan. As to marriage Trent solemnly anathematizes any who shall maintain that the ministration of a priest is intrinsically necessary to a valid Christian marriage. And as Rome has always refused to apply the *Lex Clandestinitatis* to Lower Germany and Saxony, Scandinavia, Great Britain, or the Protestant world generally, and by the very terms of this law is restrained from imposing it on them as a body, it follows that all baptized members of these Churches are, as Pope Pius VII expressly says, capable by virtue of their own rites, of contracting valid and indissoluble marriages, which being such, says Pius IX, are *eo ipso* sacramental. All these Protestant Churches, therefore—not speaking of stray offshoots—may, according to Rome, enjoy the fundamental sacrament of ecclesiastical and that of social life.

The other five sacraments, of course, depending on a valid priesthood, are held to be out of their reach.

An eminent author says elsewhere, together with another who in this department is far more eminent than he, "Rome teaches that grace is only given through the sacraments." If they had said, "Rome teaches that grace is principally given through the sacraments," it would have been true. But to say "only" is very wide of the mark. Without baptism no other sacrament, it is taught, can be validly received. "Baptism is the door of the sacraments." Yet grace can be received without baptism, and therefore without any sacrament. The proposition, "Grace is not given out of the Church," has been solemnly condemned by Rome. Nor can it be said that grace may be given to a baptized heretic or schismatic, living in good faith, but not to a Quaker, and still less to a Jew, Moslem, or a pagan. The bull *Unigenitus* knows no such limitation, nor does its now prevailing interpretation. A Roman Catholic is not held bound to say that grace is in fact given to any particular Quaker, Jew, Moslem, or pagan; but if he says that it may not be, or would, as concerns personal sanctification, limit it in form, measure, or effect, he restricts what the *Unigenitus* gives no warrant for restricting. The Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes, while still a Roman Catholic, seems therefore to have been not without warrant in questioning the liberty of a Catholic to put any limit whatever to the possibilities of divine grace outside of the sacraments. Indeed, what Clement XI expressed negatively Pius IX has expressed positively, with emphatic distinctness. Says he, in his encyclical to the bishops of Italy, under date of August 10, 1863:

We and you know that those who lie under invincible ignorance as regards our most holy religion, and who, diligently observing the natural law, and its precepts, which are engraven by God on the hearts of all, and prepared to obey God, lead a good and upright life, are able, by the operation of the power of divine light and grace, to obtain eternal life.

We use Cardinal Newman's translation. This authoritative declaration, addressed to the bishops of the central Catholic nation, and evidently intended *urbi et orbi*, plainly teaches—probably not *ex cathedra*, but in absolute consonance with

present theological consent—that the grace of eternal salvation itself may be rationally viewed as by no means confined within the visible limits of Christianity or of the Christian sacraments.

Within the pale of baptism, again, it is not taught that grace is only given through the sacraments. Indeed, it would be preposterous to say that grace without baptism may even bring a man to eternal life, but that if once baptized he could receive the divine spirit only through the sacraments. This would be to say that God is less bounteous within his Church than without. Theology, moreover, ratified by Trent, ascribes justifying efficacy to perfect contrition and “the ardent desire” of baptism or penance—*votum sacramenti*—where the outer rite may not be had. Moreover, Trent distinguishes the sacramental reception of the Eucharist, the spiritual reception, and the spiritual and sacramental, and ascribes to the last two the same benefit, though presumably in unequal measure. And, say the theologians, while the Eucharist sacramentally can by a layman only be received at most once a day, it can be received spiritually whenever his pious affections are turned toward it, and thus may as a continuing benefit become the vehicle of far greater grace than by the outer reception.

Preaching is not a sacrament, nor even a sacramental. Yet the orthodox bishop Massillon has an essay entitled “Preaching a Greater Mystery than the Eucharist.” In the thirteenth century Saint Louis IX contended against his weaker brother-in-law, our Henry III, that to hear preaching may be more edifying than even to hear the mass. How absolutely inconsistent this view of the canonized king is with the notion that grace is only given through the sacraments! Moreover, it is taught that each increment of grace well used merits more grace, and so in rising measure, by a sort of spiritual compound interest. Thus every internal movement of purity, devotion, benevolence, and every external good work proceeding from it is at once an expression and a channel of grace. The initial point and the principal sustaining force, it is true, are commonly found in the sacraments, yet the chief increments of grace may be received extrasacramentally. And, as we have seen, it is held to be

probable that in some cases—the Jesuits would rather say many cases—grace from initial justification to final glorification has been received altogether outside of the sacraments. As Cardinal Bellarmine says, “God is not limited by our merits, nor by his sacraments.” And, as a Jesuit missionary in Japan said to the Rev. Edward A. Lawrence, who asked him whether certain infant baptisms administered in the wrong form were valid, “No, the Church must have her rules; but then God is very much kinder than the Church.” This is both the teaching and tone of modern Roman Catholic theology, beginning indeed in special fullness about 1650 among the Jesuits, but swollen by a constantly augmenting and now universal current of theological consent, and at last solemnly ratified by pontifical authority.

A most curious and ludicrously blundering use has been made of this false statement as to grace and the sacraments. We have seen in more than one Protestant magazine a picture of two towers, one inscribed “Romanism,” one “Buddhism.” Each is represented as built of large blocks, inscribed in each “Monasticism,” “Processions,” “Asceticism,” “Rosaries,” and so on. One block is labeled in each, “Grace only through Sacraments,” the object, of course, being to show that Roman Catholicism and Buddhism are essentially the same thing. For so pious a purpose, of course, the ingenious artist does not allow himself to be stopped by the fact that Catholicism does not teach that grace is only given through the sacraments, and that Buddhism has no place for either grace or sacraments. Grace is a divine power given in the soul to help it toward God, and a sacrament, in Catholic doctrine, is a visible sign and channel of grace which, to a soul not in mortal sin, infallibly produces its effect. Buddhism, knowing nothing of God, and denying the reality of the soul, can have, of course, no room for either sacraments or grace. Another Protestant, equally desirous of identifying Catholicism and Buddhism, but standing in awe of Max Müller’s remark that Christianity is in principle the direct antipodes of Buddhism, compromises between his malice and his knowledge by saying “Romanism and Buddhism are almost identical except in doctrine,” which is like saying, “William and Henry are almost precisely the

same sort of men, except in character." It is usually thought that when two men or two systems differ fundamentally in character and principles all outer resemblances, however curious and striking, are of the least possible account. Whether Tibetan Buddhism borrowed its outward garb and various particulars of discipline from Catholicism or Nestorianism, or Catholicism from Buddhism, or both from Mithraism, or whether a common humanity has expressed itself in similar ways in all are very interesting and curious questions, but as far as possible from being fundamental. We have borrowed church bells from the Buddhists, but we are not therefore Buddhists. If the Catholics have borrowed rosaries from them, it is a heathenish borrowing, but it does not make them Buddhists. Such a mode of reasoning is abominable.

We have said that almost the worst effect is produced on Protestant feeling by the assumption that every Roman Catholic is supposed to hold his salvation at the will of the pope and therefore is bound, if he would escape hell, to obey every command of the pope. However, there is one popular falsehood that works more malignantly still, that strikes domestic honor in the center, and conveys an insult

That turns the coward's heart to steel, the sluggard's blood to flame.

It is repeated from one pulpit or Church paper to another that the pope has declared all Protestant marriages to be mere "filthy concubinages." The obstinacy with which this calumny is reiterated is beyond belief. Thus a noted clergyman, subsequently for a number of years a leading pastor of Boston, being reminded that the Council of Trent solemnly anathematizes those who declare that there cannot be true Christian marriage without a priest, was capable of answering that he did not know what the Council of Trent might have said, but he did know that Pius IX had declared so. This is as if a man, undertaking to explain our federal jurisprudence, and being reminded that some position of his is flat against the Constitution, should answer that he does not know what the Constitution says, but he does know what Congress has enacted, as if a congressional statute signified anything against the Constitution. Now Trent bears to modern Roman Cath-

olicism essentially the relation which the Constitution bears to federal legislation. Even its disciplinary decrees, where once published in a diocese, are imprescriptible, and can be voided only by a papal derogation, which is granted with much reserve and is never to be presumed. Its doctrinal decrees are irrevocable, and their anathemas strike every baptized person who contradicts them. Had Pius IX contradicted this anathema of Trent, it would simply have swept him out of his seat and joined him to the ignominy of his anathematized predecessor Honorius. In reality, instead of contradicting it, he completes it. The Council requires every Catholic to own that, where the *Lex Clandestinitatis* is not in force—that is, in most Protestant countries—even an unwitnessed nonsacerdotal marriage, Christianly intended, is valid. Pius IX goes further, and expects him to admit not only that it is valid but that it is sacramental. He sweeps out of court, as no longer tenable, the doctrine that the priest is the minister of the sacrament, and will only allow him, for Catholics in Catholic countries, to be a necessary public witness of the contract. Yet these foolish people who are so eager to stir up bad blood between the two religions—as if there were not enough of it already—blunderingly confound “sacramental” with “sacerdotal,” and so make the pope say the exact opposite of what he has really said.

The phrase “filthy concubinages”—which is used by Pius IX in his allocution of September 27, 1852, concerning New Granada, and also subsequently concerning Italy, soon after the introduction of civil marriage into those countries—has not only no reference to Protestant marriages, but none to those of Roman Catholics born and resident in Protestant countries. The pope is simply contending that where Catholics, knowing that in the Catholic regions the Church declares a marriage void which is not contracted before the pastor or his deputy, contract it only before a magistrate, it can only be because they wish to evade Christian obligations and under the name of marriage to enter really into a mere concubinage dissoluble at pleasure. With a few very restricted exceptions this requirement of Trent has never been applied to Protestants, or to Roman Catholics native in and resident of Protestant

countries. The pope, therefore, not only has no reference here to either, but he cannot have had. There are, indeed, Protestant marriages which the prevailing Roman schools must regard as void, but which they are very far from treating as "filthy concubinages." Thus, if two baptized Protestants have the same great-great-grandparent, or are related by marriage within this degree, or are godparent and godchild, in all these cases a marriage between them, being undisputed, is regarded by almost all Roman Catholic divines as null. Yet they never call a marriage agreeable to natural morality "a filthy concubinage," if contracted in good faith. On the contrary, the canon law declares the offspring of all such marriages legitimate. There is only too much uncertainty in the application of this principle, but the principle itself stands firm. No one is so unreasonable as to imagine that Protestants are to be expected to suppose it necessary to apply to Rome or her delegates for a dispensation in such cases, of which they are commonly ignorant, which, moreover, could not easily be granted to them if they did ask for it. Such marriages are held as abstractly null, but not as impugning the moral purity of those who contract them, or as prejudicing the rights of their children. Practically, they are regarded as legally and socially valid, though sacramentally void. Even where an invalid marriage has been contracted in good faith on one side only, as apparently by Agnes of Meran in marrying King Philip Augustus, no difficulty has been made as to declaring the children legitimate. The vast majority of marriages between baptized Protestants, however, have been by innumerable decisions of Rome, resting on the express command of the Council of Trent, pronounced valid, sacramental, and indissoluble. Indeed, so jealous is the holy see of prejudicing this validity that where the Protestant husband or wife of a now Catholic wife or husband has been baptized—but with a doubt remaining as to the value of the baptism, while there is no doubt on the other side—Rome directs that the decision shall always be for validity *in ordine ad matrimonium*. Therefore, if the Protestant, becoming a Roman Catholic, is then provisionally rebaptized, a renewal of conjugal consent is not required nor encouraged.

We admire the genius which packs a great deal of truth into a few words ; and we ought, after a sort, to admire the genius which packs a great deal of falsehood into a few words. There is one statement of fourteen words, from a noted preacher, late of Boston, which contains as many falsehoods, and has done as much mischief as ought to satisfy the ambition of any mischief-maker living or dead. It is this, "Rome pronounces null and void every marriage not declared by one of her priests." Let us enucleate the misstatements of this brief proposition. And first, Rome, through Innocent III, confirmed by unbroken previous and following consent, declares all marriages of pagans, Jews, Moslems, not contradicting Christian morality, even though diverging from the positive law of the Church, true marriages and, so long as both parties remain unbaptized, indissoluble. Secondly, in every region which has been Protestant since 1563, and in its Protestant colonies, all Christianly intended marriages of baptized Protestants are declared valid and sacramental. Thirdly, in a great part of the Roman Catholic world, nonsacerdotal marriages between Catholics and baptized Protestants, not contracted in fraud of possible offspring, and therefore not a mere cover for unfruitful sensuality, have been papally declared valid and sacramental. Fourthly, in almost all Protestant regions non-clerical marriages between native and resident Roman Catholics are declared by Rome punishable indeed, but valid and obligatory. The only notable exception to this is the once Catholic belt extending from the west line of Georgia through to the Pacific. Here, for Roman Catholics, the *Lex Clandestinitatis* binds. Fifthly, where, as in France, a Protestant minority had their own system organized before the law of Trent was proclaimed, their marriages are allowed to be valid. This explains why, when the French government receded from its long disavowal of these marriages, the bishops gave Louis XVI thanks for restoring the Protestants to their rights. Sixthly, in Malta, where the *Lex Clandestinitatis* remains by treaty with the Knights of St. John a part of the civil code, the pope has granted a general dispensation from it in case of all Protestant marriages. Seventhly, under the *Lex Clandestinitatis* itself it is not necessary for validity that the priest should



declare anything. If he remains mute ; if he is carried to the wedding by force ; nay, if he covers his eyes and ears, after once having a glimpse of the intent of the contracting parties, it has been decided that the marriage holds good. His presence in this case is essential ; his personal action is not. Eighthly, even under the law of Trent it is not essential that a priest should act. The ministers of the sacrament are the consenting parties ; the pastor is only a "public witness." Once instituted in the diocese, therefore, if a bishop, or in the parish, he is at once competent to ratify a marriage, whether yet ordained or not. His deputy, it is true, must be a priest. Ninthly, even where the *Lex Clandestinitatis* is in force, Catholics may contract a nonclerical marriage, before witnesses, if for a month there is no general access to authorized clergymen within the region. We do not suppose we have remembered all the calumnious falsehoods bound up in the sentence of fourteen words before quoted ; but we have already more than one to every two words. The reverend author has therefore an unquestionable right to lay claim to a special afflatus and assistance from the Prince of Darkness in inditing it.

It is refreshing to turn now to a statement, apparently erroneous indeed, but not informed with malice. A correspondent, writing some time ago to *The Outlook*, asks whether the opinion ascribed to Ballington Booth's Volunteers, that marriage is a sacrament, does not verge dangerously on Catholicism. The editor reassures him, saying that, as he understands, the Volunteers have an opinion of marriage quite the reverse. This is puzzling. Rome teaches that Jesus Christ, leaving marriage the same in substance as before, but retrenching these which were previously allowed, divorce and polygamy, has raised it to a new spiritual dignity and made it the channel of specific graces, especially for its proper ends. She therefore calls it a sacrament. "Quite the reverse" of this is what we have read in a paper published in Spanish by the missionaries of a Protestant Church. The article denies that marriage is a spiritual companionship, defines it to be a mere bodily association, and jeers at the opinion of its religious dignity and intrinsic permanence as a mere popish superstition. A great divine of our country, also, has lately, in a leading magazine, rebuked the

churches for not being willing to submit themselves, ecclesiastically no less than civilly, to the decisions of the State in matters of marriage and divorce. He accounts it presumption in them, even in the dispensation of their spiritual privileges, to refer themselves to the law of Christ. In this matter Christ is to have no authority in his own Church unless he can obtain the countersignature of Cæsar. Now these opinions are unquestionably "quite the reverse" of the teaching of Rome. But then these opinions are plain heathenism. The missionary and the divine, as to their doctrine of marriage, are not Christians at all. Are we to believe that Dr. Lyman Abbott and Ballington Booth are heathens too? Assuredly not. It is morally certain that both these gentlemen while widely diverging from a great many applications and hard delimitations of the Roman doctrine, agree heartily with the substance of it. Dr. Abbott, indeed, has been willing to incur from unbelievers, in the Church and out of it, the reproach of anarchism by insisting that the mind of God—which he finds centrally in Christ—is the only source of either ecclesiastical or civil authority. Opposing atheism and heathenism so vigorously at large, it is certain that he would never give way to it in this vital quarter. Indeed, *The Outlook* has reported with evident sympathy a proposal to make divorces *a toro*, indeed, somewhat mere facile, but, as soon as possible, to abolish divorces *a vinculo* altogether. This is to stand, in fundamental principle, with Rome.

Nor have we any reason to believe anything but that the Volunteers also would abhor both the libertinism of the missionary in the Spanish lands and the Cæsarism of our own divine. Rome, Abbott, and Booth, then, so far as we can see, stand together in the positions noted above, except that the two Protestants scruple over the use of the word "sacrament," which, however, Rome declares important for orthodoxy but unimportant for the validity of marriage. Again and again her tribunals and divines have laid down that where two baptized Christians, canonically competent, have intended, "in prevailing purpose," to contract a Christian union, not evasive of offspring and contemplated as permanent, their marriage is sacramental, whether they call it so or

not. "Christian union" and "sacrament" are in her view for validity equivalent terms. She judges that Christian Protestants do in fact, though not in word, hold marriage to be sacramental, and she seems to have the right of it. Is it said that the Volunteers, with most Protestants, hold that an absolute divorce may be granted for adultery, and perhaps for some other gross offenses? This would induce, indeed, a deep modification of the Roman view, but would be far from a reversal of it. Rome has never doubted that Greek marriages are sacramental, yet the Greek Church grants absolute divorces for adultery. The Council of Trent, while strongly affirming the Roman tenet of indissolubility, have been very careful not to anathematize the Greek opinion. Consequently, while the Western Church courts have always assumed the Roman view, the Church has never proclaimed it *de fide*. Indeed, the Uniate Greeks, though governed by Rome, also pronounce absolute divorces for adultery and the Holy See contents itself with saying, *Ipsi viderint*, "Let them be responsible." It appears then that Dr. Lyman Abbott has here been guilty of a very serious blunder indeed, but of one which, instead of calumniating Catholicism, unadvisedly calumniates himself and his fellow-Protestants—that is, the Christian majority—and puts Rome on a pinnacle of moral superiority on which she protests that she does not stand. It would be refreshing if we could have a few more of these inverted mistakes, which summon the apostolic See to defend our orthodoxy against ourselves.

Let us turn now to something entirely different, on page 689 of Volume VII of Dr. Schaff's *Church History*, edition of 1892. The author has copied as a note a passage from Dr. James Martineau, in which he is speaking of the severities of Torquemada. Martineau leans on the broken reed of Llorente's testimony, whose untrustworthiness has been sufficiently exposed by Prescott, Hefele, and others. Dr. Martineau, however, goes far beyond anything that Llorente gives him warrant for. It makes no great difference, to be sure, whether we allow or disallow Llorente's assignment to Torquemada's inquisitorship of nine thousand deaths and ninety thousand inferior punishments. As Llorente makes out the Spanish Inquisition, from its establishment in 1481 to 1808—

three hundred and twenty-seven years—to have put to death in all thirty thousand persons and punished three hundred and fifty thousand in other ways, mostly by church penances; if we assign nine thousand deaths and ninety thousand other punishments to Torquemada's eighteen years, it only leaves so much the less for the rest of the time. It would make five hundred deaths and five thousand lesser punishments a year for his time, against sixty-five deaths and seven hundred and fifty-five lesser punishments a year for the remaining duration. This disproportion is most unlikely, and can be shown to rest on false reckoning, yet we may let it go. Now for what were these ninety-nine thousand punishments, death, imprisonment, confiscation, penances inflicted by Torquemada? Llorente informs us that the Inquisition took cognizance of heresy, sacrilege, sorcery, violence offered to its own officers, immorality of its own officers, pretended orders, enticement by priests or monks of unsuspecting maidens into supposed marriage by means of forged dispensations or by a pretense of being laymen, unnatural crimes—to which we may doubtless add trafficking in forged indulgences, or relics, pretended prophecies, miracles, and the robbery of monasteries. Before long various purely political offenses were put under its jurisdiction. Now all these multiplied breaches of law or morals Dr. Martineau, by a singular flight of imagination, reduces to the one offense of heresy. "Not for offenses against the moral law," says he, "or crimes against society, but for thoughts of their own about religion, which only God and not the pope had allowed." It is plain that Dr. Martineau has forgotten, or never heard Llorente's own admonition, *Il ne faut pas calomnier même l'Inquisition*. Doubtless in Torquemada's time, when so many Jews and Moors had accepted baptism rather than to leave Spain, there were many more cases of heresy or suspected heresy than later. Yet Dr. Martineau adduces no evidence that these cases were a half or a third of the whole. They may have been two thirds, but he does not show it. Suppose Spain to have been as credulous and cruel about witchcraft as Germany, she should in eighteen years have burnt some three thousand on this charge alone. More or less, it is certain that a large proportion of Torque-

mada's punishments were for real or supposed "offenses against the moral law, or crimes against society."

Dr. Martineau next adds a clause which is not probably, but certainly, calumnious. It is, "Or for being Jews that would not be apostates." Now, in all ages Jews and Moslems were by the unwavering teaching of Rome, as unbaptized, not subject to Church jurisdiction. Mr. H. C. Lea points out how, as soon as the Inquisition was set up in Spain, the current of conversions to Christianity stopped. The Jews preferred their exemption from inquisitorial authority to any advantages they could derive from accepting baptism. Their final banishment from Spain, though heartily supported by national feeling and above all by Torquemada, was the work of neither Church nor Inquisition, but of the civil power. The reiterated complaints and continued interferences of the popes against the harshness and unfairness of the Spanish Inquisition are never directed against the impossible offense of summoning the Jews before its tribunal for refusing to change their religion. The popes aim only at protecting the already baptized Jews and Moors against what appeared to them a cruel suspiciousness of the Spaniards. The Spaniards, it is true, who thought that they knew their own affairs much better than the pope, were very imperfectly attentive to the papal admonitions that they should show greater mildness toward the newly baptized. Cardinal Ximenes stigmatizes Aragon and the pope as the two great enemies of the holy office. Rome, however, never accuses it of undertaking to sit in judgment on those who were outside the jurisdiction of the Church. An unconverted Jew, so long as these remained in Spain, was doubtless like anyone else answerable to the holy office on its civil side for contumelious treatment of Catholicism, but never for a refusal to accept it. Illustrious as James Martineau is in philosophy and ethics, he does not pretend to any eminence as a student of the later Roman Catholicism. As a Protestant and Englishman he simply picks up the slouching stories that have been our meat and drink ever since the days of good Queen Bess. The Spanish Inquisition was so bad, we think, that a few thousand Jews piled upon it are no great matter. It may be wondered, nevertheless, that

Dr. Schaff should have copied Martineau. The connection, however, will show sufficiently how far the venerable author was from any contumeliousness of intent, and that after stripping the note of all its exaggerations it still serves his purpose, which is simply to prove how unreasonable it is to compare Calvin with Torquemada. However, Dr. Schaff in one of his latest letters was kind enough to express to the writer his deep regret that he should, amid so many labors and distractions, have inadvertently copied so distorted a statement, and to promise that the matter should be rectified in the next edition. Let anyone, therefore, who reads the note in question remember that Dr. Schaff himself disavows it.

We have been considering grave matters, and turn now to a matter that is simply comical. A leading divine, speaking of the servile fear that prevailed in the *Middle Ages* and that is far enough from being extinct yet—the fear of coming directly, with filial confidence, to God—says, as we find him quoted by Mr. Usher: “Mediæval theology assumed an inherent and essential difference between God and man. So it built up a succession of mediators to fill the gap between the Father and his children, a Son to intercede with the Father, a Virgin Mary to intercede with the Son, saints to intercede with the Virgin Mary, and priests to intercede with the saints.” It is news to us that the intercession of the Son with the Father was a fabrication of the *Middle Ages*. In our simplicity we had supposed it to be a doctrine pervading the New Testament. The intercession of the mother with the Son, for the West at least, undoubtedly came to its height in the *Middle Ages*. But that the saints are principally regarded as intercessors with the Virgin is another surprising piece of news. St. Bernard, in the *Paradiso*, it is true, intercedes with Mary for Dante, and we believe we have seen some other poetical instances of this. But where has the author quoted ever found a litany of the saints which invokes their intercession with Mary instead of their direct intercession with God? We, at least, have seen a great many such forms, but we are morally certain that we have never yet seen one in use by the people which invokes the intercession of the saints with the Virgin. Her intercession is viewed as far more efficacious than theirs, but it is pre-

cisely the same intercession that is asked of all—the intercession with God, with the Father and the Son. It is never, that we can call to mind, “All ye saints, intercede with the Virgin,” but “All ye holy apostles, bishops and martyrs, all ye holy virgins and widows, St. Paul, St. Ambrose, St. Sebastian, St. Lucy, St. Bridget, etc., pray for us.”

This learned divine has built up for us a regular liturgical “house that Jack built.” According to him this is the scale: “Reverend father, intercede with the saints, that they will intercede with the Virgin, that she will intercede with the Son, that he will intercede with the Father.” If not in direct assertion we have in the complexion of the whole scheme the evident assumption that the people are held unworthy to approach the saints, the priests to approach the Virgin, the saints to approach the Son, and the Virgin to approach the Father. This is ridiculous. Every Christian is authorized to supplicate the Father through the Son. He is taught that it is profitable to supplicate God, especially Christ, through the intercession of Mary. He is also taught that it is well to invoke the intercession of the saints, not with Mary, but with God. Nor does he approach either the saints or Mary through the priests. Every Catholic, man, woman, or child, addresses saints and Virgin directly. Even when the priests lead these devotions it is not as intercessors, but as coryphei. They do not invoke the saints or Virgin for the people, but with the people. This intercession is common and mutual. Every *paternoster* of every man, woman, and child is a direct address to the Father. The priests, however, are, as we know, pre-eminently the intercessors for the people. Their central act of intercession is the mass. And this consists in offering the crucified Son himself, not to the saints, nor to the Virgin, but directly to the eternal Father. This gradation of intercessions has therefore been evoked by the author largely “from the depths of his own moral consciousness.” But the fountain of blunders is too ebullient for one treatment.

Charles C. Starbuck

ART. VI.—ALEXANDER SMITH AND THE “LIFE  
DRAMA.”

THE subject of this paper was born at Kilmarnock, Scotland, on the last day of December, 1830. In his early childhood he evinced signs of unusual promise, so that his parents desired to educate him for the ministry; but the hard exigencies of poverty compelled the lad's removal from school. He was placed in a linen factory to follow his father's trade of pattern designer. Here, amid the din of looms, the passion for poesy seized him. He soon found an appreciative and sympathizing patron in the editor of the *Glasgow Citizen*, in whose columns the first products of his literary genius caught the public eye. Through the good offices of a friendly clergyman he found access to an influential London periodical, and soon won the attention and friendly regard of such literary notables as Herbert Spencer and George Henry Lewes.

Glasgow at this period was unusually prolific in amateur poets. Smith was wont to make humorous allusion to the circumstance that upon one occasion he sat down to a banquet table with seventy other poets besides himself. In 1853 the *Life Drama* flashed like a meteor upon the literary world. The factory lad of twenty-three summers suddenly found himself famous. The poem swiftly ran through several editions, the highest literary authorities in England and Scotland bestowing unstinted praise upon it. Great expectations were aroused, and such opinions as the following greeted the new author: “Alexander Smith is a born singer, a man of genius, not a musical echo of other singers;” “It is seldom that a new work is met which furnishes such incontestable evidence of great powers by the author as the *Life Drama*;” “The most striking characteristic of these poems is their exuberance of imagery—fresh, vivid, concrete images actually present to the poet's mind thrown out with a distinctness and a delicacy which only poets can achieve;” “It is impossible to read three consecutive pages without feeling in the presence of a spirit moved with a profound sense of all forms of spiritual beauty.” The *Life Drama* was also compared by one critic



to an Italian harp, "fitful, wild, melancholy, often suggestive of something exquisitely sweet and graceful, but faint, fugitive and incoherent."

Soon after the publication of the *Life Drama* Smith received a clerical appointment in Edinburgh University, with an annual stipend of a hundred and fifty pounds attached. Here his official duties were nominal, and availing himself of his literary leisure he produced in collaboration with another poet a volume of *War Sonnets*. These were followed two years later by his *City Poems*. The publication of these later poems was the signal for the most merciless onslaught of criticism and virulent depreciation to which any poet has ever been subjected. He was boldly charged with wholesale plagiarisms. A coterie of unfriendly critics met together night after night, and by a laborious and elaborate compilation of parallel passages attempted to prove that every passage, phrase, and line, every period and semicolon were stolen outright from Shakespeare, Tennyson, Keats, and Shelley. The criticisms were coarsely cruel and brutally unjust. Smith plagiarized as the flower plagiarizes from the soil, the sunshine, the showers; as the bee plagiarizes from the flowers. Nevertheless, the critics were in positions of authority, and were influential enough to greatly injure the sale and circulation of *City Poems*, which by the fairest tests of criticism showed a marked advance upon the *Life Drama*.

Happily Smith was one of those admirably poised natures which cannot be spoiled by praise nor soured by criticism. Like every genuine poet and artist he found an unfailing source of inspiration in his love of his art:

He was one  
Who could not help it, for it was his nature  
To blossom into song as 'tis a tree's  
To leaf itself in April.

In the midst of this storm of adverse criticism he remarked to a friend, "One does feel these things, and it is queer to come out in the sunlight and walk along the street after you have read columns of violent and abusive criticism; but I find it only takes me just twenty-four hours to get over such things."

He now turned his attention to prose composition and made himself at once a new and distinct reputation as a prose writer—an achievement which finds few parallels in the literary annals of the century. He produced a most charming volume of prose idylls, entitled *Dreamthorp*. This was followed speedily by another rare volume, *A Summer in Skye*, which became very popular and contains his best prose writing. This volume was the inspiration of a romantic marriage to a young lady of the Island of Skye, where he had established a summer home. The book has been highly praised by critics for its quaint charm and sympathy with nature. *Alfred Hogart's Household*, an experiment in fiction, was published in 1866. This, Smith's first and only venture in fiction and his last literary product, was autobiographical in its character. Along with some faults in construction, it was characterized by rare grace of description.

He now turned his thoughts anew to poesy, and meditated bringing his riper and maturer powers to bear upon a great poetic composition and thus fulfill the admonition which he bestowed upon himself in such exquisite lines in the *Life Drama*:

Strive for the poet's crown, but ne'er forget  
How poor are fancy's blooms to thoughtful fruits;  
That gold and crimson mornings, though more bright  
Than soft blue days, are scarcely half their worth.

Upon returning to Edinburgh, at the close of his summer vacation in the Island of Skye, in the autumn of 1866, he contracted a violent cold which developed into malignant diphtheria and hurried him into his grave at the early age of thirty-seven, on January 5, 1867. Almost half a century has elapsed since the obscure Scotch lad emerged from the linen factory in Glasgow to find himself the literary lion of the day. We associate him with the shadowy traditions of a vanished generation, and yet were he living to-day he would be only seventy years old. As to personal traits and characteristics, he was under middle stature, with light brown hair and a placid and shrewd expression of countenance. He was quiet, free from pretense, not explosive nor aggressive in conversation. Silent and reserved in general company, with his familiar

friends he was open, frank, and convivial. One who knew him intimately remarked, "He never said anything silly or untrue." The continuance of criticism upon him, however, even after his death, is well set forth in the following verse :

No sooner was he hence than critic worms  
Were swarming on the body of his fame,  
And thus they judged the dead :

"This poet was  
An April tree whose vermeil-loaded boughs  
Promised to autumn apples juiced and red,  
But never came to fruit. He is to us  
But a rich odor—a faint music-swell.  
Poet he was not in the larger sense ;  
He could write pearls, but he could never write  
A poem sound and perfect as a star. His most judicious act  
Was dying when he did ; the next five years  
Had fingered all the fine dust from his wings,  
And left him poor as we. He died—'twas shrewd !  
And came with all his youth and unblown hopes  
On the world's heart, and touched it into tears."

As respects the merits of the *Life Drama*, upon which the fame of Alexander Smith as a poet chiefly rests, it may be conceded that the poem is deficient in dramatic grasp of subject, in metrical quality, in restraint of expression. As a dramatic narrative its parts are somewhat incoherent, its transitions are too sudden, violent, and causeless. It shows perhaps somewhat too obviously the influence of Keats and Tennyson. Yet, after suitable deductions in deference to adverse criticism, it still remains true that the poem is one of the most interesting and remarkable literary products of the century. In a cyclopedia of quotations, entitled *Living Thoughts of Leading Thinkers*, which has been compiled with exceptional literary discrimination, there are twenty-three selections from Shakespeare, eight from Tennyson, and sixteen from the writings of Smith—nearly all being taken from the *Life Drama*. It is scarcely an exaggeration to affirm that no poem has been produced in the century which contains more quotable passages, more instances of rare strength and beauty than the *Life Drama*.

But the crowning excellence of the poem as a dramatic narrative is the splendid moral purpose which pervades it.

When it was published the tone of American criticism was for the most part harsh and uncomplimentary and in some instances coarsely abusive, with an evident tincture of Anglophobia. One of the most impartial of these American reviewers, with a manifest attempt at fairness, misconceives and misjudges the entire character and purpose of the poem, after the following fashion :

Walter, the hero of the poem, is too obviously Alexander Smith breathing forth his own aspirations, pandering to his own sensuous nature, unveiling the repulsive deformities of his own moral character. The grand defect, the damning defect, of the work is in the lack of elevated moral character and correct moral teaching. How sad to find so gifted a spirit reveling in the low and base conception of a putrid heart and distempered brain.

What an amazing and what a melancholy perversion of the critical judgment. One of the most conspicuous merits of the *Life Drama* is the fact that it abounds in lofty moral sentiments, that it makes profound and impressive recognition of religious faith and principles, that it is pervaded and dominated by a lofty moral purpose.

The poem portrays most vividly those vicissitudes of sorrow and disappointment, those processes of moral disillusion, through which human souls are chastened and disciplined and refined from the dross of selfish ambitions and exalted to the high plane of spiritual aspiration and endeavor. The poet hero of the story first appears upon the scene smitten with the passion for fame, consumed with a feverish longing to create an imperishable masterpiece which will win him immortal renown.

For poesy my heart and pulses beat,  
For poesy my blood runs red and fleet.  
My soul is followed  
By strong ambitions to outroll a lay,  
Whose melody will haunt the world for aye,  
Charming it onward on its golden way.

But out of the vicissitudes of life's experiences there is slowly evolved in the soul of the hero, Walter, that spiritual transfiguration of motive, purpose, and character whereby the passion for fame and fortune gives place to the ennobling pas-

sion for righteousness. With lofty, clarified spiritual vision he exclaims :

One path is clear before us ; it may lead  
O'er perilous rocks, cross lands without a well,  
Through deep and difficult chasms, but therein  
The whiteness of the soul is kept, and that,  
Not joy nor pain, is victory.

What poet of our times has given truer, loftier expression to the overmastering passion for righteousness ?

The *Life Drama* makes implied recognition of the three moral alternatives in human life of which every man must make choice. In the parable of the prodigal son Jesus has at least suggested these three great alternatives. The first is a life of dissipation and debauchery, as exemplified in the career of the younger son, who spent all his substance in riotous living. There is again the alternative of a prudent, thrifty, self-content life of Pharisaic propriety, as exemplified in the career of the elder brother, who husbanded his material substance but dwarfed and impoverished his soul. To understand the profound significance of the parable we must put Jesus alongside the two brothers as a type of a God-centered man, suggesting to us the third and highest moral alternative—a life of entire surrender to God, fulfilling the will of God in the service of man. The second alternative, exemplified in the career of the elder brother—a self-seeking, self-centered life of smooth Pharisaic propriety—is the alternative chosen by the average man, because, for the average man, it requires no strenuous moral effort to maintain such a life. There are, however, men of open, magnanimous natures, ardently impulsive, who cannot easily content themselves with the tame monotony of a self-complacent life of Pharisaic respectability. Such men are almost forced to choose the highest ideals and commit themselves to the passionate pursuit of righteousness, or they are in peril of dropping to the low plane of sensuous indulgences, of open debauchery.

Such a man was Walter, the hero of the *Life Drama*. In the poem Smith has powerfully reproduced the parable of the prodigal son. Walter and Violet—the heroine of the story—are brought together. Under the stress of extraordinary temp-

tation these two ingenuous, ardent natures surrender themselves to the flames of passion, and fall from rectitude. Then follow the workings of remorse in the soul of Walter, in which we see portrayed most vividly the exceeding sinfulness of sin :

Hear me, God.

Sin met me and embraced me on the way ;  
Methought her cheeks were red, her lips had bloom.  
I kissed her bold lips, dallied with her hair ;  
She sang me into slumber ; I awoke—  
It was a putrid corpse that clung to me,  
That clings to me like memory to the damned,  
That rots into my being, Father, God !  
I cannot shake it off, it clings, it clings.

As there came to the soul of the despairing prodigal in the parable a vision of the blessedness of his father's house, so to Walter, in the depths of his moral degradation, there comes the majestic vision of a high and glorious manhood. Into the dark night of his remorseful despair God's ideals shine like the eternal stars. He feels the kindling of holy aspiration, of high resolve :

God is a worker,

Why work not I ? the veriest mote that sports  
Its one day life within the sunny beam  
Has its stern duties, wherefore have I none ?  
I will throw off this dead and useless past,  
As a strong runner straining for his life  
Unclasps a mantle to the hungry wind ;  
A mighty purpose rises large and slow  
From out the fluctuations of my soul.

But a more inspiring vision passes before him, the vision of that divine love which glorifies human life and transfigures duty with the light of privilege. He says :

All things have something more than barren use ;  
There is a scent upon the brier,  
A tremulous splendor in the autumn dews,  
Cold morns are fringed with fire ;  
The clodded earth goes up in sweet-breathed flowers ;  
In music dies poor human speech,  
And into beauty blow these hearts of ours,  
When love is born in each.

Life is transfigured in the soft and tender  
Light of love, as a volume dun  
Of rolling smoke becomes a wreathed splendor.  
In the declining sun.

As the consummation of the dramatic story Walter and Violet come together, with spiritualized hopes and purposes ennobled through the discipline of sorrow; and thus, with united hearts and united hands confronting the future in glad and willing surrender to God's high and holy ideals, Walter addresses Violet:

Lift, lift me up by thy sweet inspiration, as the tide  
Lifts up a stranded boat upon the beach.  
Great duties are before me and great songs,  
And, whether crowned or crownless when I fall,  
It matters not, so as God's work is done.  
I've learned to prize the quiet lightning deed,  
Not the applauding thunder at its heels,  
Which men call fame.

Our night is past;  
We stand in precious sunrise, and beyond  
A long day stretches to the very end.

*Joseph Puccock*

## ART. VII.—JOHN WESLEY, CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST.

SOCIALISM and Christian socialism are not one. The former assumes that human society is wrong, and that the whole social order needs readjustment; but, while it proposes methods for righting matters between man and man, it has nothing to say concerning the relations between man and his God. Christian socialism agrees that human society is wrongly adjusted, that the right relations of man to man are not regarded, and that in many cases they are not understood. But it also aims to bring men into right relations to God, their Father, through Jesus Christ the Saviour, and to use the pattern of Christ's life and the principles he taught in the readjustment of the social order. Socialism is sometimes called "scientific socialism" to distinguish it from Christian socialism, as though the latter is unscientific—a claim that all do not admit, because the Gospel, which is the weapon in the hand of the Christian socialist, is itself the science of character and right conduct even more than it is a way of escape from the doom of wrongdoing:

The leaders in Christian socialism have been, as they ought to have been, Christian ministers such as Charles Kingsley, Frederick D. Maurice, and Frederick W. Robertson. We also find Thomas Hughes, Ruskin, and Arthur Dennison among the lay leaders in England, where this movement began. These men undertook to bridge over the great gulf which yawned between the Church and the people, dogma and duty, preaching and practicing, theoretical and applied Christianity. They believed that the Gospel is the panacea for all the individual ills of men and for all the moral maladies of society. Their work was that of going about to do good to the bodies, minds, and homes of men, so that all the interests of humanity may be redeemed from wrong and wrongdoers. The results of their work remain until this day. The inspiration they imparted to the Church and to society in general is too great to be tabulated. As one has written, they regarded the world as "the subject of redemption."

But John Wesley anticipated very many of the aims and



methods of the modern Christian socialists. Scarcely second to, but rather as a part of his great evangelistic movement was his work as a Christian socialist. More than one hundred years before Maurice, Kingsley, and Robertson among the clergy, and Thomas Hughes, Ruskin, and Arthur Dennison among the laity had existed the "Holy Club" at Oxford. Their principles were those that most, if not all, modern Christian socialists would adopt, and are found in the "Introductory Letter" that precedes Wesley's *Journal*, as follows:

I. Whether it does not concern all men of all conditions to imitate Him, as much as they can, who "went about doing good" ?

Whether all Christians are not concerned in that command, "While we have time let us do good to all men" ?

Whether we shall not be more happy hereafter, the more good we do now ?

Whether we can be happy at all hereafter, unless we have, according to our power, "fed the hungry, clothed the naked, visited those that are sick, and in prison;" and made all these actions subservient to a higher purpose, even the saving of souls from death ?

Whether it be not our bounden duty always to remember that He did more for us than we can do for him, who assures us, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me" ?

II. Whether, upon these considerations, we may not try to do good to our acquaintance? Particularly, whether we may not try to convince them of the necessity of being Christians ?

Whether of the consequent necessity of being scholars ?

Whether of the necessity of method and industry, in order to either learning or virtue ?

Whether we may not try to persuade them to confirm and increase their industry, by communicating as often as they can ?

Whether we may not mention to them the authors whom we conceive to have wrote the best on those subjects ?

Whether we may not assist them, as we are able, from time to time, to form resolutions upon what they read in those authors, and to execute them with steadiness and perseverance ?

III. Whether, upon the considerations above mentioned, we may not try to do good to those that are hungry, naked, or sick ? In particular, whether, if we know any necessitous family, we may not give them a little food, clothes, or physic, as they want ?

Whether we may not give them, if they can read, a Bible, Common Prayer Book, or Whole Duty of Man ?

Whether we may not, now and then, inquire how they have used them; explain what they do not understand, and enforce what they do ?

Whether we may not enforce upon them, more especially, the necessity of private prayer, and of frequenting the church and sacrament ?

Whether we may not contribute, what little we are able, toward having their children clothed and taught to read ?

Whether we may not take care that they be taught their catechism, and short prayers for morning and evening ?

IV. Lastly, Whether, upon the considerations above mentioned, we may not try to do good to those that are in prison ? In particular, Whether we may not release such well-disposed persons as remain in prison for small sums ?

Whether we may not lend smaller sums to those that are of any trade, that they may procure themselves tools and materials to work with ?

Whether we may not give to them who appear to want it most, a little money, or clothes, or physic ?

Whether we may not supply as many as are serious enough to read, with a Bible, and Whole Duty of Man ?

Whether we may not, as we have opportunity, explain and enforce these upon them, especially with respect to public and private prayer and the blessed sacrament ?

The date of this writing is December 1, 1730, more than a hundred years before the Christian socialists, Maurice, Kingsley, and Robertson, began their work. But how exactly the aims of the two societies correspond. The same Holy Spirit animates the minds and hearts of both sets of men.

Christian socialism interests itself in the education of the poor. "Free and assisted education for the children" of the needy is its modern watchword. But this, as we have seen, was in the programme of the Holy Club. John Wesley was especially devoted to this object. His very first educational work was the founding of a school in Oxford. He paid the mistress and clothed some, if not all, the scholars. It was ragged school work before ragged schools were thought of. In Kingswood before Methodism had even a site for a chapel the stone for the school for the children of the poor colliers was consecrated by Whitefield and passed over to Wesley to build upon. He did so, and thus began the work of Methodist education. Although this school or its successor eventually became an institution for the sons of Methodist preachers, yet Wesley never ceased his well-begun work for the education of the masses. His school at the Foundry, under

Silas Told, was one of the very first of its kind. Furthermore, he democratized learning by writing, editing, and publishing at what seemed ridiculously low prices text-books and standard reading for the poor. His grammars, logic, histories of England and of the Church, together with his great Christian Library, form part of the four hundred and fifty-three different publications which he issued for the education of the people. Dean Farrar says, "The vast spread of religious instruction by weekly periodicals and the cheap press with all its stupendous consequences were inaugurated by him." This same broad-minded dean says: "The British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the London Missionary Society, even the Church Missionary Society owe not a little to his initiative. . . . He gave a great impulse to both national education and to technical education." In initiating an American Methodist college at the first Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church our fathers only followed their leader, who interpreted God's command to love him with all the mind as one to be obeyed. Wesley was no believer in the dogma that "ignorance is the mother of devotion," while his motto for Kingswood School is still good for any school or scholar, "For the Glory of God, the Service of His Church, and of the State."

Christian socialists of to-day work for the emancipation of the white slaves of the factories and the sweatshops. John Wesley had not to meet these conditions. There were no great factory problems in his day. But African slavery existed, and into that evil this social reformer thrust his sword up to the very hilt. What cared he if "Lady Huntingdon trafficked in human nature and George Whitefield held slaves." He roused himself in behalf of the poor trampled bondsmen, denouncing slavery in general as "the sum of all villainies," and American slavery in particular as "the vilest that ever saw the sun." His very last letter was written to that other Christian socialist, who did not know he was one, William Wilberforce, encouraging him in his parliamentary work for the emancipation of slaves. Miss Braddon, in her recently published book, *The Infidel*, represents Wesley as silently approving of Whitefield's purchase of more slaves, because he

did not then and there protest against slavery. But, having received more light on Wesley's attitude toward the abomination, she promises to remove the passage from further editions of the book.

The twin evil of slavery was and is drunkenness. Like some other early temperance reformers Wesley was not himself a teetotaler. He used wine and beer in moderation; but ardent spirits, the distillers, the venders, and the drinkers thereof as a beverage he most ardently denounced. Some of the strongest utterances against drunkards and drunkard-makers came from his tongue and pen. The swearer is preached to, and is then pressed with a special tract, as is also the smuggler. How much the British government saved by his little tract, "A Word to a Smuggler," it would be impossible to tell. He preached and wrote against the evils of his day. He also expelled from his Societies those who would not heed his warnings and desist from such wrongdoing. The briber and the bribe receiver also shared the same fate. "Show me thy faith by thy works" was his motto. He sought to make men good citizens of earth, as the very best preparation for citizenship in heaven.

Christian socialism undertakes the task of showing the rich their duties and privileges toward the poor. Unlike scientific socialism it does not believe in the equalization of capital, but it does believe in its moralization. Wesley spoke out on this subject as boldly perhaps as any man of his day. He has also written on this subject. His sermons on "The Use of Money," "The Good Steward," and the "Reformation of Manners" are good socialistic tracts for these modern times. We wonder such Christian socialists as Professor Herron does not often refer to them. Wesley first spoke and then wrote burning words on the wrong use of money, and illustrated his sermons by his own daily life of caring for the poor. The rules of the Holy Club, as we have seen, show its members to have all been Christian socialists in this very important respect. From his student days, when he even parted with the pictures from his walls, until an old man eighty-eight years of age we see Wesley tramping London streets in the melting snow, begging money for the poor and, like his Mas-

ter, going about doing good. During his life he gave away more than \$200,000.

His methods of helping the poor were such, one hundred and sixty years ago, as we now follow. We boast that we have learned to help them without pauperizing them; the "Associated Charities" has taught us this. Wesley's plan was to immediately relieve present necessity, then at once help the poor to help themselves. He knew that to give a hungry man a loaf of bread only would be to cause him to look to him for another when that was eaten. He rather gave him an inspiration and also an opportunity for getting another loaf for himself by honest toil. For those who lack employment the good Christian socialist opens a bureau, to which the "out-of-work" may come and find employment. John Wesley did more than this. He made his chapels not only bureaus but workshops. Thus he gave the poor man who was out of employment a chance to help himself. On Tuesday, November 25, 1740, he writes in his *Journal*:

After several methods proposed for employing those who were out of business, we determined to make a trial of one which several of our brethren recommended to us. Our aim was, with as little expense as possible, to keep them at once from want and idleness; in order to which, we took twelve of the poorest and a teacher into the Society room, where they were employed for four months, till spring came on, in carding and spinning of cotton. And the design answered. They were employed and maintained with very little more than the product of their own labor.

Thus for four months the place of worship was also the place of work. Carding, spinning, and praying were done in the same auditorium. This was not considered a desecration of the house of prayer. Frequently the naves of old churches and cathedrals were used as market places on stormy days. The chancel only was kept for sacred uses, but business was done within sight of the altar, instead of in sight of the cross in the market place. Six months later new needs called for new methods. On Thursday, May 7, 1741, Wesley writes:

I reminded the United Society that many of our brethren and sisters had not needful food, many were destitute of convenient clothing, many were out of business and that without their own fault, and many sick

and ready to perish; that I had done what in me lay to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to employ the poor, and to visit the sick; but was not alone sufficient for these things, and therefore desired all whose hearts were as my heart: 1. To bring what clothes each could spare, to be distributed among those that wanted most. 2. To give weekly a penny, or what they could afford, for the relief of the poor and sick. My design, I told them, is to employ for the present all the women who were out of business, and desire it, in knitting. To these we will first give the common price for that work they do, and then add according as they need. Twelve persons are appointed to inspect these, and to visit and provide things needful for the sick. Each of these is to visit all the sick within their district every other day, and to meet on Tuesday evening to give an account of what they have done and consult what can be done further.

The Wesleyan idea of labor and the laborer may be learned from Charles Wesley's hymns for the workingman. He sent him about his daily toil singing the high praises of his God. For his waking and rising, on a workday, the following words were adopted :

Are there not in the laborer's day  
Twelve hours, in which he safely may  
His calling's work pursue?  
Though sin and Satan still are near,  
Nor sin nor Satan can I fear,  
With Jesus in my view.

Ten thousand snares my path beset,  
Yet will I, Lord, the work complete,  
Which thou to me hast given;  
Regardless of the pains I feel,  
Close by the gates of death and hell,  
I urge my way to heaven.

It is now time for the workman to put on coat and hat and kiss his wife and children good-bye. As he leaves his home for the place of toil, Wesley sets him singing to Christ the hymn entitled, in the present Methodist Hymnal, "Beginning the labors of the day:"

Forth in thy name, O Lord, I go,  
My daily labors to pursue;  
Thee, only thee, resolved to know,  
In all I think, or speak, or do.

Thee will I set at my right hand,  
 Whose eyes mine inmost substance see ;  
 And labor on at thy command,  
 And offer all my works to thee.  
  
 Give me to bear thy easy yoke,  
 And every moment watch and pray ;  
 And still to things eternal look,  
 And hasten to thy glorious day.  
  
 For thee delightfully employ  
 Whate'er thy bounteous grace hath given ;  
 And run my course with even joy,  
 And closely walk with thee to heaven.

The man has now reached his work, and has "gotten on to his job," as he himself would say. Charles Wesley then sets him singing at his labor as follows :

Summoned my labor to renew,  
 And glad to act my part,  
 Lord, in thy name my work I do,  
 And with a single heart.  
  
 End of my every action thou,  
 In all things thee I see :  
 Accept my hallowed labor now,  
 I do it unto thee.  
  
 Whate'er the Father views as thine,  
 He views with gracious eyes ;  
 Jesus, this mean oblation join  
 To thy great sacrifice.  
  
 Stamped with an infinite desert,  
 My work he then shall own ;  
 Well pleased with me, when mine thou art,  
 And I his favored son.

When the day's service is done and the workman stands looking at it, Wesley has him sing the following hymn for the consecration of his labor :

Son of the carpenter, receive  
 This humble work of mine ;  
 Worth to my meanest labor give,  
 By joining it to thine.  
  
 . . . . .  
 Careless through outward cares I go,  
 From all distraction free :  
 My hands are but engaged below,  
 My heart is still with thee.

O when wilt thou, my life, appear ?  
 Then gladly will I cry,  
 " 'Tis done, the work thou gav'st me here,  
 'Tis finished, Lord," and die !

This is a picture of the early Wesleyan laboring man. He has been taught to lift his toil, menial though it seem, up to that plane where he could do it as unto the Lord.

Wesley also fortified the employer with hymns such as the following for the beginning of a new business day :

I and my house will serve the Lord :  
 But first, obedient to his word  
 I must myself appear ;  
 By actions, words, and tempers show  
 That I my heavenly Master know,  
 And serve with heart sincere.

I must the fair example set ;  
 From those that on my pleasure wait  
 The stumbling-block remove ;  
 Their duty by my life explain,  
 And still in all my works maintain  
 The dignity of love.

Lord, if thou didst the wish infuse,  
 A vessel fitted for thy use  
 Into thy hands receive :  
 Work in me both to will and do ;  
 And show them how believers true,  
 And real Christians, live.

For him in the rush and whirl of business on the exchange or in the market place Wesley wrote :

Lo ! I come with joy to do  
 The Master's blessed will ;  
 Him in outward works pursue,  
 And serve his pleasure still.  
 Faithful to my Lord's commands,  
 I still would choose the better part,  
 Serve with careful Martha's hands,  
 And loving Mary's heart.

Thou, O Lord, my portion art,  
 Before I hence remove !  
 Now my treasure and my heart  
 Are all laid up above ;



Far above all earthly things,  
While yet my hands are here employed,  
Sees my soul the King of kings,  
And freely talks with God.

. . . . .

Is it to be wondered that such employers and employees both prospered? That such a spirit infused into the minds of capitalist and laborer gave dignity to toil? With this spirit the employer did not regard his operatives as "hands" but as souls. No wonder the Methodists have grown rich and are now able, on the other side of the Atlantic, to lay a million guineas on God's altar, and, on this side, two million eagles as a thank offering for the blessings of the past century. The Wesleys made songs for the laborer and his employer, and cared not so much who made economic laws for them. They sought to Christianize both, knowing all else would soon right itself. How strikingly these hymns contrast with the songs of socialists on labor and capital, employer and employee.

John Wesley was also a physician. Multitudes of the poor were sick, and could not afford a doctor. There was probably not a free medical dispensary in all England when Wesley began his Christian socialistic work. In 1746 he solved the difficulty by what he calls a "desperate expedient," saying, "I will prepare and give them physic myself." For twenty-six years he had made anatomy and physic a diversion; at forty-three he takes up the study and practice of medicine, engaging an apothecary and a surgeon to assist him. In three months he had above three hundred patients and had used over forty pounds' worth of medicines. After three years' practice he did not know of one patient who had died on his hands. In 1747 he opened a free dispensary at the Foundry, in London, and four months later one in Bristol. Writing to Blackwell the banker, January 26, 1747, he says that in the latter dispensary alone he has over two hundred patients, the number increasing daily. A year later he writes:

We have ever since had great reason to praise God for his continued blessing on this undertaking. Many lives have been saved, many sicknesses healed, much pain and want prevented or removed. Many heavy hearts have been made glad, many mourners comforted, and the visitors have found him whom they serve a present reward for all their labor.

For the poor and sick who could not come to him he provided visitors—first promiscuous, then organized. Forty-six of these divided London into twenty-three districts, and each sick person was visited by two of these, three times a week. The four rules for visitors were: “(1) Be plain and open in dealing with souls. (2) Be mild, tender, patient. (3) Be cleanly in all you do for the sick. (4) Be not nice.” Three years later, in 1777, The Willow Walk Society near Moorfields, but, more generally and properly speaking, “The United Society for Visiting and Relieving the Sick,” was organized. This was superseded by the “Strangers’ Friend Society,” for which Wesley drew up rules about a year before he died. He says of it, “So this is also one of the fruits of Methodism.” Royalty patronized it for years. In 1868 there were made 32,460 visits by its three hundred and fifty volunteer workers. It is still doing Christlike labor among all sorts and conditions of the poor and sick, irrespective of denomination or nationality. This was a part of John Wesley’s Mercy and Help Department, and this year celebrates its one hundred and twenty-fourth anniversary. For those who could not come to him and for general domestic use he wrote *Primitive Physick*, a book whose first edition was issued on June 11, 1747, and which went through twenty-seven editions in England, the last one coming out in 1850. In his works Wesley also published Dr. Tissot’s *Advices with Respect to Health*. He was up to date in his treatment of disease. For instance, on November 16, 1747, having heard of the electrical machines, he went to see them in use. On March 17, 1753, he studies Dr. Franklin’s *Letters on Electricity*, and on February 4, 1768, he reads Dr. Priestley’s “ingenious book on electricity.” Like a true Christian socialist, in short, he believed in and worked for the redemption of the bodies of men from disease, as well as their souls from sin. Twenty-four of the thirty-four recorded miracles of Jesus were wrought upon the sick, and Wesley was a true disciple of the Great Physician.

For widows and orphans Wesley also made provision. Fifteen sick widows were housed at the Foundry, eating at the same table as did Wesley and his preachers. The third chapel he built, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, was called “The Orphan

House of Wesley." His first chapel was also designed to be a home for orphans. It still stands, the very first of all the Methodist churches, in Broadmead, Bristol, fifteen minutes' walk from the orphan homes of the late George Müller. One year before he died, Wesley also founded in Dublin an almshouse for aged Methodists, which is still prospering.

Wesley also acted as banker for the poor. About the middle of 1746 he saw that some needy men could be started in business for themselves if they had a little capital. He set to work and begged £30 16s. to begin with. In a year and a half no less than two hundred and fifty-five persons had been helped. Only one pound at a time would he lend, and it was to be paid back weekly within three months. This scheme pleased all sorts of wise people, even an eminent deist sending him a guinea toward this fund. It is said that many a successful London tradesman was started in business in this way. In Bristol, Wesley started a "Provident Society," a kind of savings bank for the poor. Some Bristolians did not like this, and ridiculed him. A gorgeously colored picture was issued representing Wesley pouring out sacks of gold, and, while his followers were stowing away the coin, the powers of darkness were dragging Wesley away, but not to the higher regions. This was his solution of the capital and labor question. He helped the laborer to become a capitalist by his "Provident Society," and the capitalist to aid the laborer by his loan fund. Thus he brought together capitalist and laborer, anticipating savings banks and lending clubs for the poor.

From these facts we conclude that the earliest Methodism was truly of Christian socialistic spirit. This is recognized by such writers as Canon Moore Ele, who, in his Hulsean Lecture, affirms, "The man who did the most to reform the social life of England in the last century was John Wesley." His earliest followers took up the work of elevating the masses socially, as well as spiritually. But, with the opening of the nineteenth century, Wesley being no longer with his organization the Methodists as a people began to slide back from the advanced position they had taken in social matters. Through nearly the whole of the century we have been emphasizing the evangelistic, at the expense of the socialistic,

work for which we were partly raised up. For a couple of decades past, on both sides of the Atlantic, we have been trying to return to our former work, and to regain our position. The great forward movements of Manchester, London, Birmingham, and other centers in England, as also in New York, Chicago, and other American centers; the deaconess movement; homes for children and the aged; Methodist hospitals and institutional churches are all attempts to return to our great commission of saving the bodies, minds, and daily lives of the people, for the redemption of whose souls Christ has died. The Salvation Army has been wiser than we. The careful student of its work from the beginning will feel that, for some years past, simply as an evangelistic agency, it has been a declining force. That noble son of Wesley, General Booth, at once saw that something must be done. The novel and startling methods of calling attention to the need of the salvation of the soul no longer would attract. Old circus buildings, theaters, jam factories, skating rinks, stables, and such places which once were packed to suffocation, and which once rang with hallelujahs, were now well-nigh deserted. The congregations had dwindled from thousands to scores at the most. Then General Booth added Christian socialism to growing evangelism. He began to care for the bodies, houses, minds, families, and all the other interests of men. He struck boldly out for the redemption of the whole man, not only from sin but from all its present, as well as its future, consequences. He began to fight dirt and debt, as well as drink and other doings of the devil. *In Darkest England and The Way Out* was his slogan cry which reached the ears and opened pockets of philanthropists in all English-speaking lands. The Army put on new life, with its new activities. We incline to think that, but for this socialistic new departure, it would now be a thing of the past.

The sooner Methodism imitates the socialistic departure of the Salvation Army, at least in the underlying principles, the sooner shall we be found in the old paths. Had Methodism lived up to her high calling and privileges and never have narrowed down to almost exclusively evangelistic and family church work, there would have been no need of the Young

Men's Christian Association, nor of many of the fraternal orders and mutual benefit societies which attract men and too often absorb their attention, to the neglect of the Church and worst of all to the neglect of Christ's great salvation. When a man is won from his cups and cards he needs a place to go to and friends to meet of the other kind, or his very loneliness may drive him back to his former life. The coffeehouse, with its well-lighted reading room and refreshments at a little above cost and its company of good people, will soon place him where he can stand alone, and will then put him where he can help others. It is not enough to get him converted; his environment must also be changed. His work only begins when he has repented and believed to the saving of his soul. His body, his social nature, and his home must also be benefited. In certain parts of Ireland, in John Wesley's days, the Methodist homes could be distinguished by their outside appearance. The windows and doorsteps were clean, and the walks in front of them were swept. Clean hearts were followed by clean houses. Wesley is credited with the saying that "cleanliness is next to godliness," but we rather think that he regarded it as a part of godliness.

The method of this great Christian socialist was philosophical and scriptural. He sought to reform society by first securing the regeneration of the individual. His method was from center to circumference, and not from circumference to center. His idea was that the very best way to change a man's environment is to change his moral condition. Christianize him, and his social life will be Christianized. Wesley understood that the new kingdom to be established on the earth is to be made up of a new humanity, and that Christ through his Gospel is now making all things new. He combined the zealously evangelistic with the decidedly Christian socialistic, the one a complement of the other. Were he with us to-day we think he would say, "Go ye and do likewise."

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## ART. VIII.—THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF BAPTISM.

WHAT have the early Christian monuments to say concerning the mode of baptism? The answer to this question must be found in its patient and scientific study. The student has been busy during the last few decades in critically reexamining the early Christian mosaics and catacomb frescoes, the attention of a brilliant circle of archæologists having been focussed upon these monuments. Easily first in this circle, now that the learned Commendatore De Rossi has left us, is Monsignor Wilpert, of the Campo Santo Vaticano, at Rome. He has cleaned out some catacomb chambers, discovered new frescoes, and corrected certain errors of interpretation by the earlier copyists—the result being that the recent thorough reexamination of these chambers has started up afresh the discussion concerning the story the early Christian paintings have to tell, and that consequently the representations of baptism in early Christian art naturally come up for a fresh discussion.

In examining these monuments, as well as in the study of the entire circle of Christian art, we are impressed with the fact that there is, generally speaking, one uniform mode of representing baptism. The subject always stands in the water, whether it be stream or font. Fresco, mosaic, and sculpture with rare exceptions adhere to this treatment. Not in one instance is the subject represented as going under the water or emerging from a submersion. The ministrant is always represented as placing his hand upon the head of the subject, or pouring water—sometimes from the hand, sometimes from a vessel—upon the head of the subject. In later representations the vessel is shown, which is sometimes a shallow dish or paten, at other times a jar, or *ampulla*. In some instances the dove, which is usually present, hovering above the head of the subject, holds in its beak the inverted *ampulla*, from which the water pours. It is claimed by the immersionists that these representations are all in harmony with the practice of immersion, and that the act represented in Christian art is the final act or moment when the subject is receiving the

“chrism,” or crowning ceremony of baptism. “The artist,” says the immersionist, “limited to one moment in the administration of the rite, has chosen to portray the completed act, and consequently we have no representation of the intermediate stages, such as the going into the water or going under the water.”

The typical Christian monument used to support this view, in the most recent discussion of this subject,\* is the celebrated mosaic in the Church of San Giovanni in Fonte, at Ravenna, which dates from the early part of the fifth century. Christ stands in the water, while John, who holds in his left hand a jeweled cross, extends his right hand over the head of the Saviour, holding in it a shallow dish or vessel from which something is evidently poured upon the Lord’s head—“oil of the chrism,” says the immersionist. Above floats the dove, symbolizing the presence of the Holy Spirit. In some of the representations of this mosaic the contents of the vessel are seen falling upon the head of the Saviour, but the most recent photographs show merely the extended hand holding the dish. Yet the presence or the absence of the falling contents is not important. The immersionist holds that this dish is the paten which held the sacred chrism, that it was not water which is poured from it, and that there is never in these representations of baptism the pouring of water, but the act of chrism, the completing ceremony in immersion.† Now, concerning this mosaic recent criticism has much to say. Dr. Osgood in the article already noticed remarks: “The very fact that this picture has remained the pattern of similar representations to the present day is a testimony to its high artistic value and power. Until something better has been invented this mosaic will continue to be regarded as the great masterpiece.” He also states that it was after this that Giotto copied his picture of the baptism, in the Church of Maria Del Arena, in Padua—a statement made by Richter in his discussion of the mosaic.‡ But careful study of this picture by eminent archæologists shows that it has been greatly restored, so greatly as to destroy its

\* Howard Osgood: “The Archæology of Baptism,” *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1898.

† Howard Osgood, *supra*.

‡ J. P. Richter: *Die Mosaiken von Ravenna*. Wien, 1878.

evidential value in the case. Ricci, in Ravenna, and Richter, in his work already alluded to, admit that the neck and right arm of Christ have been restored. Crowe and Cavalcaselle \* hold that the head, shoulders, and right arm of the figure of Christ and the same parts of the figure of John, and also his right leg and foot, have been restored. Stryzowski † holds, further, that the discus held in the hand of John is a restoration from the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The reason for his opinion is that we do not find in Italy or elsewhere previous to the period of the fifth century any representations in which John holds such a discus in his hand. Stryzowski is followed in the same opinion by Kraus, ‡ who affirms that the restoration is so great that we can base no definite conclusions upon it as an original picture. He characterizes Richter's judgment that Giotto copied his picture from it as wholly untenable—"eine ganz unhaltbare Behauptung." These opinions are based upon a careful study of Christian art; their correctness will be seen on further discussion of the subject.

There is one monument previous to the fifth century in which John holds in his hand a vessel similar to that in the Giovanni in Fonte picture. It is a sarcophagus lid in the Lateran Museum, ascribed to the fourth century. It was taken from a Roman cemetery. The subject stands in the water, beneath an overhanging rock from which the water streams upon him. Here for the first time we find the motive of the shallow dish or paten in the hand of the ministrant. But on examining this sculpture we discover that it has suffered restoration in the arm and head of the Baptist and the head of the Saviour. The dish in the hands of the Baptist is evidence of a mediæval artist. Stryzowski well says, "The restoration according to which John pours water out of a dish upon the head of the Saviour is, according to the analogy of the previous representations, decidedly false." § He further shows that the stream of water pouring from the rock ought to have suggested the true lines of restoration. There is no

\* *History of Italian Painting.*

† *Ikonographie der Taufe Christi.* Wien, 1885.

‡ *Geschichte der altchristlichen Kunst*, vol. 1, p. 428. Freiburg, 1896.

§ *Opus Cit.*, p. 8.



further representation of such a discus or paten in the hands of the baptizer in Christian art until we come to the fourteenth century. If the San Giovanni mosaic is the pattern for all similar representations, it is marvelous that for a thousand years this particular pattern should be so ignored. We meet with the discus in the fourteenth century and frequently thereafter. One of the earliest instances is in an ivory in the Hotel de Clugny, in France. From this onward it is common, so that we find it in Giotto, Pisano, Perugino, Signorelli, Raphael, and others. Professor Osgood affirms that the discus, as seen in the Giovanni in Fonte mosaic, is the true type, and laments that it has degenerated in the following centuries into the dove holding the inverted *ampulla* in its beak. But, if this is true, why do we find so suddenly in the fourteenth century a reverting to the ancient type? He would say because the old painters copied the mosaic. But why had they not copied it during the past thousand years? It was well known throughout the world of Italian and German art. The San Giovanni type was not a discovery suddenly revolutionizing the Christian art of the fourteenth century. The inference rather is that the fingers of the fourteenth century have tampered with the early mosaic and impressed the fourteenth century type upon it. It is the same influence which restored the Lateran sarcophagus.

This mosaic has not then furnished the typical representation in Christian art of Christian baptism. Far from it. It is undoubtedly a Byzantine picture, but the restoration is not Byzantine. It is, therefore, in the light of archæological criticism not reliable as a type of Christian baptism in the fifth century. In our opinion, the better picture for this purpose and the one which was in all probability modeled after the original, unrestored Giovanni in Fonte, is the baptismal scene in the dome of the neighboring Ravenna Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin which was built fifty years later and under the same artistic influences. John is here represented as simply resting his hand on the Saviour's head. If the fresco of Giovanni in Fonte, in its present form, is the true type, it is singular that the artist of the mosaic in Santa Maria in Cosmedin, composing his picture of the baptism fifty years

later, should dare to omit such an essential feature as the paten in the hand of John, which indicated the culminating of the baptismal ceremony with the rite of chrism. He has clearly not followed that pattern, but has followed the early type as seen in the catacomb pictures. The two mosaics must originally have been nearly identical in their representation of John's attitude. The discrediting of this celebrated mosaic does away with it as an illustration of baptism by affusion in the fifth century, but illustrations of the practice may be seen elsewhere.

The most ancient picture of the baptism of Christ, according to Wilpert, and one of the finds in Christian archæology of the last decade, is in the catacomb of Petrus and Marcellinus.\* The Saviour appears as a young boy. His arms are uplifted in prayer—the only representation in Christian art of Christ as an orant. The hands of the Baptist rest upon the head of the Saviour, who stands in shallow water. Above hovers the dove. A similar fresco, as to the act of baptism, is found in the catacomb of St. Calixtus, in chamber A.† The next great fresco of the baptism of Christ is found in the Chapel of the Sacraments, St. Calixtus, chamber A.‡ It is assigned by De Rossi to the latter part of the second century or the beginning of the third. The subject stands in the water a little above his ankles. The hand of the Baptist rests upon the boy's head, while sprays of water spring from the hand and fall on each side, indicating sprinkling or pouring. The immersionist maintains that these sprays are not water. One interpreter stoutly asserts that they are rays of fire.§ Another questions the integrity of the fresco itself and, referring to the recent critical study of the catacomb frescoes, implies that these sprays of water will be found to be the addition of a later age in the interest of baptism by affusion.¶ We turn again to the brilliant German archæologist who has placed the Christian world under a lasting obligation by his scientific treatment of these monuments. He has discussed the Chapel of the Sacraments of St. Calixtus in a special pub-

\* Wilpert: *Die Kat. der Heiligen Petrus und Marcellinus*. Freiburg, 1891.

† *Ibid.*: *Die Malereien der Sacramentskapellen des Heiligen Callistus*. Freiburg, 1897.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Armitage: *History of the Baptists*.

¶ Howard Osgood: *Opus Cit.*

lication, in which appears an original photograph of the identical picture. A letter addressed to him asking him whether in his opinion these sprays of water were the addition of a later age brought in return a courteous reply with the statement: "We see here, about the head of Christ, numerous sprays of water, an evident indication of baptism by affusion (*Hier sieht man um den Kopf Christi, eine Menge Wasserstrahlen, ein offener Hinweis auf die Taufe per infusionem*). The same interpretation has been given to this fresco by Stryzowski, \* Dewaal, † Krans, ‡ De Rossi, § and others.

It is objected that this cannot be sprinkling or pouring, "for who ever saw water spring this way when sprinkled from the hand upon the head? But we must not hold the catacomb artist too closely to the rules of the artist's technique. The cemetery artist is never a proper guide in art canons. He merely suggests. His work is crude at best, but clear enough to tell what he wishes to say. The story he here tells cannot be mistaken, though it is crudely told. The picture is genuine and indicates that affusion or aspersion was part of the ceremony of baptism. We have no evidence in the picture of chrism. If sprinkling was practiced in this case—and this is the only rational interpretation of the picture—then in all probability it was practiced in the other instances, though not indicated by the artist. The picture stands clearly in the way of the theory that baptism is exclusively by immersion and that all representations in Christian art indicate the application of chrism as the crowning ceremony. Hence the impugning of its genuineness and the selecting as a type of the mosaic of Giovanni in Fonte. Professor Osgood remarks concerning this fresco, "If it represents sprinkling it forms the single exception in one thousand years of Christian literature and art."

Let it be conceded that trine immersion was practiced in the second century, as is evidenced by Tertullian and others. The question is whether we have any evidence that aspersion or affusion was in use also. Let us make further inquiry into Christian art. There are in Christian art and literature dis-

\* *Opus Cit.*

† "*Die Taufe Christi auf vorconstantinische Gemälde*," *Römische Quartalschrift*, July, 1896. ‡ *Geschichte der Altchr. Kunst*, vol. 1, p. 164. Freiburg, 1896.

§ *Bulletino di Arch. Cristiana*, iv, 4, 19, 20.\*

tinct evidences to this fact. There are four notable examples from the fourth century. The first is in the *Academia Reale d'Istoria* in Madrid.\* The baptism of Christ is shown in one of the seven pictures which adorn a sarcophagus. Here we see the subject standing in the water. The hand of the ministrant rests upon the head of the subject. From a large vessel on which perches a dove pours a copious stream of water. This is assuredly no chrism, where a little oil is applied to the head. The artist evidently intends to show the pouring of water, from the size of the vessel used. The second example is likewise a sarcophagus, to which allusion has already been made. The discus in the hand of the Baptist is a restoration, but the stream of water pouring from the rock upon the head of the Saviour is a part of the original sculpture. The third example from the fourth century is found in Aquileia. The most accurate copy of it is given in Wilpert's brochure in the *Ephemeris Salonitana*. The subject stands in a shallow font or basin. Upon him from above pours a copious flood of water which seems completely to envelop him. We are told by the immersionist that this flood which pours upon the neophyte is oil, the oil of chrism!

In the eighth and ninth centuries we shall find further evidence. The first picture, as far as we know, in which the pouring of the water and the chrism are distinguished is from northern Italy, in the Church of San Giovanni in Fonte, in Monza. It is ascribed to the year 700. The Baptist holds in his left hand a small vessel containing the sacred oil, as if ready for the chrism which has not yet been applied. He touches the Saviour's head with his left hand. The dove holds in its beak the *ampulla* from which water pours upon the head of the Saviour. Even if we interpret that the hand resting upon the Saviour's head is administering chrism, the vessel above surely indicates the pouring of water.

The same motive is seen in the altar cloth of the Church of St. Ambrose, at Milan, of the year 827, where an attendant standing on a stool lifts a large jar with both hands and pours it over the head of the subject. We notice the same in an Italian ivory from the same period—now in Berlin. That

\* Stryzowski, *Opus Cit.*, p. 6.

this is water and not the chrism appears clearly from the fact that the practice of pouring water in baptism called forth a definite deliverance, it being a substantial rebuke, from the Council of Cellichyt or Calcuit, held 816, which gave the following admonition, "Also let the presbyters, when they perform baptism, know that they are not to pour the water on the heads of the children, but always to immerse the same in the font."\* In the light of this admonition we are able to interpret the pictures of the period. It teaches us most clearly that affusion was practiced. What becomes of the statement that the catacomb picture forms the single exception in one thousand years, when we see that a Church council in the early part of the ninth century cautions the presbyters that the right way to baptize is not to pour water on the heads? It substantially says, "Let the presbyters stop the custom of pouring water in baptism."

The pictures of Giotto, Perugino, Signorelli, Raphael, and others were painted at a time when the practice of pouring which we saw rebuked in the ninth century had spread throughout the Church, and their pictures certainly represent this custom, which was then in vogue. We know that affusion or aspersion had become general in the Western Church by the thirteenth century.† The Synod of Ravenna, held in 1311, affirms concerning the rite of baptism, that it may be administered "*sub trina aspersione vel immersione*."‡ The restoration of the fresco of San Giovanni in Fonte was probably made at this very period, and surely as the exponent of the teaching of this council, and represents the "*trina aspersione*." It is seriously to be questioned, according to Kraus, whether chrism is ever represented in Christian art.§ Tertullian and Justin Martyr assure us that it was applied after the act of baptism and the issuing from the font: "After this, when we have issued from the font (*lavacro*), we are thoroughly anointed with the blessed unction."|| "They were anointed with the precious ointment after baptism, in remembrance of Him who reputed the anointing of himself with oil

\* Hefele: *Conciliengeschichte*.

† Augusti: *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Chr. Arch.*

‡ Hefele: *Conciliengeschichte*. § Kraus: *Gesch. der Chr. Kunst*, vol. I, p. 165.

|| Tertullian: *De Baptismo*, chap. vii.

to be his burial." \* The words, "after the baptism," do not mean after the immersion and while yet standing in the water, but after leaving the font. What then does the stereotyped form of resting the hand on the head signify, in the pictures of baptism? The catacomb fresco under discussion says in effect that it is the act of aspersion accompanied no doubt with the words of benediction; or it may also represent the laying on of hands which was a part of the ceremony.

It is objected that this catacomb picture contradicts the literature of the early Church, which considers baptism by affusion a heresy. But are we to discard as spurious all those representations on the Christian monuments that have no sanction in the literature of the period? Furthermore, the literature of the period is not wanting in the sanction of the representations of affusion in this picture. Justin Martyr (110-165), in chapter lxii of his *Apology*, referring to the imitation of Christian baptism by demons, says, "And the devils, indeed, having heard this washing [baptism] published by the prophets, instigated those who enter their temples and are about to approach them with libations and burnt offerings also to sprinkle themselves; and they cause them also to wash themselves entirely as they depart [from the sacrifice] before they enter the shrines in which their images are set." The sprinkling and the washing are here given, as together constituting the imitation of baptism. We find in Tertullian † an allusion to sprinkling as a part of the ceremony. Speaking of the simplicity of the rite he says, "Without pomp, without any considerable novelty of preparation, finally, without expense, a man is dipped in water, and amid the utterance of a few words is sprinkled and then rises again, not much the cleaner." In chap. xii he remarks:

Others make the suggestion [forced enough, clearly] that the apostles then served the turn of baptism when, in their little ship, they were sprinkled and covered with the waves; that Peter himself also was immersed enough when he walked on the sea. It is, however, one thing, as I think, to be sprinkled or intercepted by the violence of the sea; another thing to be baptized in obedience to the discipline of religion.

\* Justin Martyr: *Resp. ad Orthodox.* 137.

† *De Baptismo.* chap. ii.

In the first quotation we have dipping and sprinkling associated in the one rite. In the second passage we have the implication that sprinkling, as well as immersion, was esteemed baptism. No objection is urged against sprinkling as violating the idea of baptism, but against calling that sprinkling or immersion "baptism," which had not been undergone in obedience to the discipline of religion. We can read through the lines that to the outside world in the second century, in North Africa, sprinkling and immersion were supposed to be parts of the baptismal rite.

Once more, we may cite the conclusion of Cyprian (200-258) in his well-known *Epistle LXXV*:

Whence it appears that the sprinkling also of water prevails equally with the washing of salvation; and that when this is done in the Church, where the faith both of receiver and giver is sound, all things hold and may be consummated and perfected by the majesty of the Lord and by the truth of faith.

It is true that these words refer primarily to the baptism of the sick, but this conclusion of the African father came to have a wider application in the practice of the Church. Cyprian has never been forgiven by some for having made these sensible utterances.

Finally, let us turn to the earliest Church manual, the *Didache*, which may be assigned to the early part of the second century at least. In chapter vii we read:

Now concerning baptism, thus baptize ye: Having first uttered all these things, baptize into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, in running water. But if thou hast not running water, baptize in other water; and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm. But if thou hast neither, pour water upon the head thrice, into the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit.

This writer knows nothing apparently about chrism. He does allow liberty in the mode of baptism. It is said that if the catacomb fresco teaches pouring it contradicts the *Teaching*, for this allows of pouring only where there is not sufficient water for an immersion; and furthermore it will be declared that, as the subject in the picture evidently stands in water, pouring would be superfluous and opposed to this

manual of instructions. It is hardly probable that the majority were baptized in "running water," or water brought from streams. Many were baptized in "other water;" many in water "warm" or "cold;" many were poured or sprinkled; but the aim of the catacomb artist was to represent a typical baptism in the time of Christ, which would be in the Jordan. He undoubtedly combined in the picture the local custom of pouring or sprinkling along with the immersion. In interpreting the picture these considerations must be taken into account. Early Christian literature indicates that a large liberty was allowed in the mode of baptism. This liberty has manifested itself in the practice of the Churches. While the Greek Church adhered to trine immersion with great tenacity and to-day practices this mode in all its chief churches, the Coptic and Armenian Churches have recognized the validity of trine aspersion from the earliest period in their history. De Rossi is of the opinion that the performance of the rite of pouring was by no means exceptional in the early Church, and that the catacombs agree with the oldest forms in this matter, as given in the *Didache*. He also maintains that the normal baptism was performed in the early Church by a mode which united immersion and affusion in a single rite, making them separate parts of a repeated ritual.\*

Yet, even if we admit that Christian art does represent the act of chrism, there is very clear evidence that the chrism itself may have sometimes been administered with water in the place of the ointment. We have no less an authority than the *Apostolic Constitutions* for this statement. In Book VII, chapter xxii, we read the following concerning the ceremony of baptism:

But thou shalt beforehand anoint the person with the holy oil and afterward baptize with the water, and in conclusion shalt seal him with the ointment that the anointing with the oil may be the participation of the Holy Spirit, and the water the symbol of the death (of Christ), and the ointment the seal of the covenant. But if there be neither oil nor ointment, water is sufficient for the anointing and for the seal.

It is the opinion of Harnack and others that this part of the *Constitutions*, evidently based upon the *Didache*, belongs to

\* Bennett: *Christian Archaeology*. Revised ed., p. 453.



the second century.\* The liberty allowed certainly recalls the *Didache*. This leads us to the conclusion that chrism was not inevitably performed with ointment. That it was sometimes administered with water is evident. What becomes now of the statement that Christian art never represents the pouring of water in baptism? Even those who hold that chrism is always indicated must acknowledge that water was used. Therefore the representations in Christian art which show the ministrant pouring water on the head of the subject are not contradictory to Christian literature, but are in perfect harmony with it.

\* *Texte und Untersuchungen*, II, 246-248.

Amos W. Patten

## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

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PROFESSOR BARRETT WENDELL, of Harvard, says that "New England developed the most mature school of pure letters which has yet appeared in this country ;" and speaks of Emerson as "a writer of unconditioned freedom whose work bids fair to disregard the passing of time, its spirit seeming little more conditioned by the circumstances of nineteenth century Concord or Boston than Homer's was by the old Ægean breezes."

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"EACH succeeding generation," wrote Goethe, "will renew its youth in the Bible, and the standard for the life and power of a people will be the measure of that people's faithfulness to the precepts of the Bible. Let mental culture increase and science spread and deepen; let the spirit of man broaden as it will—the majesty and the morality of Christianity as it shines forth in the gospels will never be surpassed." Nothing that the great German ever wrote is more manifestly true than this.

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A PROMINENT American Catholic clergyman, an astute Jesuit, said one day in Porto Rico, in a moment of candor, in conversation with a Protestant, that it was a good thing for the Porto Ricans that the Spanish priests went home to Spain when the Spanish government officials left the island. And the American priest added, "What Porto Rico needs now is a good batch of Methodist preachers." This is as true of the Philippines as of Porto Rico.

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IN his *History of the Religious Sentiment Among the Ancient Romans*, Professor Zeller says that the sentiment of awe in the presence of the forest was the only religious sentiment the ancient Romans ever developed. It is a tremendous straining, if not an utter perversion, of language to call that instinctive feeling a religious sentiment. It unfolded, to be sure, in the time of the Roman empire, into the rankest growth of superstitions that the human imagination has ever produced ; but surely forest-

awe never carried any man or nation far on the road toward real religion.

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IN *Alice of Old Vincennes*, Maurice Thompson, who was a minister's son, wrote :

The Church, no matter by what name it goes, has a saving hold on the deepest inner being of its adherents. No grip is so hard to shake off as that of early religious convictions, the still, small voice, coming down from the times "When shepherds watched their flocks by night" in old Judea, passes through the priest, the minister, the teacher; it echoes in cathedral, church, open-air meeting; it gently and mysteriously imparts to human life the distinctive quality which is the exponent of Christian civilization. Upon the receptive nature of children it makes an impress that forever afterward exhales a fragrance and irradiates a glory for the saving of the nations.

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ONCE, when Adam Clarke was trying to steer between opposing parties under criticism, John Wesley wrote him :

Dear Adam : You will want constant supplies of courage and prudence. Very gently and very steadily you should proceed between the rocks on either hand. In the great revival in London my first difficulty was to bring into the proper temper those who opposed the work; and my next was to check and regulate the extravagancies of those who promoted it; and this was by far the hardest part of the work, for many of them would bear no check at all. But I followed one rule, though with calmness; either to bend them or break them. When you act rightly, expect to be blamed by both sides.

Every man who is charged with duties of supervision, direction, and administration must have firmness enough to go steadily forward through criticism and blame, sometimes roughly and severely expressed.

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At a Missionary Parliament, in the north of England, early in the present year, one question for discussion was why foreign missions are not more adequately supported by the English people. Mr. F. W. Harrison, a representative of the London Press Association, presented opinions from a number of eminent men, among whom were Dr. Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose chaplain wrote from Lambeth Palace, January 15, 1901 : "I am desired by the Archbishop of Canterbury to say that he knows of no reason why foreign missionary work does not receive more sympathy, except the slowness of Englishmen to take up any work whatever save that by which money can be made." Is not this the same as saying that they are not truly Christian? Christ's call is for men to do from pure love of God and man what worldly and unregenerate men will only do for money.

## THE SUICIDE OF GOD.

IN the late seventies of the last century seven Japanese boys, schoolmates in a government college in one of the cities of Japan, having been converted to Christianity under the labors of Methodist missionaries, formed themselves into a society which they called a Church. In that small membership, we are told, were seven different types of mind. It does not require a large number of human beings to insure variety. Two have been known to furnish not only variety but virulent contrariety.

Of one of the seven members the following account is given. He was physically nearsighted, perhaps also mentally myopic, and suffered from neuralgia. What seemed reasonable to others often looked unreasonable to him. He was so constituted that he must question everything, and prove things before he could accept them. The name of this suspicious and distrustful lad should have been Thomas, though it was not. With all his scholarly airs and spectacles and doubts, he is said to have been a guileless and gentle-hearted boy. But he often perplexed the mind and cooled the enthusiasm of the incipient Church with his gloomy and seemingly captious skepticism about Divine providence and other momentous matters. In his unhealthy, neuralgic head he manufactured more puzzles and heresies than he or anybody else in that vicinity could dispose of. One of his heterodoxies rose from misreading that mysterious chapter, the ninth of Romans, through spectacles smoked black and blue by hyper-Calvinistic exegesis, which led him to this conclusion, explicitly announced, "If God made one vessel unto honor, and another unto dishonor, there is no use in trying to be saved; for He will take care of His own, and we shall be saved or damned in accordance with His inscrutable and unalterable decree, notwithstanding all our efforts to be otherwise." A strange, immoral, sacrilegious heresy, indeed, to be adopted and propounded by a Methodist convert!

In view of the multiplicity, gravity, pertinacity, volubility and disturbing effect of his heresies, it was finally deemed best to make a concerted and strenuous effort to settle some of these vexatious and insurgent questions, and silence this troubler of the little Israel; and, to this end, the young Church turned itself temporarily into a theological debating society and focused its intellectual powers on the task of answering the doubter and extricating him from his gloomy conclusions.

The constitutional skeptic, thus formally put on the defensive and standing alone against the phalanx, perhaps with something of the feeling of *Athanasius contra mundum*, showed himself not less but rather more unreasonable, captious, and obstinate, taking a position on the far off-side of nearly every question, even on that of the existence of God. When anybody framed an affirmative proposition and punctuated it with a period at the end, he rubbed out the period and put an interrogation point in its place. The climax of wanton and obstreperous dissent was reached when the six orthodox affirmers had proceeded so far with the job of silencing the ingenious recalcitrant as to have proved, by arguments conclusive to themselves, that this universe must have had a Creator, and that the Creator must be self-existing, all-mighty, and all-wise. Then the nervous neuralgist, driven into a corner but determined not to surrender, contracted his spectacled brows and answered: "I grant that this is indubitably a created universe and that the Creator must have been all-wise and all-mighty, so that nothing could be impossible for Him. But how can you prove to me that this God, after He created this universe and stocked it with forces and set its processes in motion so that it can evolve and grow by itself with the potential energy originally imparted by Him—how can you prove that this Creator has not put an end to His own existence and annihilated Himself? If He can do all things, why can He not commit suicide?"

The incorrigible skeptic felt sure that he had plumped down a poser on the table of debate, and gazed around on his opponents with the air of one who does not know he is beaten. A painful silence fell for a moment on the astounded and non-plussed defenders of the Faith, who simply stared aghast. But in another moment one member of the little Church, who seems to have remembered the directions given for answering a certain class of persons in Prov. xxvi, 5, and who felt the wanton affront to sense and reason contained in the heretic's silly question, gathered his wits and indignantly blurted out the only answer fit and adequate to the occasion, "Well, only fools will ask such questions!"

The little church in Japan is not alone in its experience, and the suicide of God is not the only heresy, which, without any foundation in reason, has had behind it a morbid distrustfulness, a disputatious spirit, a perverse pride of opinion, a cantanker-

ous indocility, a pleasure in the apparent importance gained for oneself by conspicuous differing from the established consensus, and a propensity to worry the saints—one or all of these and similar constituent elements of the cerebral solution out of which multifarious and grotesque heresies crystallize. Indeed, as a general rule, the impeachments which assail the fundamentals of Religion are too frivolous and preposterous to be intellectually respectable.

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PROFESSOR WINCHESTER ON THE GOLDEN AGE OF NEW ENGLAND LITERATURE.\*

I AM sure there are men here who could speak with more intimate knowledge of the great New England writers than I can ; very possibly some of riper years whose good fortune it may have been to know some of them personally. I can only claim a long admiration for their work, and possibly some knowledge of that type of New England character and life which they all represent. For, although my parents removed from the town of my birth so early that I might almost say with the traditional Irishman that "I was never in my native place," they only removed from one New England town to another; I passed all my youth within less than a score of miles of that Burial Hill at Plymouth where rest the ashes of my maternal grandfather seven times removed; my earliest conceptions of the stir and bustle of the great world of men were drawn from visits in my childhood to that Mecca of every New England country lad, Boston—where my paternal ancestor landed two hundred and sixty-five years ago; I learned the dialect of Hosea Bigelow so early and so fatally well that—I dunno as I shall ever unlearn it naow; and all the experiences and memories of my early days are bound up with that type of life in eastern New England which, in some respects so rugged and austere, is yet the soil out of which our noblest literature has grown. I say our noblest literature, because I suppose not even the critic most envious of New England would venture to deny that, in Emerson and Longfellow and Whittier and Holmes and Hawthorne and Lowell, our

\* By solicitation we obtained this report of an after-dinner speech, essentially extemporaneous and not intended for publication, delivered by Professor C. T. Winchester at the annual banquet of the New England Society of Brooklyn, N. Y., on December 21, 1900. We present it as spoken, because it seems the more vivacious and effective in the free, off-hand informality of its utterance. For want of space elsewhere in this number of the *Review*, we insert it here. [Ed.]

American literature touched the highest excellence it has yet attained. Indeed, I am inclined to think that, without boastfulness, we can say more than that. We may admit that neither of these men, in the combination of those qualities which constitute greatness in literature, is quite the equal of two or three of his contemporaries in England; but I venture to think that not more than twice or thrice in the whole course of English literary history can you find a group of men, gathered about one literary center, bound together by intimate personal friendship, who have produced any body of writings that in freshness of imagination, in racy humor, in vigor of thought, and in power of moral impulse, is superior to that produced between 1845 and 1875 by those six men—Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Hawthorne, Lowell, Holmes. They are the leading figures in a school of writers that any country might well be proud of. With them America first gained a distinctive place in the literature of the world; we shall be fortunate if, in the next two generations, we produce, the country over, so large a body of writings so well deserving to live.

But it would be idle to speak any words of mere praise for these men; still less to attempt any critical estimate of their work. I wish rather simply to emphasize the fact—which we may certainly remember with pardonable pride on an occasion like this—that this is a New England literature. To say this implies much more than the mere accident of residence. These men, with the widest differences of individual genius and temperament, all have certain deep underlying similarities of character which are of their blood and inheritance. The history, the tradition, the temper, the very atmosphere of New England is in all their work. Every man of them, whether poet or philosopher, or humorist, or reformer, is first of all a Yankee. Their work cannot be conceived as produced in any other section of the country than New England, nor indeed in New England at any other period than during their generation. Doubtless this is to admit a certain provincial character in their work; and I am aware that some of our more cosmopolitan modern critics are inclined to regard this with a superior regret. But there are worse things than provincialism—in fact, I sometimes think there are not many things better. I like my literature not too far conventionalized—with some flavor of its native sources. At all events, I am sure that the freshest and

most original writers are oftenest those who can find both their motive and their circumstance in the life they ought to know best, the life of their own time and their own society. I suspect any society of being somehow oversophisticated and outworn when I find its writers going too far afield for their themes, or making—as so many of our writers of fiction nowadays do—labored “studies” of eccentric or unfamiliar phases of experience. Our New England writers were not provincial in any narrow or petty sense. Their outlook upon the great truths and the great passions was not narrowed; but they found those truths and passions right at home. In the history and legend of New England was room enough for all romance; in the life of New England, the same wisdom and pathos and inspiration that had made the literature of all the centuries. As Emerson makes old Monadnoc say:

There's fruit upon my barren soil  
Costlier far than wine or oil;  
Autumn ripe, its juices hold  
Sparta's stoutness, Bethlehem's heart,  
Asia's rancor, Athens' art,  
Slow-sure Britain's secular might,  
And the German's inward sight.

When men come to see, as these men did, with a kind of glad surprise, that the richest harvests of imagination are to be garnered in the fields that spread around their own door, then you are pretty sure to get a genuinely national literature.

Up to about 1835 the best thought of our people had been given to practical and political matters. We were framing a government and making a society. Of statesmen there was no lack; there were no abler statesmen living than those who framed our Constitution and defended it in the earlier years. And of these, too, New England had furnished her quota. But now, for the first time, and in New England, there was leisure and stimulus for that larger, more contemplative, and imaginative view of life out of which literature must come. Our earlier attempts had been mostly imitative. The *North American Review* was a copy of the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly*, and written in their academic manner. The work of Irving was largely, that of Willis almost wholly, copied from the manner of the English essayists. But with the appearance of Emerson's first book, *Nature*, in 1836, and of *The Dial* four years later in 1840, we get something fresh, studied from no original, and inspired



immediately by a new sense of the possibilities of our own life. Says *The Dial*, in its second number: "We have our men of science, our Franklins, our Bowditches, our Cleavelands; we have our orators, our statesmen; but the American poet, the American thinker, is yet to come. Let us but have earnest, whole-hearted, heroic men, and we shall not want for literary fame. Then we shall see springing up in every part of these republics a literature such as the ages have not known—a literature commensurate with our ideas, vast as our destiny, and varied as our theme." If this prediction sounds somewhat large, its loftiness of moral ideal, its confidence in native resource, were certainly of the happiest augury for a new literature. That stir of thought in New England which we call somewhat vaguely the Transcendental Movement was doubtless only one wave of that greater impulse which in the thirties and forties was spreading over England—and indeed over the whole Continent; and which spoke with various voice in Richard Cobden, and Thomas Arnold, and John Henry Newman, and Thomas Carlyle, and John Ruskin, and Alfred Tennyson. But in England this movement was more distinctively one of reform and correction. It was the fever caused by the injection of new ideas, political, industrial, religious, into a system grown lethargic from custom and full of old abuse. There were Reform Bills to be passed, and Poor Laws and Corn Laws to be repealed; there were clamorous Chartists to be pacified or suppressed; there were starving thousands to be fed or colonized abroad in fatter lands. But here in New England there were no venerable wrongs to be righted, no crust of unrighteous custom to be broken up. The difference between the optimism of Emerson and the pessimism of Carlyle—which everybody has noticed—is not due entirely to difference of individual temperament; it is due in part to the different conditions in which the two men lived. For New England between 1830 and 1850 was a place of health and hope; an excellent place in which to grow a literature of sap and vigor. The earliest days of narrowness and isolation were past. The mind of New England had become hospitable to the best thought of every age and clime. We of this later generation can well believe that, as Lowell says, the Cambridge society of his time was the best society of the world. Yet it was still a comparatively simple society, homely, democratic, friendly to plain living and high

thinking. The population was still very homogeneous; there were no very wide differences of wealth or social standing, no hungry or complaining under class. There was general comfort without luxury. Most of the people still lived in the country or near it; you never got far away from the healthy smell of the soil. All the traditions of the section made for a certain plain, good-humored, sturdy independence. Now it was at the period when this New England character was to be seen in its purest, most distinctive form, that this group of writers began their work. There is in all their writing, not only the interest of new themes, but the vigorous originality of youth. Most of them have some of the faults of form that you expect in a new and untutored literature; Hawthorne is perhaps the only one in whom vigor of conception is matched with an almost faultless artistic sense. But they all bring to their subject a certain freshness and eagerness of mind. Read the essays or the verse of Emerson, and the old truths of human life, which sages have said and poets sung since time began, sound like new discoveries. You feel the confidence, the vision, the forward look of a new era.

Never did a literature show the very age and body of the time, his form and pressure, more faithfully than did this. Its themes, its ideals, its mode of thought, its imagery, its forms of speech—they are all of New England. Our very landscape is set in these men's page, with all its austere beauty, its wayward untamed charm—the dear old Yankee birds and flowers, and trees and hills and pastures. As I read I hear again, as all through my boyhood I heard, the purring of the pine trees behind my father's farm, that

Mope, an' sigh, an' sheer your feelin's so,—  
They hesh the ground beneath so, tu, I swan,  
You half-forgit you've gut a body on.

I see again the bobolink in my father's orchard, as

Half-hid in tip-top apple-blooms he swings,  
Or climbs against the breeze with quiverin' wings,  
Or, givin' way to 't in a mock despair,  
Runs down, a brook o' laughter, thru the air.

And I am ready to agree with Hosea Bigelow, that

I'd give more for a live bobolink  
Than a square mlie o' larks in printer's ink.

In truth, I sometimes doubt whether you can find anywhere in Wordsworth or Scott or Tennyson the actual scene ren-

dered with such loving fidelity, such truth to its very atmosphere as in such passages as these from Lowell, or in Emerson's "Wood Notes," or "May Day," or in Whittier's "Snow-Bound;" while for the union of nicety of observation with poetic feeling, Thoreau's "Walden" is unsurpassed by any similar prose in the language. White's "Selborne" is meagre in comparison.

The dominant tone of feeling, too, in all this literature is very characteristic of New England. It is cool, self-controlled, with a trace of sternness. New England affections are deep, but shy and reticent. You see the inherited Puritan austerity and reserve. In the books of these men there is a high chasteness and purity of feeling; passion, but the passion of the spirit, not of the flesh; no soft luxuriance of manner, no dallying with delights of sense; no hectic or fevered love of beauty; no trace of that disordered sensibility and neurotic temper which taints so much modern writing. This literature is as healthy as the winds that blow around the granite hills of New Hampshire, or the piney breath of the woods of Maine.

Consider, also, how typical of the New England character is the humor of these men. It is of the very essence of humor, I suppose, that it cannot be accurately described; but we may all recognize some distinguishing qualities of the humor of New England. It is a good humor—never bitter or sour; I don't think we have had a New England cynic. Nor is it hilarious, Rabelaisian, or farcical. Your New England humorist never wears the cap and bells. He seldom laughs aloud; but he meets extravagance or sentiment with a look of droll incredulity. He has a certain dry shrewdness, and he will give a homely turn to the sublimest truths. His humor almost always has a moral basis, and seems to consist in some odd contrast between the commonplace and the lofty. "Hitch your wagon to a star!" Who can imagine that said by anyone outside of New England? And is it humorous or is it sublime? You hardly know, for humor of this sort in truth passes insensibly into all forms of serious feeling. Take as an example Lowell's "Bigelow Papers." So far as I can recollect, they are something unique in English poetry. The combination of such a variety of high poetic qualities in a humorous poem is unprecedented. Yet the combination does not seem forced. The exquisite description, bright imagination, delicate sensibility, intense pathos, stirring lyric appeal, are suffused in every line with a humor

which serves to heighten the passion and the beauty of the whole. Many a man cannot read or remember to-day some of those stanzas without feeling again the thrill of solemn assent with which, though only a boy, he read them first:

God means to make this land, John,  
Clear thru, from sea to sea,  
Believe an' understand, John,  
The wuth o' bein' free.  
Ole Uncle S., sez he, I guess,  
God's price is high, sez he;  
But nothin' else than wut he sells  
Wears long, and thet J. B.  
May larn, like you an' me.

This is the type of humor—varying, of course, with the person and the theme—but always serious, moral, the other face of earnestness, that you will find in all these men—Holmes, Hawthorne, Emerson, and even in Whittier and Longfellow.

And then this literature is typical of New England in that it is so thoroughly democratic. English fiction and poetry in the last century tended to patronize the people, and Wordsworth, at the beginning of our century, in his idealizing of wagoners and peddlers perhaps rather overdid it. But all such writings emphasizes the difference between social classes. In our New England writers, on the other hand, you do not find any sense of social distinction. There are no classes in their work. One of the latest historians of American literature rather amuses me by the pains he takes to prove that our New England writers came of families of excellent blood and breeding; the writers themselves never show any fussy solicitude on that point. All of them, excepting perhaps Whittier, did doubtless belong to families of comfortable wealth and of the best culture of the town. Yet they do not seem to be aware of any distinction between themselves and other people. Some of Lowell's English friends supposed that the dialect of Hosea Bigelow was that of Lowell's father and family circle. Of course it was not, but it was a speech that Lowell knew as well as he knew his mother's tongue and heard every day. It was not the speech of a peasant class elaborately represented. Parson Wilbur and Hosea Bigelow belong to the same social class, and the other name of both is Lowell. And these writers shared all the activities of their fellow-citizens. Emerson never missed his town meeting, and was once, I believe, honored with an election to the position of hog-reeve of the town of Concord

—and accepted it too. The truth is there never was a society that while making room for differences of wealth and culture and intelligence, was more generally democratic, more entirely without any hard lines of caste distinction, than the society of New England from 1830 to 1850. I think the best picture of a healthy democracy that can be found in literature can be found in the works of our New England men, and I am sure that the best defense of democracy that I know of is in Mr. Lowell's famous Manchester Address. It is true that it was comparatively easy then to believe in democracy. The problems of modern society had not yet arrived in New England when Lowell and Emerson and Hawthorne were writing. Life, as one looks back upon it, seems almost ideally strong and simple.

But most of all I hold this literature to be typical of New England in its moral quality. The moral note is dominant in every one of these writers from first to last. Their work was never merely literary, never shut up within the horizon of æsthetic interest. It all has a distinctly ethical motive. It takes a moral impulse of some sort to set the imagination at work. In the case of reformers, in men like Whittier, that goes without saying. Emerson was first of all, not the poet, not the essayist or critic, but the preacher. Some of us were inclined to resent a little Mr. Arnold's patronizing tone in his lecture upon Emerson, yet I believe Mr. Arnold was right in his opinion that Emerson was first of all a guide and helper of those who would live in the spirit. Every one of Hawthorne's tales, and even his novels, is built up about a moral conception. Lowell said, "I shall never be a poet until I get out of the pulpit, and New England was all meetinghouse when I was growing up." Even the most scholarly and academic of the group—Longfellow—exerted his best and deepest influence by his power of moral stimulus. His biographer says of "The Psalm of Life" that young men found their hearts stirred by it as though by a bugle summons. It inspired and enriched their lives. The same was true of most of his earlier and most popular writing. So Holmes in his charming papers is not concerned primarily with merely literary, artistic, or æsthetic matters, but underneath all the delightful humor is a genuine and aggressive moral earnestness. All these men derived from Puritan ancestry. They are of the school of Wither and Marvel and Milton. The training of five generations, the culture and learning of modern life, had

taken all Puritan acerbity and narrowness out of them. Their thought was thoroughly liberated; and yet the aggressive moral temper of the Puritan was in the blood of all of them.

Such, as I conceive them, are some of the characteristics of the only distinctive school of American literature we have as yet produced. We may have something greater in the future; but we shall have nothing exactly like it. For we no longer have such a New England. We have more learning in New England now, perhaps, more wealth, more enterprise; but the old simple, homogeneous society, with its directness of aims, its unity of feeling, that we have no longer. A good many people who belonged in New England have moved away to civilize the outlying districts, and their place has been taken very largely by immigrants of alien race and temper. Much of the interest of Mr. Lowell's admirable work proceeds from the fact that it was a picture of some phases of New England society in the period of its transition from the old times to the new. Nowadays, people who write of New England life are prone to go into the country a good ways, or into the past, and picture some quaint belated types as curious or picturesque; but they do not give us, as those greater writers did, the life of to-day, the life of which they are themselves a part. And I do not find in the literature of the present day any such earnestness of moral conviction and such sense of a message as I do in our earlier New England men. Not until we *do* have again some writers who have something that they *must* say, who look upon literature as something more than a pretty art or elegant recreation, shall we have any literature to match this of the New England men. I expect that greater literature before the end of another century. The very multiplicity and difficulty of the problems that are upon us may delay for a little this expression of our modern life; but the writers will arise who shall be able to set this complex life in the forms of imagination, and to touch those deep moral motives upon which we must more and more depend for the solution of all its problems. But whatever the twentieth century may bring forth, it will be the verdict of all the future that the one eminent and distinctive school of American literature in the nineteenth century was produced in New England, was the expression of the New England character in its purest form, and was represented by Emerson, Whittier, Hawthorne, by Lowell, Longfellow, Holmes.

### THE ARENA.

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#### "THE RELIGION OF CHILDHOOD"—W. R. GOODWIN'S CRITICISM.

If the "Arena" will tolerate a three-cornered discussion of this subject, I would like to "shy my castor into the ring." And in doing so I do not in the least assume that Dr. Story needs any help from me for the vindication of his article published in the *Review* for July, 1900, as against the criticisms of Dr. Goodwin in the "Arena" for the current March. If it will tend to make Dr. Goodwin feel pleasant, I shall be glad to say to him, and in the presence of all the readers of the *Review*, that I fully agree with him in so far as he agrees with Dr. Story. But with equal emphasis, and with a purpose not less to promote good feeling, I want to say that, when the doctor came to points where he dissents, it is to be regretted he did not conduct his case on its merits, instead of importing into the controversy the authority of such great names as Fletcher, Wesley, Ames, and Simpson. The latter is not fair, unless one is willing to let authority determine in all cases, which surely Dr. Goodwin would not be; because Mr. Wesley, for instance, believed in witches and put belief in witches and belief in the Bible into the same boat, to sink or swim together. No, unless a man is willing to bear a permanent "extinguisher of thought on his intellect," he cannot do that. In this world of progress the greatest authorities should be living, and the fact that a man is dead should not count.

But now for the real point at issue. The last half of Dr. Goodwin's closing sentence is as follows, "But the line of the new birth must be crossed by every child before he can become the child of God." Now, certainly, that is not what Jesus taught. What he did teach was that they were to come to him, because "of such is the kingdom of heaven," and that men were to "be converted, and become as little children"—not as little children are after they have crossed some line or other. But, now, Dr. Goodwin has to have this "line of the new birth" crossed by children, because he has previously assumed "the fact that we inherited from sinful Adam a tendency to sin," and that, therefore, "the blood of Jesus must cleanse the child from this inherited tendency." But what if this "inherited tendency" be altogether a natural tendency, and not at all a moral one? What if it be the law in the members, according to Paul, or, "the brute inheritance in man," according to evolution—the almost irrepressible physical, not yet completely dominated by the intellectual and the moral?

Such a view voids many difficulties. It is a view that is on the plane of the natural, and the natural must be heard here. For, surely, no one can have thought of this subject seriously who has not seen the difficulty of assuming an inheritance to sin from Adam. Because, if such were the fact, it must be for the reason that there is a law of our

being in virtue of which children in all cases inherit evil tendencies from their parents. That being so, it is a very mild case of inherited evil tendency that the race has from Adam, in comparison with the evil tendency which everyone now coming into the world inherits from the race. Did Dr. Goodwin ever stop to think that, to go back for only thirty-one generations, less than one thousand years, his progenitors—men and women—would number more than all the people now living in the world? If the sin of one man could put the whole race into a lost condition, surely the sins of the race should submerge the individual under a flood of evil tendency beyond hope of salvation.

The great need of the hour is to get rid of every vestige of Calvinism. Our Arminianism, until quite recently, has been more Calvinistic than we knew. There can be no clear thinking for us upon lines of anthropology and soteriology until this most horrid system of thought shall find no longer any function in the matter of vindicating "the ways of God to man." I take these truths to be self-evident:

1. That no man is a sinner except the man who has sinned. That sends out to the theological scrap pile,

In Adam's fall  
We sinned all.

2. That no man is corrupt except the man who has corrupted himself. That would send out to the same pile,

Sprung from the man whose guilty fall  
Corrupts his race, and taints all.

3. That no man can be righteous except he who "doeth righteousness." This makes man's salvation a real thing, and not a fiction.

4. That no man can be put in moral peril by having charged up to him an evil inheritance through the fault of another. That would make our religion ethical—he should no longer be "throwing things above which are wrong here below."

5. The child, being not in peril from the wrong of another, and having done no sin itself, is "of the kingdom of heaven" already. That recognizes relations as they are, and gives us a God whom we can worship, which, indeed, is a great necessity.

These five statements, all of which I verily believe to be true, have proved to me to be a very snug little theological kit—one which I can take with me to church, on the railroad train, and wherever I go. I hope it may be to others what it has been to me—a help to feel that there is a goodness in God's justice, as well as a "wideness in his mercy."

*Minneapolis, Minn.*

J. F. CHAFFEE.

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#### A WORD FOR LUCIAN.

THE very interesting article by Professor Taylor, of Boston University, in the *Review* for September, 1900, on Lucian's attitude toward Christianity calls for some additional statement. It was hardly fair to use



the *Philopatriis* to make out a case against Lucian, and then to throw doubt upon the Lucianic authorship of the piece. In reality it bears no testimony whatever as to what Lucian thought of Christianity. J. M. Gesner, in a work published at Göttingen in 1730, *De Philopatride Luciano Dialogo Dissertatio*, definitely relieved Lucian of all responsibility as the author, upon internal evidence (compare also Brockhaus, *Conversations-Lexicon*, s. v. Gesner). A. S. Farrar says, "The work hardly merits an analysis." No fair-minded writer could so estimate a work undoubtedly written by Lucian.

A distinction should be made between the genuine works of Lucian and those not genuine. Not all that is bound in with Lucian is of Lucian. A careful study of the works undoubtedly written by the author in question has led the present writer to two conclusions:

1. Lucian requires no more expurgation for modern readers than Shakespeare or Dean Swift. What is more to the point is that there is in him none of that reveling in impure imagery which we find in the great English satirist. There was no bitterness in his hatred of shams, no personal animus in his criticism of the ways of men. He is sane and hopeful to the end. As to his personal attitude to the Christian faith and creed, both he and Swift lived within the Christian era; but, though Swift lived and died within the fold of the Church and Lucian without that fold, as far as works of righteousness are concerned, in any comparison, one will not suffer more than the other. His authentic references to the Christians are not necessarily antagonistic. In the *Alexander*, the *Falsa Prophet*, he classes Christians and Epicureans together. But it was as enemies of the false, sensual imposition which Alexander, who is an historical character, had practiced upon the credulity of the people of Pontus. One who will read the *Alexander* will not censure an alliance in a cause so good. It makes one think there must have been some elements of good even in Epicureans. The *Proteus*, Lucian's chief offense, is probably a delineation of some actual impostor. One may learn from Rev. ii, 2, that there were such.

2. As a literary interpreter of the life of men in the subapostolic age Lucian has no peer, and scarcely a rival. By cosmopolitanism he outshines any Greek or Roman of the first two Christian centuries. He pictures for us men and women in all the common walks of life. I will venture to say that upon no other pages than those of Lucian shall we find so varied and sympathetic a picture of the multitude which the Christian Church sought after in the era of her early triumphs. The *Dialogues of the Courtesans* is no *Decameron*, but the story of the intensely human experiences of an unfortunate class of women. In Acts xvii, 18, certain Epicurean and Stoic philosophers ask, of Paul, "What would this babbler say?" (this "*σπερμολόγος*," this "picker up of seeds"). We do not find this word in the text of Lucian; but it is an echo of the furious logomachies described in Lucian's *Bunuch* or *Zeus the Tragedian*. What Paul thought of such a waste of useful energy he makes plain in

2 Tim. ii, 14, "charging them in the sight of the Lord, that they strive not about words, to no profit, to the subverting of them that hear."

In the *Hermotimus* we have the story of Lucian's life, singularly like the experience of Justin Martyr, up to the point where the latter met the guide who turned him to Christ. Surely we may not lay it to Lucian's charge that we cannot tell whether or not any such kindly messenger ever met him. He compels the belief that he was one of, at least, the better spirits of his age, and that he did set himself in a sincere way of his own against the evil he found in the world.

Portland, Conn.

WESLEY WOOD SMITH.

#### "WHAT CREATED GOD?"

THERE is an excellent article in the January number of the *Review* under the title, "Some Questions that Evolution Does Not Answer." On page 35 the inquiry is asked, "What Created God?" the treatment of the point being very unsatisfactory. We recall that Joseph Cook in one of his lectures touches on the same point, and leaves the question in about the same condition, quoting the answer of some one who replied to substantially the same quibble, "If my argument proves the existence of an infinite number of Gods, so much the worse for you."

It is a question long ago injected into the inquiry after the "first cause." However, the question is sprung too late, when the first cause is announced, that is, logically discerned. There the mind rests; there can be no "infinite series." The series which the seeker followed proved to be finite; and it led him, not to an infinite series, but to an infinite God, who is the only cause of the finite series.

We reach a similar result from the view point of the dependence of the material universe. It is dependent. We gather our perception of this condition of all finite things into the term, "the dependent." The idea expressed by this term comes clearly before the mind; but with it merges also another idea equally clear, the idea of "the independent." Each is as distinct and authoritative as the other. Both are axiomatic. In each case a something real corresponds to the idea. Back of the idea of the dependent is all the universe of finite things. They exist. Only the insane doubt their realness. Back of the idea of the independent is a Being measuring up fully to the mind's conception of it. The existence is real. A healthy mind does not doubt its realness any more than it doubts the validity of the axioms of science.

The independent is necessarily uncreated and eternal. Of it we may affirm all the attributes of the Deity; for they are "clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal powers and Godhead." Paul was not ranting. There is but one Independent. There can be no other. Incomprehensible? Yes. The mountain reaches far above the clouds; but we see it resting on its stupendous base, and, assured that the top is in the sunlight, our logic is satisfied.

Burlingame, Kan.

R. E. McBRIDE.

**THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.**

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**THE PRESERVATION OF INTELLECTUAL VIGOR IN THE PULPIT.**

IN order to intellectual force in the pulpit there must be a corresponding vigor out of it. A preacher whose mind has become inactive will soon show to others in his public address that it is impaired. Inaction in any organ, whether physical or intellectual, tends to deterioration and decay. This law, so well understood in worldly matters, should not be lost sight of by the preacher. Rev. Mr. A., for instance, was once a powerful preacher; but after a time people wonder why he is no longer so, although he is yet in the prime of his physical vigor. He himself is surprised at the apparent change in appreciation of his public administrations. The same sermon which years ago aroused sinners and encouraged saints falls upon listless ears. But the reason, which perhaps he does not suspect, is that the intellectual and spiritual energy which accompanied the first delivery of the discourse has departed. The words are the same, but the flash and life have gone. His intellect has not been kept awake. His mental powers are dulled by disuse, and hence the first effect cannot be expected to follow his public efforts. Mere words are destitute of power. The life must be in them, and there can be no power even in delivery when intellectual vigor has departed. The people demand genuine life—not the vigor of noise or bluster, but the deep-seated energy which is apparent even when most quietly expressed.

The preacher may well inquire, then, how intellectual vigor is to be preserved. It cannot be maintained unless the mind is kept active. Any organ of our bodies deteriorates by disuse. Movement is the law of progress. The repetition of a sermon, if the minister has simply memorized it, does not call forth intellectual energy, and hence its powerlessness. This does not lie so forcibly against those repeating the same discourse substantially, if they accompany the delivery with fresh thinking and fresh feeling. It is not necessary that one's activities be always employed in the same direction; indeed, it is best that he vary the form, both of intellectual production and of thinking. He even gains by those studies which call forth the reasoning faculties when no positive point is to be proved or enforced. This is true of the study of mathematics. It is well known that the reading over of a few geometric problems or the careful analysis of some argument on any subject prepares the mind for effective service in any practical line which is under consideration. The hands and the feet, unemployed, become weak and powerless; the mind, unemployed, loses vigor. Hence, it must be kept wide-awake by all the processes which are calculated to develop and strengthen it, and among these use is a prime factor.

Intellectual vigor may further be preserved by discovery—that is, the

constantly ascertaining of some new fact or truth and its presentation in fresh forms. The mind is in its very nature desirous of ascertaining things hitherto hidden from it. A new truth or principle or a new fact multiplies, so to speak, intellectual ability, as well as knowledge. Staleness of thought is a vice which should be avoided, and this can be best accomplished by constant interest in what is going on in the world and by grasping new thought with the intensity with which the miser grasps a new coin. Especially is this the case in the study of the Scriptures. The preacher is to bring out of the treasure house of sacred truths things old and new. There are fresh thoughts ever coming to his notice. There are new interpretations of words, fresh analyses of sentences, new forms of expression which constantly call forth intellectual effort. If one could gain a knowledge of all truth without effort, it would be a misfortune. Vigor of intellect is closely connected with freshness of study and the recognition of having found something that one has not known before which is calculated to impress others. New books, fresh and striking articles on important subjects preserve intellectual vigor long after the physical powers have become weakened.

The same result may be secured through the stimulus following from the wide reading and the profound study of the great authors, whether new or old. Some have held that only old books, which have been tried and tested, should be read. This is a mistake. Great books are ever making their appearance; not frequently, it is true, but often enough to furnish something worthy of study and thought on the part of the preacher. Contact with great books is like contact with great master minds through personal communication. A book so far above one that it is necessary to put forth all one's mental energies to comprehend it is for this reason worthy of study, if it be on a matter of interest and importance. It is well understood that in all professions men preserve their strength by reading and rereading the great treatises. There are some books which have been nourishers of successive generations. Bacon will not die, nor Plato, nor Aristotle; they are ever fresh to the real student. The great theological works also afford such stimulus as we are now speaking of—the writings of Augustine and Calvin, of Wesley and Chrysostom—not to refer to those of modern times which are constantly within reach.

Intellectual vigor may also be preserved by care for physical health. "A sound mind in a sound body" is an all-important maxim. It is true that vigorous minds are often found resident in feeble bodies, but a healthy body is the best home in which a healthy intellect can live. Mental vigor, then, involves the preservation of one's health. Failing physical strength often causes the decadence of intellectual vigor, and in many cases it is a cause which the individual cannot remedy. On the other hand, careful attention to the laws of life and health will often preserve to old age a vigorous body, and thus aid in preserving for a long period a vigorous mind.

There is another mode of promoting intellectual vigor which must not be overlooked, namely, that of constantly keeping in view the greatness of the preacher's work. To lose a sense of the dignity of the ministerial profession tends to destroy intellectual energy. One will not pour forth his best powers for that which he thinks does not deserve them. The recognition of the magnitude of the preacher's calling is a stimulus sufficient to incite all the powers, intellectual, spiritual, and physical, with which he is endowed. If one should go to a small congregation and think, "Here is a place where I need not put forth my best efforts," he will soon lose interest and power; but if, on the other hand, he regards the smallest schoolhouse in which a few people congregate as a place where the learning of an Erasmus and the eloquence of a Chrysostom may find fitting scope he will grow, even in the apparently most insignificant field. In God's sight there are no poor appointments. Often the charge which we, in our blindness, regard as unworthy of us will be found to be deserving of higher talents perhaps than we possess. The constant recognition that every place to which God calls us is a great place and that every service we are called to render is a great service because it is for him will be an incentive sufficient to keep alive our intellectual powers when age has come upon us and our physical strength has become diminished.

It is sufficient, then, to say that it is within the power of everyone to maintain his intellectual vigor, if the proper means are used. If, with diligence and fidelity to duty, we live amid the grandeurs of our vocation and amid the intellectual productions of the mighty minds of the past and present; and if, at the same time, we keep close to God in our spiritual life, intellectual vigor may be maintained down to declining years.

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THE HOMILETIC VALUE OF THE LATE REVISION—II. Rom. ii, 12, 13; iii, 20.

A COMPARISON of these passages as found in the King James Version and the late Revision deserves consideration for exegetical and also for homiletical reasons. We have already spoken of the force of the presence or absence of the article. In the general usage of this epistle the word "law" with the article—namely, "the law"—refers to the Mosaic law; without the article, to law in general. Thus interpreted, the passage as it is rendered in the King James Version means that "as many as have sinned in the law"—that is, in the Mosaic law—"shall be judged by the law"—that is, by the Mosaic law; for "not the hearers of the law"—that is, the Mosaic law—"are just before God, but the doers of the law"—that is, the Mosaic law—"shall be justified." This version, therefore, clearly regards the apostle as having in view only the law as given in the Old Testament; whereas, the late Revision broadens the scope of the word "law" by speaking of law in general. Wherever there is

law there is judgment upon those who transgress it. In no case, whether in the revealed law of the Old Testament or in the law of nature, can the hearers of law be just before God. It is only doers of law who shall be justified. We cannot fail to notice here that the apostle is asserting a great principle—that all law, whether the revealed law through Moses, or law as written on the consciences of men, must be obeyed in order to secure acquittal and approval. There can be no exemptions from obligations to obedience, wherever there is a recognition of law. The text, however, does not assert whether there is justification by law or not, but only asserts a principle that they who can be justified by law must be doers of law and not hearers merely.

The paraphrase of this passage by Sanday brings out its general meaning: "Do not object that the Jew has a possession of privilege, which will exempt him from this judgment, while the Gentile has no law by which he can be judged. The Gentiles, it is true, have no law; but as they have sinned, so also will they be punished without one. The Jews live under a law, and by that law they will be judged, for it is not enough to hear it read in the synagogues—that does not make a man righteous before God. His verdict will pronounce righteous only those who have done what the Law commands." By "no law" we understand the author to mean "no law which the Jews regarded as law."

In the twentieth verse of the third chapter of Romans the apostle states a general conclusion. In the King James Version it is declared that "by the deeds of the law"—that is, the Mosaic law—"there shall no flesh be justified in his sight. for by the law"—that is, the Mosaic law—"is the knowledge of sin." The late Revision, however, has here an alternative reading. In the text there is placed the phrase, "because by the works of the law," but in the margin we read, "works of law," following strictly the Greek. Further, "for through the law cometh the knowledge of sin" is in the text; whereas, in the margin we read, "through law." It would seem difficult to affirm that a knowledge of sin comes through the medium of natural law. Naturally it is supposed that any violation of the law which was revealed through Moses would bring a knowledge of sin, but that there is nothing in law as it is revealed in nature to indicate that a violation of the same would bring a consciousness of sin. A reference, however, to the first chapter of Romans in the Revised Version will relieve our embarrassment. We are there told that "the invisible things of him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even his everlasting power and divinity; that they may be without excuse." Here it is evident that the invisible attributes of God have become manifest through creation, namely, his power and divinity—thus affording a basis for Paul's statement that law brings a consciousness of sin, inasmuch as this law of which he is speaking is a revelation of God's power and divinity. In either case God is revealed. In the one case he is revealed through the Old Testament revelation; in the other, in the natural world. The violation,

therefore, of either law should bring a sense of sin and of consequent condemnation, and constitutes men inexcusable in his sight. Upon this point Shedd has said: "An unwritten revelation of the supreme Being himself involves an unwritten revelation of his law. The law of conscience compared with the written law differs from and is inferior to it in the following respects: 1. It is less specific; 2. It is more exposed to honest doubts in particular cases; 3. It is more liable to corruption and alteration; 4. Its sanctions are less explicit. Notwithstanding these deficiencies, however, the unwritten law is sufficiently clear to be transgressed, and sufficiently authoritative to constitute its transgression a sin."

For homiletical purposes these texts open to us great principles, namely: First, men are to be judged by the law which they have, no matter whether they have been favored with the revealed law, as was the case with God's ancient people, or whether they are dependent on the law of nature. In either case the law which they have constitutes the basis of approval or condemnation. Second, it is further affirmed that the possession of law does not constitute a ground of justification, but that the performance of its requirements is essential to legal justification. Doing, and not hearing only, is an absolute requirement. The possession of privileges, therefore, will not bring us to salvation, unless we ourselves make use of them. Third, obedience to the requirements of the law constitutes no ground of justification before God. The perfection of the divine law and the imperfection of our own nature are such, even under the gracious manifestations of God's love that absolute obedience to the divine law is impossible. We may have the spirit of obedience, but the fact of obedience in every detail is not such as to constitute it a ground of approval before God from any legal standpoint—though this does not imply that obedience to law could not justify, if such obedience were complete, but that "no man's obedience of the law is adequate to justify him." There can be no justification on this basis, as the language of the text indicates. Shedd remarks upon Rom. ii, 13: "There is no conflict here with the doctrine of justification by faith. The writer cites an axiom in ethics, namely, that personal obedience will be recognized and rewarded by that impartial Judge who is no respecter of persons, and that nothing short of this will be. That any man will actually appear before this tribunal with such an obedience is neither affirmed nor denied, in the mere statement of the principle. The solution of this question must be sought for elsewhere in the epistle." Fourth, the text further affirms the mission of law. It is to reveal to us a knowledge of sin. It shows us our own defects, our inconsistencies. It makes known to us clearly our transgressions of the holy law of a holy God, and that God cannot look upon sin with allowance, because it is antagonistic to his own holiness. Thus the text unfolds to us the helplessness through the medium of law to gain approval of God, and opens the way for the apostle's great discussion of salvation only by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

## ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH

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### CRETAN DISCOVERIES.

SEVERAL years ago Mr. Arthur J. Evans made some important discoveries in the island of Crete, and then announced that he had found on seal stones, on a libation table, and on some rocks marks which he believed to belong to some system of writing different from anything then known to the science of epigraphy. Encouraged by these discoveries, Mr. Evans has kept up his investigations in Crete since 1894, with satisfactory progress all along. But the result of this year's excavations has been very great, for, having obtained permission by the government and aided by the Cretan Exploration Fund, excavations were made at Cnossus, the capital of the island, where the early kings of Crete resided. Mr. Evans believes the ruins to have been those of the palace of Mycenaean kings of about 1400 B. C. The fresco and carving, though nearly three thousand years old, are exceedingly beautiful, superior to anything of the time yet found on the mainland of Greece. The royal bathroom is also quite unique.

But the style of architecture, with the loud testimony it bears to the advanced Cretan civilization, is eclipsed by the fact that a number of inscribed clay tablets have been found in the rooms already examined. What the rest of the ruins may produce can only be a matter of conjecture. These tablets resemble in shape those of Babylonia and Assyria; they are of different sizes, from two to seven inches long and from half to three inches in breadth. The script, however, is different from any system yet deciphered. These tablets prove conclusively that the Cretans possessed their own system of writing, at least six hundred years before the Phœnician alphabet had been introduced. "These inscriptions," says Mr. Evans, "are the work of practiced scribes, following conventional methods and arrangements, which point to long traditional usage. Yet this development has been arrived at on different lines; it is neither Babylonian nor Egyptian, neither Hittite nor Phœnician; it is the work on Cretan soil of an Ægean people." The discoverer is inclined to the belief that the tablets are palace accounts, and bases this opinion upon the fact that many of the forms and signs are repeated upon the various tablets. The more we explore, the clearer it becomes that there is no improbability that the Hebrew civilization suggested by the Pentateuch and early tradition was a reality. Indeed, explorers like Mr. Evans may yet restore Minoan to us. What, after all, if Minoan and Menes and Moses were historical characters?

More recently, in pursuance of his labors, other discoveries of unusual importance have been made by this veteran archæologist, which many believe to be among the most remarkable and important finds of the age, and which will certainly furnish a new chapter, if not in the story of



European civilization, yet in the history of writing. Mr. Evans published his discoveries in recent numbers of the *Athenæum* (London). In these communications he very fully describes the work done by him and others in the island of Crete during the past season. The explorations were made in Cnossus, the capital of the earliest Cretan kings. The results, as gathered from this brief correspondence, have been eminently satisfactory—far beyond the most sanguine expectations of the promoters of the Cretan Exploration Fund. We are told that the closing days of the work were crowned with unparalleled success. For several chambers and corridors of the royal palace contained inscribed tablets, and one room especially, which was at the extreme end of a very long corridor, had no less than one thousand inscriptions much more perfect than anything found up to that time, “and not a scrap of anything later than the fourteenth century B. C.” The tablets have characters upon them, or, as Mr. Evans says, they are in a “linear and highly developed script,” with an occasional pictorial form. These tablets, like those of Babylon and Assyria, are of clay, varying in size from two to seven inches in length, and from a half to three inches broad. Most of them are ruled, some having no less than eighteen lines, though most only two. These latest discoveries will aid materially in tracing the development or evolution of the Cretan script, of which we now possess abundant material, and which may now be divided into at least three well-defined specimens: (1) The hieroglyphic, or pictorial; (2) the mixed, or a specimen between the pictorial and the linear; (3) the linear, or, shall we say, alphabetic?

The examples reproduced in the *Athenæum* are of great interest to the student of epigraphy, though, so far, not a line can be read. It is greatly to be hoped that further explorations will bring to light some bilingual or trilingual texts, and thus furnish the key which will unlock these secrets of the distant past. But, while this key is yet to be found, from the pictorial signs and some oft-repeated marks Mr. Evans thinks that many of the tablets have reference to the war department, while others are tax lists or government accounts.

Besides the tablets large numbers of other articles were found by Messrs. Evans and Hogarth on the Kephala site. Among these were some exquisite vases in stone and metal, rings, jewelry, statuettes, axes, knives, and other weapons. Nor must we forget to mention the magnificent fresco work, painted heads, and numerous terra cottas. Many of the objects are daintily decorated in various colors, as well as inscribed with characters like those on the tablets. The numerous articles impressed show that the Cretans were skillful in making seals and gems. Mr. Evans regards the life-size figure of a bull in *gesso duro* as “the finest piece of plastic work of the Mycenæan age yet discovered” and the frescoes as excelling all others painted at that time. The letter form of the inscriptions is also, in his judgment, unsurpassed by any form of later writing.

## THE UNITED STATES AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

WE have from time to time called attention to the interest of the American people in archæological researches. This interest is constantly increasing, as is evidenced in various ways; and it is only a question of time before our larger cities and great universities will have museums of equal value and prominence with the best institutions of the kind in Europe. The large collections which have been brought to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and other cities are already not only attracting great attention, but are also proving very helpful to the student of ancient history. Professor Haupt, of Johns Hopkins, speaking on the subject has said, "If the plan can be carried out in the proper way we may be able to bring to this country a collection of Babylonian antiquities, elucidating the dawn of civilization and especially biblical archæology, not inferior to the oriental treasures of the British Museum, the Louvre, or the Royal Museum of Berlin." The great work done in Babylonia by the University of Pennsylvania, under the direction of Professor Hilprecht and others, and the large number of archæological objects secured by them for the museum at Philadelphia are too well known about to be repeated here. The readiness with which several American gentlemen have contributed of their means to facilitate exploration and excavation in Bible lands is also a matter of congratulation. Indeed, it is said that one of the richest men in the United States has encouraged a certain society to prosecute archæological work in the mounds along the Euphrates regardless of expense. If this be true more antiquities may be expected during the next twenty years than have been yet discovered.

It is with great pleasure that we call attention to a new enterprise which its promoters call "A National Expedition, for the purpose of excavating the ruins of the traditional home of Abraham, Ur of the Chaldees." Ur, by common consent, is represented by several large mounds on the western side of the Euphrates, which the Arabs call "Mugheir." Though explorers have for the past fifty years devoted more or less attention to this ancient site, little or no scientific excavations have been made. Yet travelers and explorers who have visited these mounds report that inscribed articles and objects of great interest are lying on the very surface. This is partially explained by the fact that the natives have pulled down some of the ancient walls in order to obtain the bitumen or pitch which they find between the bricks or stones. Indeed, the word "Mughier" means "cemented with asphalt or bitumen." Professor Peters, in his *Nippur* (vol. ii, p. 300), says, "I have seen no mound which seems easier or safer to excavate, or promises greater results." When Mr. Taylor, British consul at Busreh, made some superficial excavations at this place, more than half a century ago, he succeeded in tracing the ruins of a huge temple of the Moon-God, "a perfect monument of Babylonian architecture," and from under the four corners of one of its towers brought to light four very fine cylinder-

inscriptions. He also found in an ancient grave in the same vicinity not only the skeleton of a man, but also several interesting articles, such as vessels in clay and in bronze, an inscribed seal, a band of pure gold nearly an inch in width, and several stones carved so as to represent different objects. This was more than fifty years ago, and yet, strange to say, mounds so rich in material and promising such large returns have remained practically untouched all these years.

The friends of this new enterprise, including some of the most learned men in the country, have selected Dr. Edgar James Banks, formerly United States consul at Bagdad, as the proper man to superintend the work. It is estimated that at least twelve thousand five hundred dollars will be needed to open up the work during the first year, the amount being used to pay the salaries of two Americans, a Turkish commissioner, an interpreter, and a force of one hundred Arab workmen. We shall await with eagerness for the results of this expedition, the more so since a very large number of the objects discovered are to be brought to the museums of this country.

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#### AMERICAN SCHOOL AT JERUSALEM.

THE American School of Oriental Study and Research proposed for Palestine, though not yet largely endowed, is making such satisfactory progress that the managing committee, through its chairman, Professor Thayer, of Harvard, has offered a fellowship of \$500 for the year 1901-2. The candidates for this fellowship will be subjected to a competitive written examination, the results of which will in the main determine the successful candidate, though other qualities and "attainments on the part of the candidates will be taken into consideration." No one who has not a baccalaureate degree from some reputable college or university will be entitled to compete. Moreover, every applicant for this fellowship must have a fair knowledge of at least four languages, namely, Greek, Latin, German, and French. Besides these qualifications the candidate should have an elementary acquaintance with Hebrew, Syriac, and modern Arabic, as well as a general idea of the geography of the Holy Land and the topography of the leading cities, with some knowledge of the history of the country from the beginning to the present time. This is a move in the right direction, and it is a pity that every theological seminary is not able to offer one such fellowship every year, as it would encourage the very best talent in our schools to pursue archæological, historical, and kindred studies as nothing else could do.

We may also add that when this new school shall have been fully established great attention will be paid to explorations, and duly organized archæological trips under the guidance of competent instructors will be made into various parts of the Holy Land. The matriculates of this school are expected to have the degree of A.M. or B.D. from some recognized institution.

**MISSIONARY REVIEW.****THE MISSIONARY AS A PACIFICATOR IN CHINA.**

WHAT the future *status* of the missionary in China will be is, just now, a question on which no one seems to throw much light. The representatives of the allied powers have not yet attempted to grapple with the matter. In fact, they have not yet asked the Chinese authorities for any confession that they have done anything wrong in the disturbances of the year nineteen hundred, nor have they drawn from them any promise that the uprising may not be repeated at any hour hereafter; and, much less, have they come to any understanding among themselves as to how they will approach the missionary question, when the time for its consideration shall come. In short, they have as yet done little or nothing that looks to the pacification of the Chinese, except to seek to strike terror into them. This is all they have yet accomplished that tends to secure the freedom or the safety of foreigners, and it is to be doubted if this ameliorates the situation in the least.

It is uncertain if missions will be advanced to greater security for more than a brief period by alliance with these political forces, and it is possible that the only real pacification lies at last with the missionary himself. Strangely enough, this suggestion comes from a Buddhist source at this time. We have, for the first time in history, the remarkable instance of an appeal by Buddhists to the whole Christian world through the representatives of six principal Buddhist sects in Japan. While they leave diplomats to deal with the task of extricating the civilized powers from their present difficulty in China, they are frank to say that they are "fully convinced that the work of eradicating evil and consolidating the permanent peace and welfare of China must be placed in the hands of the propagandists of religion." They make handsome reference to Christian missionaries, saying that during the past ten centuries they have sailed to China, notwithstanding its great distance, and "with one heart exerted their energies for the propagation of their doctrine and the development of Christian civilization." As teachers of the Golden Rule they declare that "we, the followers of Buddha, cannot sufficiently express our sincere admiration for them." They are frank and generous enough to admit that, though the Japanese Buddhists have had a propaganda in China, they "have not yet been able to achieve anything worthy of notice, and are ashamed of their inability to follow in the steps of, and bring about the result secured by the occidental Churches in the middle kingdom." The missionary force in China may be gratified to have testimony from such a source that their work has been "absolutely indispensable for the development of civilization" in China, and that "the zeal and sincerity displayed by them are really extraordinary."

To accomplish the pacification of China by religious influences these Buddhists propose that there shall be less antagonism between religious representatives themselves, since all religions tend to conserve society, and since at bottom—as they see it—the higher classes of religion, while differing in tenets and rites, “are in all cases essentially, if not entirely, analogous,” since they “are based upon the principle of love for mankind.” This is a distinct proposition, in effect, that Buddhism and Christianity hold the key to the pacification of China, if they will only form a coalition—which from a Christian standpoint is impossible.

But the other proposition, while perhaps as nearly impracticable, is suggestive of a principle about the working of which the Christian missionary force is divided. These Buddhists particularly inveigh against the Roman Catholics for claiming an official *status* for certain missionaries in China, and for interfering between Christian converts and lawfully constituted Chinese officials. That these Roman Catholic missionaries will yield these privileges is not at all probable, since France has found in them a great means of power over the entire Chinese state, which she values perhaps equally with her possessions in Tonquin.

The only thing remaining which is worth debating refers to what these Buddhists think equally reprehensible and opposed to pacification, namely, the relations between the Protestant missionary and the consul. This has to do with territorial aggression as the Roman Catholic has to do with internal civil jurisdiction. Powers under pretense of exacting reparation for outrages against teachers of Christianity have impressed the Chinese that the missionary is a political pioneer, “followed by a consul with a general at his back ;” and “behind the man with a Bible in his hand stands a warrior armed with spear and sword.” It is natural, therefore, that these Buddhist representatives should entreat all Christian ecclesiastical authorities in the world “to exercise their interference to restrain the missionaries from proceedings likely to create suspicion of their secret connection with the foreign policy of their own countries,” in order that “the honest people of China may be induced to lay aside suspicion and apprehension, and to appreciate with delight the intrinsic virtues of religion.”

It is to be said that some Protestant missionaries have abstained wholly, and a still larger number almost wholly, from bringing their affairs to the attention of the consuls ; and many of them do not now desire that the allied powers shall do anything about the missionary question. Some of them believe an absolutely noncombative, if not politically a nonprotective, policy would put them at greater advantage to reach the Chinese, while others believe they would not have their heads on their shoulders an hour if the Chinese did not fear the political penalty. It seems quite certain that the missionary is, as the Buddhist priests say, in the possible attitude of a great pacificator, and should recognize the responsibility of the crisis. Rev. W. M. Upcraft, of China, inclines to favor the proposition of the allied representatives

that, as they cannot agree on points relating to the missionary question, they leave it out altogether, and thinks it better that "missions should not be explicitly connected with demands that must forever rankle in the minds of the most apathetic Chinamen."

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#### RELIGION OF STUDENTS IN JAPAN.

AN inquiry into the religious proclivities and tendencies of the young men of a nation, especially among those likely to become leaders, as represented by the students in higher educational institutions, would be interesting in any country. It becomes emphatically so when instituted in a land where a variety of religions exist and the population is in a state of religious transition, as is the case in Japan at present. Sixteen gentlemen of Japan somewhat recently addressed a series of questions to the students of the universities and higher schools in the empire which were designed to shed light on the religious conditions of the home, the school, and the changing phases of the thought of the times. These questions were as follows: "1. Do you believe in religion? Are you at liberty to believe it if you wish? 2. Have you any desire for religion? 3. Have you at any time believed in religion? If so, and you have relinquished that belief, state your reasons for this course. 4. If you believe in no religion, what do you depend on for regulating your daily conduct? Do you dislike religion? If so, why? 5. If you do not believe in religion yourself, do you recognize its necessity for others? If so, on what ground?"

Answers to such questions from university students might be supposed to indicate the maturer mind, yet conclusions of a satisfactory kind cannot be drawn from the replies, though they are thought-provoking. Such answers are, as a matter of fact, not complete enough to give assurance of a trend, and inferences may be made from them which would be very erroneous. In this instance over one third of those who replied concerning the religious influences to which they had been subjected in their homes acknowledged that friends and relations had made religious impressions upon them, though these were often of a very general character. Very few recognized any religious influence upon them made by the schools. Most of those admitting this had been in mission schools. The home religious influence of those from Buddhist families had been the highest; that of strictly Confucian homes the lowest, though possibly they were discriminating mentally between Confucianism as an ethical and a religious system. Some acknowledged that they had been prejudiced against religion by parents or guardians, but this most frequently meant against Christianity in particular. The anti-religious impressions received in the schools was attested to by about one in five of those who answered the inquiry. The confession that it is the superstitious element of religions which is most obnoxious is significant, as is also that of the prejudice received by the failure in the lives

of religious persons, and specially priests. Many of the students declared their prejudice against Christianity because they had been taught that it was injurious to the state. Nearly two fifths of the university students testified to having been religiously impressed by literature. Many expressions of belief were made that religion of some sort has been at the base of the convictions of the men who have accomplished great things in numerous instances. Others attributed their want of faith in religion to the reading of works of science; and still others to the reading of history, which showed them that many evils and wrongs were attributable to the religions of various lands and ages.

But the specially noteworthy answer was that two thirds of the whole believed in no religion whatever. The reason assigned by the major part of these for nonacceptance of, or nonbelief in, any religion was the hindrances or obstacles to their doing so. These were objections on the part of relations, intellectual doubts awakened by scientific research, or lack of time to maturely consider the subject. About one eighth of them acknowledged that they had no desire for religion of any kind; they objected to the thing itself. Of those acknowledging the necessity of recognizing some sort of ethical restraint, more than one half preferred to follow their own conscience rather than accept the ethical standards formulated by any of the religious systems. The trend of the answers as to the benefit of religion to society showed that those who replied considered religion rather a device than of value for its own merit.

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#### THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

A WHOLLY new phase of the question of wealth is gradually pressing on the conscience of Christendom. The marked and marvelous combinations which increase the opportunity for the evangelization of the world, and also the slowly awaking sense of obligation among Christians to their corresponding duty, are now face to face with hitherto unimagined financial possibilities. The missionary openings demand money in what some would count fabulous sums. Thousands of men and women are ready to do or die, if they may push the kingdom of Christ to the ends of the earth. Nothing seems lacking to complete the coordination but an intelligent mastery of the new problem of the distribution of wealth. Dr. L. G. Powers, chief statistician of the government census, reports the wealth of this country alone at ninety thousand million dollars, the addition in the last decade being twenty-five thousand million—a saving within a decade equal to the aggregate savings of our people from the discovery of America to the civil war, and exceeding the savings of the world from the beginnings of history to the Declaration of American Independence in 1776. The new problem is to discover the law of distribution of surplus wealth. The grace of God is necessary to its solution, and the work of evangelizing the world must come into the count.

## FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

### SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

**Paul Feine.** The Gospel as St. Paul understood and taught it continues to be a subject of investigation, particularly the question as to the course of the great apostle's own religious development, from which, in a considerable degree, it is supposed his doctrines sprang. Feine has given much study to this subject, the results of which he has embodied in a recent book, entitled *Das gesetzesfreie Evangelium des Paulus* (Paul's Doctrine of Gospel Freedom from the Law). Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, 1899. One of the first and most important questions Feine tries to answer is that concerning the religious consciousness of Paul prior to his conversion to Christianity. He reaches the conclusion that up to the time of his conversion Paul was through and through a Pharisee, in no wise influenced by Hellenism so far as his religious views were concerned. This he regards as well established by his reference to the Pharisaic conception of the Messiah found in 2 Cor. v, 16. But, as to the law, Feine thinks it certain that Paul was strictly a Pharisee prior to his conversion, and that he had looked with entire satisfaction, and even with pride, upon his zeal for the law and his righteousness under it, as Phil. iii, 6, seems to show. But by his conversion he came to see both the Messiah and the law from an entirely new standpoint, namely, that of Hellenic-Judaistic forms of thought, and reached the conclusion that his former views belonged to his period of unenlightenment. By the vision on the Damascus road the Messiah came to appear to him as not only risen and ascended, but also as spiritual, and no longer to be known or thought of in the flesh. It was also as a Christian that he came to think of the flesh as the seat of sin, and the law as the power by which sin was awakened and strengthened within man. His conversion carried with it the thought of Christianity as the universal religion. There is no evidence of a development in his Christian conception of the significance of the law. Gal. i, 10, and v, 11, do not imply that Paul had at one time in his Christian life entertained a more favorable view of circumcision. On the other hand, he felt, even before his conversion, that the standpoint of the primitive apostles was untenable. When he comes to the varied utterances of Paul with regard to the law Feine admits that the apostle's conceptions are not altogether harmonious. Paul estimates himself differently, according as he thinks of himself as fleshly or as dead to sin and the flesh through the spirit of Christ. Sometimes he thinks of the law, especially in its sublimated and spiritual aspects, as the standard, even for Christians. At other times he thinks of the Christian as in possession of the Spirit, and therewith of a standard which needs no complement in the law. A peculiarity of Feine's theory is that, since he makes conversion introduce



the sense of sin by means of a new conception of the law, he is compelled to view such a passage as Rom. vii, 14 ff., as belonging to Paul's Christian experience, and as a fair representation of what all Christians are likely to experience. This is, indeed, a conclusion which some modern exegetes are coming to, who proceed on a different theory from that of Feine. Whether Paul meant it to refer to his experience at any time subsequent to his conversion or not, it is certain that it describes phases of the experience of many other Christians.

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#### RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

**Die Bildung des Clerus in Kirchlichen Seminarien oder an Staatsuniversitäten. Historische Skizze eines hundertjährigen Kampfes in Deutschland** (The Education of the Clergy in Seminaries of the Church Compared with their Education in State Universities. An Historical Sketch of a Century's Conflict in Germany). By J. B. Holzammer. Mayence, F. Kirchheim, 1900. The union of State and Church opens some problems in the education of the clergy which are practically unknown to us in America, where the State could not possibly undertake theological instruction. We take it for granted that our ministry must be educated at the expense of the Church. The most that can be done in our country is to attempt to make theological education undenominational, as at Harvard, though the agency of the State is universally excluded. In countries where Church and State are united it is to be expected that the State shall provide for theological, as for all other, education. To this only those Protestants need seriously object who feel that the State is out of sympathy with their particular sect or denomination. But Roman Catholics, by virtue of their theory that their Church is the only custodian of true doctrine, might, and many of them do, object to State education of the clergy. On the other hand, many Roman Catholics think that such education is not only an advantage to the Church, but really a necessity. Of course, these are of the class that recognize the danger to the Church arising from great restriction of thought. They realize that profound conviction can be produced only in those who have fought out the conflict of antagonistic faith and have reached a satisfying conclusion. This book of Holzammer's takes the other view. To its author the existence of the Church is dependent upon the right education of the clergy, and this can be secured only in Church seminaries. Among the greatest dangers to the Church from State university education of the clergy is the fact that the professors are officials of the State and hence cannot be deposed by the bishops, who are the proper representatives of the doctrinal authority of the Church. Another danger arises from the fact that at the universities the Roman Catholic students come into contact with students and professors of other communions, by whom of necessity they are more or less influenced. Strange as this seems to a Protestant, it is

the only logical standpoint for a Roman Catholic, who is supposed to believe that his Church is incapable of going astray or of missing any truth of God. A third danger arises from the temptations to vice which are inseparable from the ordinary university life in Germany. In contrast with all this our author points out that when the professors are practically chosen by the bishops the doctrines taught must be correct. For Methodists, at least, this is a strange doctrine; as though bishops were more likely to be orthodox and to have the truth than others. Such a view can be held only by those who believe in the Roman Catholic doctrine of the bishop as the depository of an unbroken tradition. We trust the small freedom enjoyed by Romanist professors of theology in German universities will not be taken from them.

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**Johann Tetzel, der Ablassprediger** (John Tetzel, the Preacher of Indulgences). By Nikolaus Paulus. Mayence, F. Kirchheim, 1899. The intimate connection of Tetzel with the abuses which led Luther to begin his reformatory work will always give the notorious preacher of indulgences a position of great interest in the minds of all students of the Church history of the sixteenth century. It has become more and more a purpose on the part of Roman Catholic historians to rescue the name of Tetzel from the odium which attaches to it. This book by Paulus is written for that purpose. In order to this Paulus undertakes to show that Tetzel was neither as immoral nor as ignorant as he has generally had the reputation of being. But not even Roman Catholic skill in explaining away unfavorable testimony will suffice here, for the bad reputation of Tetzel does not rest on the assertion of Luther made in 1541, but on the letter of the papal nuncio, Karl von Miltitz, the brief of Pope Leo X to Luther, and the word of a loyal son of the Church, Johann Hass, Burgomaster of Gorlitz—all of which testimonies are unshaken and have the advantage of being contemporary with the exciting period when Tetzel was being most strongly condemned by Luther. But, in addition to this vain attempt to whiten the Ethiopian's skin, Paulus considers the teachings of Tetzel relative to indulgences. He tries to make it appear that that teaching can be discovered from three sources: (1) The so-called Frankfort theses, which, having been written by Wimpina and not by Tetzel, are no evidence as to Tetzel's doctrine; (2) the somewhat detailed official instructions according to which Tetzel ought to have proceeded in the sale of indulgences; and (3) certain sermons which possibly Tetzel left behind him. We think it very evident that none of these, nor all of them together, can be safely depended upon to reveal what Tetzel actually did. At most they exhibit the theory in its best form; and they cannot disprove the accusations which were made against him by both the friends and the foes of the Reformation. And Paulus himself confesses that, at least in substance, Tetzel taught that as soon as the indul-

gence fee rattled on the bottom of the money box the soul for which the indulgence was purchased sprang out of purgatory. Strangely enough, while Paulus tries to make that teaching unsound, from his own elaboration of the current instructions to sellers of indulgences it appears clear that Tetzel was well within his instructions when he so taught. For, according to Paulus, the instructions declared that if anyone wish to turn an indulgence to the account of one deceased, he need only perform the required external work, such as the payment of the money; it was not necessary that he himself be in a state of grace; and, further, as soon as the preceding conditions were fulfilled the indulgence became at once efficacious in all its extent, for the soul for whose benefit it was purchased. Paulus, so far from clearing Tetzel in this respect, has involved the Church in Tetzel's disgrace.

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#### RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

**The Baptists in Germany.** Since the founding of the first Baptist congregation in Hamburg, in 1834, the growth has been so encouraging that in 1899 there were 8 associations, numbering 155 congregations, with 28,898 members. Including children and other unbaptized persons more or less closely related to the Church, they have a constituency of about 70,000 souls. They have property to the amount of 3,700,000 marks. There are 217 preachers and elders and 47 evangelists and colporteurs, and the number baptized in 1899 was 1,763. The number excluded from the Church by disciplinary action was 624, which shows either that the discipline is exceedingly strict or that a very fickle class of the communities is reached. The net gain in membership during the year (1899) was 558, which is much below the average for the last ten years. The Sunday school work is effective. The number of Sunday schools is 417, with a total attendance of 18,237 members of classes. They have a missionary society, organized in 1891, with 9 self-supporting congregations and 53 mission stations, and 447 converts during 1899. The whole sum received for all purposes was 607,425 marks, or an average per member of something over twenty-one marks. They have a seminary in Hamburg for the training of preachers. The course of study extends through four years, and there are thirty-one students in attendance. From Germany the Baptists have spread into Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Russia, Roumania, and Australia.

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**The Sorrows of the French Secular Clergy.** Many causes are mentioned as leading to the exodus of Roman Catholic priests from the Church in France. Among them a chief one is the position taken by the pope on all matters pertaining to modern progress. But those who are in a position to know the facts affirm that the one great cause is the deplorable condition of the priests. Prior to the Revolution there were 36,000 of the clergy whose positions were independent of episcopal appointment. Since the concordet of 1801 there

are but 3,425 of these, while 34,000 priests are subject to the caprices of the bishop for their positions. The support also is very meager, being 900 francs for those under, and 1,000 francs for those over, sixty years of age, until at seventy the priest receives 1,300 francs. The perquisites are seldom very valuable, and there is no provision for those priests who are disabled. But the principal source of the sorrows of the secular clergy is the growth in power of the religious orders, whose members are preferred as teachers, confessors, preachers, and pastors by high and low. In consequence, the secular clergy have become constantly poorer, and the orders richer. Their numbers increase with their wealth. In 1789 there were 60,000 members of the orders, male and female; in 1899 there were 160,000. Besides all this, in any conflict of interests between the orders and the secular clergy the authorities at Rome favor the former, even though all fully understand that the latter have right and justice on their side. Nothing but the profoundest conviction or the greatest indifference can hold the secular clergy of France in the Roman Catholic Church under these circumstances.

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**Shall Donations be Forbidden?** Nothing less than this has been done in many parts of Germany, and in other parts the tendency is in that direction. The argument is that the clergy are brought into disrepute and contempt by these gifts. Everyone knows that, while they are often bestowed as tokens of the affection of the congregation, they are nevertheless intended to serve a less sentimental purpose, namely, to supplement the salary which is thereby confessed to be too small. Thus the pastor is made dependent upon the good will of the people for an honest and sufficient support. The effect is undoubtedly to belittle the pastorate into an institution that does not earn what is given and to reduce the pastor to an object of charity. On the other hand, say those who believe that donations should at least not be forbidden by law, these gifts afford an opportunity for the congregation to express its appreciation of a pastor whose services make him especially worthy. They claim that the association between pastor and people is not one of a strictly business nature, and that this tender and intimate relationship which the pastorate demands for its highest usefulness ought not to be interfered with by forbidding expressions of affection of a substantial kind on the part of the congregation. Still others argue that, if donations cease, taxes for the support of the ministry must increase. Probably all thoughtful pastors and laymen in our country have reflected on the evils and advantages of donations. The peculiarity in Germany is that the agitation is greater than the case warrants, and that the conservatives charge the liberals with being back of the abolition movement, thus making it a party question. As a matter of fact conservatives also believe in the abolition of donations.

### SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

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WITH all of its excellencies the form of government peculiar to the United States is not ideal. This conviction, into which the student of the times must inevitably come, is that strongly held by Professor Woodrow Wilson in his discussion of "Democracy and Efficiency," as found in the *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston) for March. "We have not escaped," he declares, "the laws of error that government is heir to. It is said that riots and disorders are more frequent amongst us than in any other country of the same degree of civilization; justice is not always done in our courts; our institutions do not prevent, they do not seem even to moderate, contests between capital and labor; our laws of property are no more equitable, our laws of marriage no more moralizing, than those of undemocratic nations, our contemporaries; our cities are perhaps worse governed than any in Europe outside the Turkish empire and Spain; crime defies or evades the law amongst us as amongst other peoples less favored in matters of freedom and privilege; we have no monopoly either of happiness or of enlightened social order. As we grow older, we grow also perplexed and awkward in the doing of justice and in the perfecting and safeguarding of liberty. . . . We have supposed that there could be one way of efficiency for democratic governments and another for monarchical. We have declined to provide ourselves with a professional civil service, because we deemed it undemocratic; we have made shift to do without a trained diplomatic and consular service because we thought the training given by other governments to their foreign agents unnecessary in the case of affairs so simple and unsophisticated as the foreign relations of a democracy in politics and trade; . . . we have hesitated to put our presidents or governors or mayors into direct and responsible relations of leadership with our legislatures and councils in the making of laws and ordinances, because such a connection between lawmakers and executive officers seemed inconsistent with the theory of checks and balances whose realization in practice we understood Montesquieu to have proved essential to the maintenance of a free government. Our theory, in short, has paid as little heed to efficiency as our practice. It has been a theory of non-professionalism in public affairs; and in many great matters of public action nonprofessionalism is non-efficiency." A new era has however suddenly dawned, bringing a "frontage toward the Orient," but not before we are ready. "No other modern nation has been schooled as we have been in big undertakings and the mastery of novel difficulties. We have become confirmed in energy, in resourcefulness, in practical proficiency, in self-confidence. We have become confirmed, also, so far as our character is concerned, in the habit of acting under an odd mixture of selfish and altruistic motives. . . . It is only just now,

however, that we have awakened to our real relationship to the rest of mankind. Absorbed in our own development, we had fallen into a singular ignorance of the rest of the world. The isolation in which we lived was quite without parallel in modern history." Through this we have come into an attitude of false self-confidence and self-sufficiency, as instanced in our views on the money question and on self-government itself. The new tasks we have undertaken will, however, transform us. They were destined inevitably to come, and are strangely opportune. "The East is to be opened and transformed, whether we will or no; the standards of the West are to be imposed upon it; nations and peoples which have stood still the centuries through are to be quickened and made part of the universal world of commerce and of ideas which has so steadily been a-making by the advance of European power from age to age. It is our peculiar duty, as it is also England's, to moderate the process in the interests of liberty; to impart to the peoples thus driven out upon the road of change, so far as we have opportunity or can make it, our own principles of self-help; teach them order and self-control in the midst of change; . . . secure for them, when we may, the free intercourse and the natural development which shall make them at least equal members of the family, of nations." What we shall do promises also to affect ourselves. "The reactions which such experiments in the universal validity of principle and method are likely to bring about in respect of our own domestic institutions cannot be calculated or forecast. Old principles applied in a new field may show old applications to have been clumsy and ill considered. We may ourselves get responsible leadership instead of government by mass meeting; a trained and thoroughly organized administrative service, instead of administration by men privately nominated and blindly elected; a new notion of terms of office and of standards of policy. If we but keep our ideals clear, our principles steadfast, we need not fear the change." In other words, change does not mean dismemberment. "The world is at last ready to accept the moral long ago drawn for it by de Tocqueville," who "predicted the stability of the government of the United States, not because of its intrinsic excellence, but because of its suitability to the particular social, economic, and political conditions of the people and the country for whose use and administration it had been framed."

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THE article upon "The Educational Value of the Bible," by E. W. Work, D.D., in the April number of the *Quarterly Review of the United Brethren in Christ* (Dayton, O.), is attractive in its presentation of important truth. Macaulay is instanced as recording his indebtedness to the Scripture; the testimony of Ruskin upon the same point is referred to; the statement is made that in the two volumes of Lowell's letters recently published are found references taken from twenty-five books in the Bible; and even Byron's mastery of style is attributed to his familiarity with the

English Bible. "The strong and simple Saxon of the King James Version is in part the secret of its charm. Experiments at improving the style of the Bible have been uniformly disastrous. In the year 1833 a clergyman in New England published a translation of the New Testament intended especially for the literary and cultured classes. 'Why,' said he, 'should the Christian Scriptures be divested even of decent ornament?' The following are some of his translations: 'When thou art beneficent, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand performs;' 'Contemplate the lilies of the field, how they advance;' 'At that time Jesus took occasion to say, "I entirely concur with thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth;"' 'Every plantation which my heavenly Father has not cultivated shall be extirpated;' 'Salt is salutary; but if the salt has become vapid, how can it be restored?' 'Be not surprised that I announced to thee, "Ye must be reproduced;"' 'For this the Father loves me, because I gave up my life to be afterwards resumed. No one divests me of it, but I personally resign it. I have authority to resign it, and I have authority to resume it;' 'There are numerous apartments in my Father's temple; if not, I would have informed you.' These illustrations will make it clear that to try to improve the style of the Bible is the same as trying to paint the lily or to beautify the sky." Of the educational value of the Scripture the author further says: "Some books touch us on the intellectual side, others on the emotional side, others still on the side of will or determination. The Bible touches us on all sides. No faculty of the mind is left out in the appeal which it makes. To-day it enters one door of the mind, and to-morrow another—or enters one door with one person, and another door with another person. This is what is meant by the variety of the Scripture, not mere variety in form, but intellectual variety such as relates itself most intimately to the mind and its changing moods, to life and its variant circumstances." And of the power of the Scripture to awaken religious life the author finally says: "From astonishing sources has come testimony to this power of the Bible to awaken a spiritual life. Men have tried preaching sermons from other books, but they were like 'painted ships on painted oceans.' It was poor Heine's testimony, man of rich intellect and wayward will: 'The reawakening of my religious feelings I owe to that holy book, the Bible. Astonishing! that after I have whirled about all my life over all the dance-floors of philosophy, and yielded myself to all the orgies of the intellect, and paid my addresses to all possible systems without satisfaction, like Messalina, after a licentious night, I now find myself on the same standpoint where poor Uncle Tom stands, on that of the Bible.'"

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An instance of permissible hero-worship is found in "A Tribute to Verdi," as written by Pietro Mascagni, of Rome, and published in the *International Monthly* (Burlington, Vt.) for April. Of the period in

which the great composer wrote—who now leaves to the world “an inextinguishable patrimony of art”—the author says: “One might well say that destiny wished with the glorious existence of the *maestro* to perpetuate, in the midst of man, the glory of music, the grandiose epoch of melodrama, the famous historical period of our operatic theater, which gave to the nineteenth century the title of ‘Century of Melody.’ To that magnificent period Giuseppe Verdi belonged, together with Gioachino Rossini, Gaetano Donizetti, Vincenzo Bellini, to name only the greatest. History will record that that period was initiated eighty-five years ago with the ‘Barber of Seville,’ and was closed at the end of the last century with ‘Falstaff;’ and it will record, also, that Rossini was born in the eighteenth century and that Verdi died in the twentieth. O, the power of such genius which has for an entire century educated the hearts and minds of many generations! To-day all would seem finished, after the passing of the last of these great ones, if one did not think that there still remain their work and memory.” Of the industry of Verdi, which extended into extreme old age, and of his final devotion to religion, the author also adds: “Young men arose, and he followed them anxiously, full of hope in their first steps. Alas! his great dream was not to be realized. The young ones had taken the wrong way. He saw that the whole of his work had become almost barren; he saw the real danger for the national theater, so thought he would warn those who had lost their way, that he would call them back to the straight road, that he would save them and with them the future of Italian music. He knew he was old by the years he could count, but he felt still strong and vigorous, and that he could not overcome the fever for work. It was still his holy mission; so, at the age of eighty years, Verdi offered with ‘Falstaff’ the most marvelous example of intellectual power, and gave to the melodramatic theater the newest, the boldest direction. . . . He gave another and the very last proof of his feeling for the Italian school at the age of eighty-six with fire and exceptional faith, but it was not for the theater that he wrote. . . . When he arrived at the most momentous years of his existence he turned his thoughts once more toward religion, but he would not use in any way the new precepts, the dogmas, and reforms which to-day regulate church music. Impatient, as always, of every formula, he produced his last composition, calmly writing his ‘Pezzi Sacri’ (Sacred Pieces) with that same expression of sentiment so natural to him, and which, in its devotion and piety, assumes a very special character. Verdi, who will remain in the history of music as the strongest, the most sincere, and the most capable interpreter of human and dramatic sentiment, wished to leave men and earth with his soul full of prayer and piety. It was the last and the holiest sign of his mission as musician and as man, it was the last warning, it was the last inheritance which goes to swell the immense patrimony of art and of feeling, which the great master leaves to the Fatherland, and which will bring forth fruit gloriously.”



## BOOK NOTICES.

## RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

*The New Epoch for Faith.* By GEORGE A. GORDON, D.D., Minister of the Old South Church, Boston. 12mo, pp. 412. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

Any reader of Dr. Gordon's *The Christ of To-day*, and of *The Witness to Immortality in Literature, Philosophy, and Life*, is likely to take up this book with keen expectancy, and will probably finish it with the feeling that the author's latest is his greatest. However he may hesitate over some things in it, and disagree point-blank with others, he will not find it easy to break the unified reasoning of the book, and he may concede the propriety of applying to this volume Dr. Gordon's own words concerning Principal Caird's Gifford Lectures, *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, "Under new phrases and modes of treatment lie in fresh clearness wide expanses of important truth." The conviction which framed the title of this book is that, to-day, Christian faith has a new and larger chance for its essentials, the century's doubt having proved ultimately the justifier and confirmer of faith; and in the closing chapter on "Things Expected" the author indicates some of the great issues for which he confidently hopes. Whether we regard the movements of our times as he regards them or not, we cannot well deny that his tall watch-tower has a very wide outlook over the field. Freely confessing that the situation is greater than his vision, and its meaning vaster than his judgment, he as freely speaks his "honest and emphatic opinion concerning crises upon which he has looked through his own eyes and through all other available eyes." The author's hope, to follow this with a sequel volume on the conceptions of faith that come out of the nineteenth century, seems somewhat shadowed by what, we trust, is only a temporary failure of health, necessitating vacation from pastoral duties. This book *assumes* that the religious view of the universe is true, that God is present in human life and that he works for ends, that human progress is real and that man's world possesses imperishable worth. "Of man's universe the Incarnation is the center, and God in history, in society, in the redeemed but progressive life of mankind is the permanent aspect of the Infinite love." The second chapter is on "The Advent of Humanity," and begins by saying that the best word for the distinctive character of the nineteenth century is humanity; it has been marked by a surpassing advent of humanity. It is noted that the two greatest ideas of the modern world, the idea of a universe and the idea of a humanity, both had a religious origin. Long before Newton discovered the union of all material things under the omnipresent force of gravity; ages before modern physics had gathered the worlds of space into one infinite kingdom, religious insight had dated all things from

the divine will, and grounded all things in it. The idea of a universe came as the inevitable consequence of the idea of God. Through large inductions and wide generalizations modern science has vindicated this idea of unity; it has given unexpected richness and range to the religious intuition; yet it was religion, and not scientific investigation, that first gave to the race this great conception. And for the origin of the idea of humanity one must go to the same high source. The other civilizing forces of the world look to religion for the discovery that God "made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." The Christian apostle was justified by the historical fact when he connected the idea of a human race with the conception of men as sons of God. The Hebrew faith that men are made in the likeness of God is the ultimate source of the idea of humanity. Monotheism is the priceless gift of the Old Testament to the modern world. Of this tree of life the two great branches are that *all worlds* and *all men* are *one* in *the one perfect God*. Following this statement, the author points out some of the forces which have obstructed the recognition of the brotherhood of man, and some of the periods in which the idea of the unity of the race gained strength, and among modern witnesses to the advent of humanity names the French Revolution, the poetry of Robert Burns and the influence of literature, socialism, the transformation of science, the missionary interest, and the influence of the United States. A stimulating and provocative study is the third chapter on "The New Appreciation of Christianity," setting forth Christianity as the religion of man and of the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. It closes by presenting Paul, the great Christian optimist of the first century, as the proper type and example for to-day. Paul comprehended the contradiction which the Roman empire presented in thought, in character, and in custom to the law of love in the kingdom of God; yet to the apostle the world was a world to be redeemed. He knew that the points of antipathy to his message were fundamental; yet he felt the forces in the imperial environment which were sympathetic to his gospel to be even more important, and he availed himself of those forces with tact and power. As at Athens, so everywhere, he began with the devoutness and the faith already in existence, and the altar to the Unknown God was the shrine upon which he unveiled the God and Father of Christ. Heathenism had a vast range of sympathy toward the new teacher, and the conquest that marks the career of this great man is due to the fact that by the power of the Spirit he laid a master's hand upon the side of the world sympathetic toward his purpose. The world of to-day also presents contradictions to the Christian ideal; and the unconquerable optimist, seeking the redemption of the world, will approach it on the side where it shows rudimentary or incipient sympathies toward the Christian purpose and message. The chapters following are on "The Discipline of Doubt" (showing the services of doubt to faith), "The Return of Faith" (showing that it is a return to the God and Father of Christ, is

due to a resurgence of conscious religious need, and is helped by the dominance of an idealistic philosophy), and "The New Help from History." This is not a text-book for the class room; here and there it parts company with some things still credible and valid; it is a scout's reconnoissance of regions wet with the fresh morning dew of the twentieth century. Some pages must be quoted. "The life of Jesus Christ is part of human history, it is part of the universe. And if one is seeking to discover the ultimate character of the universe, it can be little short of fatal to neglect its supreme manifestation. The idea of the Incarnation lives in the strength of the axiom of cause and effect. The cause must equal the product; Jesus Christ is not self-originated. In the highest metaphysics of theology he is still the begotten of the Father. His advent, his ministry, his passion, his whole character and career in this world need explanation. The principle of causation cries out for satisfaction here as elsewhere. Christ is a gift, a product, an effect, a manifestation of the universe; and to generalize upon the character of the universe in neglect of this supreme fact is, in the last degree, unphilosophical. In a lower sense this contention holds true also of the whole brotherhood of the brave, the good, the wise. They could not have been what they were without the endowment, the spirit, the opportunity, and the constant inspiration which they received at the hands of the universe. In the last analysis, therefore, they are witnesses for the universe. The motto written upon the forehead of every wise and just man is in the words: 'By the grace of God I am what I am.' . . . Man is the real witness for God; man at his best is the supreme evidence of the Spirit of God. The Incarnation is the only fair and adequate form in which to put the case of faith in behalf of the character of the universe before the jury of human intelligence." Again, in the same chapter: "Carlyle and Tennyson are better representatives of the spiritual meaning of the nineteenth century than Matthew Arnold and James Thomson, precisely because in the two first named the preparation for the new vision of spiritual reality is larger and more evident. Carlyle and Tennyson were both great doubters, but in both the negative movement was emphatically in the interest of discovery. Arnold surrendered more and more to doubt; while Carlyle and Tennyson, in their unceasing fight against unreality, became witnesses to substantial, benignant, abiding truth. Both have their deepest significance in their discontent with the world's vision of God, and in their strangely contrasted but common call to look more piercingly into the heart of things. Tennyson writes, 'My chief desire is to have a new vision of God.' Carlyle writes, 'The universe is full of love, and also of inexorable sternness and veracity; and it remains forever true that God reigns!'" In the chapter on "The Return of Faith" is this: "For about twenty years evolution was the romance of the intellectual world. The world was drunk with it, the season of inebriety was long, and the condition unusually heavy. Darwin, Wallace, Spencer, Lewes, Haeckel, Huxley, Tyndall, Fiske,

and scores of others were the names that monopolized attention. Evolution as an intellectual interest was universal and sovereign, and mainly, though not exclusively, in its materialistic form. Evolution was the fad of the intellectual world, and that means that it must surely pass. The mental organism of mankind could not endure this spell forever. The mood was too intense and one-sided to last. It spent its force twenty years ago; it no longer lives except in a transformed existence, and as a minister to interests mightier than itself. It has given place to the science that has at least the will to believe, and especially in Great Britain and America, to the idealistic movement in philosophy. A generation ago the majority, perhaps, of those of the medical profession who had obtained a European education were agnostics; the exact opposite of this may be said to be the case to-day. Materialistic science thirty years ago controlled the larger body of scientific students; to-day science is delightfully surprised by the fact of religion. The materialistic mood has exhausted itself." Again: "All theories of the universe are on probation; none of them is demonstrably true. This is the situation that gives faith its opportunity. Ultimate beliefs appeal for supporters by the evidence in favor of them, by their inherent reasonableness, and in one case by the additional claim of absolute nobility. Christian theism blends in its appeal these three voices. It is able to produce evidences of its truth that rise to high probability; it may confidently assert the inherent reasonableness of its interpretation of the universe; and in its highest form it adds the further attraction of utter nobility. The union of these three claims—evidence, reasonableness, worthiness—constitute the unique power of Christian theism over the mind of civilized man." Professor James's book, *The Will to Believe*, is recalled by what our author says concerning the option of faith: "Faith selects from the possibilities of the case the idea that is highest, that has the most and best to say for itself, and that is worthiest of support, as well as most supporting, during hours of darkness. Faith is essentially choice, at least it involves this function. It is a selection from among competing notions of the one that is likeliest to be true, and which, in the absence of complete proof, is best deserving of human devotion. And upon this ground there cannot be the least doubt as to the choice which an unfettered faith will make. The basis of the universe is either mental or nonmental, atheistic or theistic. . . . That cannot be true which if heeded would make impossible the noblest tradition of mankind. That cannot be true which if acknowledged would reduce to an idle dream the best in the thought and character of the race. Let the moral will defend itself and brand the materialism which would reduce it to folly as the superlative impostor. Between a universe grounded in mud and a universe based upon mind the choice and devotion of faith go to the latter. Thus faith makes its first disjunctive judgment. It must be either atheism or theism; it cannot be atheism, therefore it is theism." A unique feature of this book is the power it attributes to humor as a

discipline of saving common sense, a rectifier of errors, and a servant of truth. One chapter uses the story, given by Canon Liddon, of a Presbyterian minister who, in behalf of Queen Victoria, and in her presence, prayed thus: "Grant that as she grows to be an old woman she may be made a new man; and that in all righteous causes she may go forth before her people like a he-goat on the mountains." It is a mixture of reverent intention with ludicrous impropriety.

*Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament.* Eight Lectures on the Lyman Beecher Foundation, Yale University. By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature, United Free Church of Scotland, Glasgow College. 12mo, pp. 325. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

The air is full of biblical criticism, theological journals must discuss it and popular journals are perfectly willing to follow them. The preachers of all Churches have accepted a good deal of it, or are rather nervous about it and afraid to have anything to do with it. It is sad, but it is true, that not a few preachers have heard and read so much about Old Testament criticism that they are afraid to use the old books in the same way as before, lest some well-read hearer deem them ignorant of the new thought. They are afraid to preach about Moses, for they are not sure that criticism has really left the great fame of the mighty lawgiver altogether intact, and uneasily turn away to seek fields less marked by recent controversy. They have heard this bit of history doubted and that piece set in some new light, and their faith is really disturbed, unnecessarily disturbed indeed, but none the less really. What are such men to do? Practical affairs press too strongly upon them to permit their undertaking the elaborate study necessary to understand the problems and attain independence of judgment upon them. They must take criticism at second hand, and they need a guide. If a guide could be secured who was at once a critic and a preacher the ideal would surely be attained. Professor George Adam Smith, of Glasgow, is one of the foremost of modern biblical scholars. He has made original contributions to criticism, everywhere recognized as important; his book on the Geography of the Holy Land is the best on its subject, and he is withal a preacher of power and unction, swaying men with a powerful presentation of the Gospel of Christ. As a critic he knows what criticism is and how many of its results have found general acceptance. As a preacher he knows how far he has been personally able to use the results and how far they have modified his own message to men. In every respect he is qualified to introduce to preachers the modern historical and literary criticism, and to instruct them concerning its possible bearing upon their own message to men. The book contains eight lectures, with the following titles: The Liberty and Duty of Old Testament Criticism as Proved from the New Testament; The Course and Character of Modern Criticism; The Historical Basis in the Old Testament; The Proof of a Divine Revelation in the Old Testament;

The Spirit of Christ in the Old Testament; The Hope of Immortality in the Old Testament; The Preaching of Prophets to Their Own Times, with Some Account of Their Influence upon the Social Ethics of Christendom; The Christian Preacher and the Books of Wisdom. The first quality that the careful reader will perceive in this book is its tone of confident, optimistic conservatism in respect of the fundamentals of the Christian view of the Scriptures. Here, for example, is a representative paragraph: "I think it can be shown that criticism, so far from throwing doubts either upon the uniqueness of Israel's true knowledge of God, or upon the personal influence of God as producing this, certainly proves the former, and leaves us with the latter as its most natural and scientific explanation. Or to put this otherwise—the most advanced modern criticism provides grounds for the proof of a Divine Revelation in the Old Testament at least more firm than those on which the older apologetic used to rely." To this paragraph there is appended a footnote so important that we cannot forbear its quotation though it is long: "It would be very easy to prove the compatibility of belief in Revelation in the Old Testament with the results of modern criticism by simply citing the personal dicta of some of the most eminent critics. There is an idea abroad among Christians that the whole critical school are hostile to belief in Revelation. For this some critics, who avoid the question of Revelation even when their discoveries lead them to the verge of it, are partly to blame; but it would be readily dispelled by the explicit confessions of such belief by other critics, and these among the most able and advanced. Kuenen, in his collected Essays, approaches the question of Revelation in the Old Testament, yet never addresses himself to it. I stated this in a review of the German translation of the Essays (Kuenen's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1894) in the *Expositor* (July–December, 1895), and the translator, Professor Budde, a pupil of Kuenen, and one of the most eminent of German critics, wrote me that the observation was right, but that as for himself his belief in 'a genuine revelation of God in the Old Testament remains rock-fast.' That belief has been shared and stated by a number of advanced critics. The late Professor Robertson Smith affirmed again and again his belief in the Divine Origin of the Old Testament, and in the last of his Burnett Lectures (unfortunately unpublished) proved 'the uniqueness of Hebrew prophecy and the impossibility of accounting for it by natural or historical reasons' (from a manuscript report of the last Burnett Lecture). Compare also *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 297." Expressions of similar assurance abound in the book. To some who are wavering and hesitant, fearful and disquieted amid modern critical struggles, the book will be a veritable tonic. But the careful reader will probably observe a second thing in the book. He will notice by the side of this optimism a perfect frankness in the statement of these new views. They are new, they are more or less in conflict with venerable traditions, they do involve a reconstruction in the inherited faith of most men, and Pro-

fessor Smith makes these facts perfectly plain. Let no man hastily accept them under the impression that it makes no particular difference one way or the other. It does make much difference, and each reader will do well to mark this carefully. Here is the modern critical view, and here is the manner in which a distinguished preacher uses it in the practical work of the ministry. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind, but let him not neglect to read this book if he desire an easy and attractive avenue into the field of criticism, or if he be already disturbed by questions to which his mind finds no ready answer.

*Sunday, the True Sabbath of God; or, Saturday Proven to be Neither the Sabbath of the Old Testament nor the Sabbath of the Ancients who Lived before the Christian Era. Being a Complete Refutation of the Saturday-Sabbath Heresy and a Vindication of the Changeableness of the Day of the Sabbath.* By SAMUEL WALTER GAMBLE, of Ottawa, Kansas, a Member of the South Kansas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and a Field Secretary of the American Sabbath Union of New York City, etc. 12mo, pp. 203. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, \$1.

In counteracting the teachings of the Seventh-day Adventists throughout the West the author of this volume has given conspicuous and useful service. Upon these Adventists he puts the responsibility of the defeat of the Blair "Sunday-Rest Bill," while their present efforts are directed toward "the repeal of all Sabbath laws, both in State and nation," these efforts being fortified by the voluminous outputs of two large publishing houses. The influence of these Adventists, according to Mr. Gamble, is most pernicious. Not only have they undermined the popular conviction upon the sanctity of the Sabbath, but they have also in the past seven years succeeded in doubling the amount of compulsory Sabbath labor, so that it is now "estimated that over four million American laboring men are compelled to labor every day alike, or risk being thrown out of employment if they refuse to labor on the Sabbath." Such is the evil influence which Mr. Gamble, in the intervals of a busy secretaryship, has aimed to antagonize by the writing of the present treatise. His position, in a word, is that the Sabbath has existed from the beginning, the day given to Adam in Eden having been Sunday and not Saturday, and that this Sabbath, having been kept for about eighteen centuries, was lost; that "after the confusion of tongues a great variety of Sabbath countings was instituted, which changed the Sabbath from twelve to thirty-six times a year from one day of the week to another;" that "God led the Egyptians into the nearest approach to the Edenic Sabbath, by enabling them to establish a fixed week of seven days, commencing with the day of Saturn and ending with a seventh-day Sabbath—Friday;" that God "gave the children of Israel a system of fixed-date Sabbaths, which changed once every year between the Exodus and the Crucifixion to a different day of the week, and hence that Saturday was never a Jewish Sabbath for over a year at any one time until after the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus;" that the Roman week "from before the birth of Christ to near the close of the fourth century

A. D. was eight days long, and hence that their Sabbaths changed forty-five times every year to a different day of the week;” and that Christ, “in fulfillment of prophecy, made the Sunday of his resurrection the Sabbath” which shall continue to the end and “become the Sabbath of all nations.” Into the merits of Mr. Gamble’s argument we may not enter. The titles of the successive chapters will, however, suggest the line of his discussion, as follows: “Brief Statement of Sabbath Doctrine,” “Ancient Calendars and Ancient Methods of Sabbath Counting,” “The True Bible Calendar,” “Jewish Sabbaths, or the Sabbaths during the Jewish Dispensation,” “Objections to the Jewish Sabbath Teachings Briefly Considered,” “The Christian Sabbath Studied Negatively, or the Chief Arguments Against Sunday-Sabbath Observance Considered,” and “The Christian Sabbath Positively, or the Christian Sabbath in Old Testament Prophecy and New Testament History.” Besides his patient and scholarly treatment of the great subject under review, Mr. Gamble has inserted a chart which is as instructive as it is ingenious. His volume, whose Introduction is written by Bishop Fowler, deserves a place among the standard authorities.

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#### PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

*Education and Life.* By JAMES H. BAKER, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 254. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

Of these papers and addresses ten are under the head of “Education,” and eight under the broader title. The first group includes a general view of the field, secondary education and its relation to the elementary and higher, some principles and problems of the elementary and secondary periods, higher education, and the practical bearing of all mental development. Such views as the following are presented: All education must be brought into closer touch with the work and the problems of to-day. The social aim in the preparation for citizenship must be given more prominence. Though mental power is the great need, it avails nothing without a content of knowledge. Because each field of knowledge has its own peculiar value the choice of studies during the period of general training is not matter of indifference. The studies in a given period should be good preparation for higher grades of work. The entire time between the first grade and college graduation must be shortened. We have suffered from false interpretation of the doctrines of pleasure, pursuit of inclination, punishment by merely natural consequences, and following lines of least resistance. A senior in college took for his electives Spanish, French, and lectures in music and art, merely because they were easiest—in the line of least resistance. A trenchant pen admonishes thus: “Soft pedagogics have taken the place of the old steep and rocky path to learning. But from this lukewarm air the bracing oxygen of effort is left out. It is nonsense to suppose that every step in education can be made interesting and pleasant.” Prevailing educational methods give license to evasion, indolence, and dilettanteism.



In the presence of modern science both those who accept and those who refuse its teachings may agree to say, "Evolution must be interpreted, and the purpose of creation must be judged, not by the first struggle of a protozoan for food, but by the last aspiration and effort of man for heaven." Many fear that a practical, scientific age may destroy the poetry and romance of life. But Carlyle teaches truly that romance exists in reality, rather than in mythologies and fictions, "The thing that is, what else can be so wonderful?" And in a wonderful passage he adds: "In our own poor century man witnesses overhead the infinite deep, with lesser and greater lights, bright-rolling, silent-beaming, hurled forth by the hand of God; around him and under his feet the wonderfulest earth, with her winter snowstorms and summer spice airs, and (unaccountablest of all) *himself* standing here. He stands in the lapse of Time; he sees eternity behind him and before him." True and sure is the prophecy that the intellect of man will finally return from all its discoveries to say to the human soul: "Far and wide I have sought a basis for truth and found it not. Any philosophy that fails to recognize God is false. Search your inner consciousness. You are yourself God's highest creation. You see beauty in the flower and glory in the heavens; you have human love and sympathy and divine aspirations. Life to you is nothing without aim and hope. Trust your higher instincts!" In the chapter on "Plato's Philosophy" it is noted that Plato, regarding education, mental and moral, as the foundation of the state, wished to make it compulsory, and to give women the same training as men. These words are quoted from the conclusion of Plato's "Republic:" "My counsel is that we hold fast to the heavenly way and follow after justice and virtue always, considering that the soul is immortal. Thus shall we live, dear to one another and to the gods, both while remaining here and when like conquerors we go to receive our reward. And it shall be well with us both in this life and in the pilgrimage of a thousand years." Impressing the lesson that sentiment, feeling, and principle should culminate in action, the author says, "Do not allow your finer emotions to evaporate without finding expression in some useful act, if it is nothing but speaking kindly to your grandmother, or giving up your seat in a street car." He also says, "The whole curriculum of study, from the kindergarten to university graduation, should be a disclosure and impartation of ethical conceptions, a practice in right action, and an encouragement of right purpose." Our principal complaint against this book is that it over-values State universities and fails to do justice to denominational colleges. A wholesome chapter is that on "The Modern Gospel of Work," which says truly that Edwin Markham's "Man with the Hoe" is wrong at the foundation, not correct science, nor good philosophy, nor accurate history. It regards labor as a curse; but without the hoe the human race would be chimpanzees, savages, tramps, criminals. In human development no useful labor ever "loosened and let down the brutal

jaw," or "slanted back the brow," or "blew out the light within the brain," or deprived man of his birthright. By cultivating the soil man cultivates his soul. The hoe has been an indispensable instrument to the growth of intelligence, morals, and manhood. The same chapter has the following: "It is a scientific fact that prayer is for the health of the soul. It is useless to theorize upon the subject—men pray because it is their nature; they cannot help it. The Christian experience shows that prayer is a communion of man's spirit with God, the Spirit. John Fiske affirms the reality of religion. He argues that the religious idea has played the dominant part in history; that *all the analogies of evolution show that man's religious nature cannot be an adjustment to an external nonreality*; and concludes thus: "Of all the implications of the doctrine of evolution with regard to man, the very deepest and strongest is that which asserts the Everlasting Reality of Religion. That this is a world in which science is possible proves it a rational world; and the natural inference is that it has a rational Creator." Professor T. H. Green writes: "*That God is, Reason entitles us to say with the same certainty as that the world is or that we ourselves are.* What He is, it does not, indeed, enable us to say in the same way in which we make propositions about matters of fact, but *it moves us to seek to become as He is, to become like Him, to become consciously one with Him, to have the fruition of His Godhead.* In this sense it is that Reason issues in the life of Faith." It requires greater credulity to call the Christian experience an illusion than to accept its reality and validity. Here are some significant expressions: "Faith is the X-ray of the soul;" "Those who are overcome in the struggle may have their reward; at Thermopylae the Persians won the laurels, but the Spartans the glory;" "When you see a man of marked power you may always be sure that he has used means of self-discipline and development which the average man neglects to use." Tennyson's son testifies to his great father's "splendid faith in the growing purpose of the sum of life, and in the noble destiny of the individual man;" to his belief that "it is the great purpose which consecrates life;" to his feeling that "only with his 'sword bathed in heaven,' can a man combat the cynical indifference, the intellectual selfishness, the sloth of will, utilitarian materialism of a transition age;" to his conviction that "the truth must be larger, purer, nobler than any mere human expression or comprehension of it;" and to his affirmation that "if you take away belief in the self-conscious personality of God, you take away the backbone of the world." What a testimony to the worth of prayer, and Church, and Sabbath is in these lines from Goethe:

Once Heavenly Love sent down a burning kiss  
 Upon my brow, in Sabbath silence holy;  
 And, filled with mystic presage, chimed the church bells slowly,  
 And prayer dissolved me in a fervent bliss,  
 And, while a thousand tears were burning,  
 I felt a world arise for me.

*The Map of Life.* By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY. 12mo, pp. 363. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

An eminent historian of the philosophic type, in the late afternoon of life, records here the reflections which have arisen in his mind from a wide, long, patient survey of the human lot and character. It is a cool criticism of life and conduct, not overcynical for an old man—an unsentimental, unenthusiastic meditation, with something of Benjamin Franklin's practical philosophic temper. It begins with a discussion of happiness, defining it as a condition of mind, dependent on character and disposition more than on circumstances; the relation of wealth, and of morals, and of civilization to happiness; the importance of not making happiness the main object of pursuit, of seeking to avoid suffering rather than to attain pleasure, of filling life with work, and of remembering that the greatest pleasures are in spheres accessible to all. It is noted that improvement in character is more within our power than improvement of intellect, and that high moral qualities often go with low intellectual power; that progress in morals through centuries has been chiefly in the differing proportionate value attached to the various virtues. (Jesus set the world forward partly by exalting virtues and qualities which had been despised.) Lecky points out the reality of human depravity as illustrated by war, by the large amount of pure malevolence and cruel selfishness in the world, and by the mendacious and predacious practices of even civilized men. In several chapters he sets forth what he calls the necessity of moral compromise in life, and illustrates from history, with critical comments, the place which moral compromise has had in war, in the law, in politics, and in the Church. He discusses the ethics of war, its sufficient causes, lawful and unlawful methods of conducting it, the treatment of prisoners and of private property, and the binding force of a military oath. He reasons about a lawyer's temptations, how far an advocate may support a bad case, the license of cross-examination, and the defeating of justice by technicalities. He considers the difficulty of reconciling old formularies with changed beliefs, the growth of new ideas in the Church, modern ritualism and the sacerdotal spirit, how far clergymen may dissent from parts of a Church's theology and yet remain in it, the increasing sense of the relativity of belief, and the capacity of religion to undergo transformation. He emphasizes the necessity of training the will to mastery over desires and thoughts, showing its importance in all mental and moral culture. The difference in men, as to concentration and force, is largely a difference of will power. The last chapters treat of money, and marriage, and success, and time, and death. Speaking of the English, it is remarked that they do not dwell much on their emotions or indulge in free expression of them; demonstrations of sorrow or of joy are restrained; the custom of perpetuating grief by protracted mournings and by long retirement from the world is steadily diminishing. Similarly, English Protestantism lays less stress on the inner feelings than on

action; it discourages the habit of minute introspection which the Romish confessional promotes, which is so prominent in the writings of Catholic saints and of other mystics; and it regards improved conduct and the active service of worthy causes as the most trustworthy measures of spiritual progress. Speaking of the curious ways in which men seek and find enjoyment, it is narrated that Lord Althorp, near the end of his long parliamentary career, declared that the thing that had given him the greatest pleasure in life was to see sporting dogs hunt; which reminds us of a man, known to us, who lived eighty-five years, of whom his own son wrote with filial pride that the principal aim of his father's long life had been the improvement of his dogs; which recalls the woman whose relations with the cosmos were described thus, "Herself first, her pet dog a bad second, and the rest of the world nowhere." What low and trivial aims engage mankind, who ought to rise so high! Lecky does not agree with the antivivisectionists who oppose experiments on living animals and who would thus close the best hope of finding remedies for some of the worst forms of human suffering. Speaking of statesmanship, it is truly said that, under free institutions, the true statesman must be able to discern the people's wish; as a French writer puts it, "The great art consists not in hearing those who speak, but in hearing those who are silent;" not in listening to intrusive, self-seeking, ambitious, and voluble politicians, but in knowing what the *people* think and want, and then executing the people's will "as lightnings do the will of God." It was Lincoln's habit when the politicians were babbling and whispering to him, to lay his ear to the ground for the murmur of the will of the great American public. Sometimes he called Matthew Simpson from his constant mingling with men in all parts of the Union to tell him what the people were saying among themselves about the course of the government. The friends of the President now in the White House, who has been called "an opportunist" and accused of having no policy, point out that in this respect he is like Lincoln, conceiving his duty to be not to execute his own will and preference, but to obey the will of the people, after having taken all possible pains to ascertain what that will, from time to time, is. Pertinent, just here, are Lecky's words about a statesman's difficulty in steering his way between rival fanaticisms—"the fanatics who pardon everything if it succeeds and conduce to the pride of empire, and who act as if weak powers and savage nations had no moral rights; and the fanatics who seem to have a leaning against their own country, and who imagine that in times of war, anarchy, or rebellion, and in dealing with savage or half-savage military populations, it is possible to act with the same respect to the technicalities of law, and the same invariable high standard of scrupulousness, as in a peaceful age and a highly civilized country." The present German emperor is censured for hastening to Constantinople, so soon after the Armenian massacres, to clasp the Sultan's hand, so deeply stained

with innocent Christian blood, and then proceeding to the Mount of Olives to proclaim himself, with melodramatic piety, the patron and champion of the Christian faith! Our author says that the scientific doctrine of evolution is in no degree inconsistent with the belief either in a Divine and Creative origin of things or in a settled and Providential plan. Concerning the roominess of the Church of England, Lecky writes: "There are to be found within it men whose opinions can hardly be distinguished from Deism or Unitarianism, and men who abjure the name of Protestant and are only divided by the thinnest partition from the Romish Church. And this diversity exists in a Church which is held together by articles and formularies of the sixteenth century." Speaking of the efficacy of Christian Churches in promoting that spiritual life which, whatever men may say of it, is at least one of the great realities of human nature, the author says: "The power of a religion is *not* to be mainly judged by its corporate action, by the institutions it creates, or by the part it plays in the government of the world. It is to be found much more in its action on the individual soul, and especially in those times and circumstances when man is most isolated from society. It is in furnishing the ideals and motives of individual life; in guiding and purifying the emotions; in promoting habits of thought and feeling which rise above the things of earth; in the comfort it can give in age, sorrow, disappointment, and bereavement; in seasons of sickness, weakness, declining faculties, and approaching death, that its power is most felt. No one creed or Church has a monopoly of this power, though each has often tried to identify it with something peculiar to itself. It may be found in the Catholic and in the Quaker, in the High Anglican who attributes it to his sacramental system, and in the Evangelical in whose eyes that system holds only a very subordinate place." He thinks that religion's deepest roots are less in the reason of man than in his sorrows and his affections, and that religion is preeminently "the expression of wants, moral appetites, and spiritual aspirations, which are an essential, indestructible part of his nature." How life's needs are in league with the preacher to press men toward religion, is indicated in this passage: "Young men often discuss religious questions simply as matters of intellectual debate; but later in life they more frequently accept their creed as a working hypothesis of life; as a consolation in innumerable calamities; as the one supposition under which life is not a melancholy anticlimax; as the indispensable sanction of moral obligation; as the reflection and gratification of needs, instincts, and longings which are planted in the deepest recesses of human nature; as one of the chief pillars on which society rests." Our author shows his ignorance in accepting as a fact the alleged tendency of the children of clergymen to go conspicuously to the bad. No slander can be more easily and completely disproved by investigation anywhere and everywhere; for it has been conclusively ascertained that no other class of children so generally show a strong tendency to go

conspicuously to the good and to rise to positions of eminent usefulness and honor. We end this notice of a generally judicious book with this touching epitaph from a German churchyard: "I will arise, O Christ, when thou callest me; but O! let me rest awhile, for I am very weary!"

*Modern Methods of Church Work.* By Rev. GEORGE WHITEFIELD MEAD. 12mo, pp. 363. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

This book, though not just from the press, is as valuable as on the day of its first issue. There is a prevalent feeling among all Churches that some old methods of Christian work are now unsuitable and ineffective. Results from their use are not satisfactory. In the business world methods are changed continually to meet changed conditions. The conditions amid which the Church labors for its success change also, and the same alertness, inventiveness, and readiness to employ new methods and agencies, are required if any hope of success is to be entertained. No Church ought to be less tied up to mere custom and form, and more vigilant and quick to vary and improve its methods, than our own; for Methodism began as an almost revolutionary innovation in methods and plans of work, amid a storm of criticism from the custodians of customs and precedents. Our Church should always allow room for the spontaneous play of versatile inventive genius eagerly bent on adapting means to ends for the solving of problems and the salvation of men. Let there be liberty for ardent and intrepid men to try all sorts of decent expedients. Let us not find fault with methods because they are new. Agile adaptability to an infinite variety of situations and populations has characterized Methodism. Let us exact of Christian workers zeal and success; to this end let us leave them free as to methods, not tying them up with the red-tape of custom. We are the servants and imitators of a God who "fulfills himself in many ways." The Introduction in the book before us refers to the magnificent adventurousness of those great days when the Wesleys broke through all precedents and horrified a conventionalized Church by their unprecedented and unsanctioned methods of going after the multitudes to reach and gain, and save them. Their marvelous success was their overwhelming vindication. With a sacrificial spirit as changeless as the purpose of Christ to save the world, the Church's ways of working must be flexible to fit every new occasion. The spirit of the free workman, impatient of restraints and hampers, is typified in Phillips Brooks chafing against the rubrics, dashing down the Prayer Book that he might, upon occasion, pour out the hot, tumultuous, unlimited passion of his sanctified soul in spontaneous prayer, and discarding his sacerdotal robes at times that he might stand and talk directly, as man to man upon the street, as brother conversing appealingly with brothers on a level, unisolated by peculiar garb. This is a timely book; it will help to make a larger one like it necessary in a decade. It tells of a large variety of methods which have been tried by various workers of various communions, in different places, and fully

describes them. Many experiments are being tried, risking mistakes on the basis of the conviction of Frederick W. Robertson when he said, "He is not the best Christian or the best general who makes the fewest mistakes; but he is the best who makes the most splendid victories by learning wisdom from his mistakes and retrieving his false steps." The greatest of all mistakes is not to try other methods when any given method fails. These forty-four chapters present a large volume of instructive, suggestive, and stimulating information, which it will profit any Christian minister or layman to read and study. The range of subjects is extensive: "The Free, the Open, and the Institutional Church," "Reaching People Outside the Church," "Reaching Strangers at the Services," "The Ushers," "The Choir," "Men's Clubs," "The Sunday Evening Service," "The After Meeting," "The Pleasant Sunday Afternoon," "Young People's Societies," "Prayer Meetings," "Cottage Prayer Meetings," "Open-Air Preaching," "Rural Evangelization," "Reaching and Holding Young Men," "Reading-Rooms, Literary Societies, and Entertainment Courses," "Women's Work," "Work with Girls and Young Women," "The Social Problem of the Church," "The Children of the Church," "The Sunday School," "Lectures to Boys Only," "The Boys' Club," "The Boys' Brigade," "Industrial Classes," "Kindergartens," "Temperance Work," "Dispensaries," "Diet Kitchens," "Deaconesses," "Beneficiary and Loan Associations," "The Plural Pastorate," "The Free-Pew and Voluntary-Offering System," "Church Programmes, Bulletins, and Advertising," "Church Architecture, New Styles," "Results of New Methods." A mere glance at this enumeration of new agencies and instrumentalities must impress the most superficial reader with the immense fertility and intense activity of the Christian Church, and so inspire hope for the future. Yet alertness, consecration, and energetic effort are far from being as prominent and prevalent in Zion as they should be, and there is still in many places too much reason for deploring, with Phillips Brooks, the "awful sluggishness of Christendom," the "terrible torpidity of the Christian Church," and for praying with him that "God may come near to us this very year and give us a great, true revival of religion."

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#### HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

*A History of Babylonia and Assyria.* By ROBERT WILLIAM ROGERS, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D., F.R.G.S., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey. 2 volumes, 8vo, pp. xx, 429, xv, 418. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. Price, cloth, \$5.

The science of one of the most ancient of historical subjects is still young. It was the University of Berlin that first gave recognition to the science of Assyriology, by creating a chair and appointing to it Eberhard Schrader, an Old Testament scholar, who was the first man in all the world to become Professor of Assyriology. It is interesting to note

how much this modern science owes to its first professor. Schrader's pupils are his testimonial and his crown. Out of his class room came Friedrich Delitzsch, the philologist, who wrote the first complete Assyrian grammar and made the first complete Assyrian dictionary. Delitzsch transmitted the impulse received from Schrader to one of his own pupils, Fritz Hommel, of Munich, who issued at Berlin, in 1885, an important *History of Babylonia and Assyria*. It was also under the inspiration of Schrader's exposition of the historical value of modern oriental discoveries that Dr. C. P. Tiele, a theological professor in the University of Holland, published at Gotha, in 1886, his *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*. Then, in 1892, another of Schrader's pupils, Hugo Winckler, wrote a suggestive and ingeniously speculative book, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*. And now comes Robert W. Rogers, also, be it noted, one of Schrader's pupils, with a history supplementing the others and in many items correcting them with his fuller and later knowledge—a history worthy to rank with either of the three great books above mentioned, and surpassing them in some important and easily noticed particulars. Of scientific books devoted *exclusively* to the history of Babylonia and Assyria, Hommel, Tiele, and Winckler had, until now, produced the three most notable, to which this work of Professor Rogers may be said to add itself as the fourth in line, extending, rectifying, and completing up to date the work of his predecessors. This is not saying that there are not other books of value touching the history of Babylonia and Assyria, but they treat that history in connection with the history of other oriental peoples, and generally with other than purely historical purpose. Of the three great works above named, Hommel's is nearest akin to, and most natural to be compared with, this new work by Professor Rogers. One of the chief values of Hommel's work is its good account of the discovery and decipherment of inscriptions, of which there is no account whatever in Tiele or Winckler. But Hommel's account extends only to 1885, and fills only seventy-seven pages, while Rogers's account is to 1900 and occupies two hundred and fifty-three pages. Hommel has nothing at all about the decipherment of Vannic or Chaldian texts and very little about the Sumerian question, upon which Professor Rogers gives in chapter vii, Vol. I, what Professor Sayce pronounces "a clear and admirable summary." Moreover Hommel often refers only second hand to early documents to which he had no access, while Rogers has examined and diligently studied them all, so that his references to them are all at first hand. Hommel's account of early discovery begins with Pietro della Valle about 1618 A. D.; but Dr. Rogers shows (Vol. I, pp. 3-5) that it really began with Odoric about 1320 A. D., and besides adds to those previously known to Hommel the names of Barbaro, Antonio de Gouvea, and Don Garcia de Sylva y Figueroa. These last and other items of value in the book before us have been noticed and credited by Dr. William Hayes Ward, director of the Wolfe expedition to Babylonia (which went from New York in 1884, its expenses being defrayed by Miss Cath-



arine L. Wolfe), especial praise being also given to Professor Rogers's account of the dynasties and successive rulers of Babylonia and Assyria, the story of which is graphically told and the relation to Egyptian and Jewish history well brought out. *The Independent*, of which Dr. Ward is editor, says, "We are compelled to pay tribute to the faithfulness of investigation, the largeness of view, the breadth of knowledge, the general soundness of critical discernment, and the succinct compactness by which a large field is brought within reasonable compass in this eminently readable book." Professor Gilmore, of Meadville Theological School, in *The New World* for December, 1900, noting many excellences in this book, says that the data for the chronology of the subject have never been better set forth. Not only is this true, but it is a fact that never before has *all* the chronological material been assembled in one place, annotated, explained, and sifted. This unprecedented achievement is in Vol. I, chapter xii. Professor Gilmore says that a serviceable bibliography of the best books in English on Babylonian and Assyrian history would be Maspero's three huge volumes, *Dawn of Civilization*, *Struggle of the Nations*, and *Passing of the Empires*; McCurdy's work, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments* (the third volume of which will soon be noticed in our pages, as the previous volumes have been); and these two volumes by Robert W. Rogers. As to the style in which this book is written, it should be said that scientific works do not aim at rhetoric or literary elegance, and that much use of foreign languages, ancient and modern, with constant translating of archæological inscriptions, might well result in an un-English style. But while Dr. Rogers has lived much with the modern languages which have given him immediate access to the European literature of his subject, and also with Assyrian, his mastery of which is shown by the scholarship in cuneiform contained in his book, yet Professor Gilmore justly commends our author's style, which is most effective for its purpose, being not cumbrous, but characterized by short, direct, lucid sentences, and free from obscure periods. It is widely known that few if any men have such power to interest audiences by lectures on ancient historical themes as Professor Rogers manifests in making archæological research and discovery seem perfectly fascinating even to uninstructed hearers who might be expected to find such subjects dull; and he has written his history similarly, in a vivid and living way. It is impossible not to notice that the book is a marvel of condensation. Dr. Talcott Williams, himself an orientalist, says that our author stands among the few who have made a vast field accessible to the general public; that in these two laborious and exhaustive volumes an inestimable service has been rendered by collating what is valuable from an enormous amount of matter scattered in hundreds of publications relating to a period of history twice as long as the Christian era, and by adding new matter from some fields in which the author is an original and independent investigator. In this, continues Dr. Williams, American scholarship presents an achievement which is of the

highest usefulness. *The Critic* for March, 1901, noticing the extraordinary power of condensation, of which we are speaking, says that, in Dr. Rogers's book, the gist of volumes sometimes lies in four lines of a footnote. The necessity for compression would alone prevent an elaborate or graceful style; but such a style, as already remarked, is not to be expected, nor even desired, in a scientific work like the one before us. And it may not be amiss to say that this power to go through vast accumulations of matter on any great subject, judging each item and opinion with a sifting judgment, rejecting the nonessential and retaining the essential, and finally compressing the whole result of the sifting and selecting process into a nutshell in a masterful way, is one of the supreme tests of intellectual ability. The strong minds have a monopoly of the process of mental distillation. Rogers's *History of Babylonia and Assyria* could not have been made without the fine enthusiasm of the genuine scholar, which nerves to arduous undertakings and sustains through long and exhausting labors, nor without the acuteness of mind and tireless patience which qualify for successful research, nor without the conservatism of the trained historical critic. This notice may well conclude by quoting *The New World's* reference to the appearance of these volumes, which is a deserved tribute to our publishing house: "We have as usual to speak well of the publisher's part. The Methodist Book Concern, with its large and constant *clientèle*, can afford new type, excellent paper, good sewing, substantial covers, careful proof reading; and it furnishes them. These volumes are no discredit even to them."

*The Clergy in American Life and Letters.* By DANIEL DULANY ADDISON. 12mo. pp. 400. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

How typical of the reckless insolence of infidelity that Thomas Paine should have told George Washington to his face, "You are treacherous in private friendship and a hypocrite in public life!" How easy the task of this volume to show that the clergy have exercised a mighty uplifting influence upon American life from the first! "If Christianity has been a power in the land in developing conscience and inspiring rectitude of character, it has been due in large measure to the ministers. They have had a hearing in every hamlet—on one day in seven when the children, the ignorant, and the men of education and of power have heard them. They have thus sustained a sense of the divine source of duty, and led their hearers into the presence of universal moral forces." Our colleges and schools were originated by them. Every great reform has been led by them, and every noble cause has found in them its spokesmen and pleaders. The children reared in their homes have filled the highest spheres of usefulness and power. Among the colonial clergy of New England were many rugged yet beautiful characters whose influence controlled the life of the region. A typical man was Ezra Stiles, elected president of Yale College in 1777, a learned scholar in Arabic, Syriac, and Persian, who at Commencement sometimes deliv-

ered a Hebrew oration in the morning and a Latin one in the afternoon. He hesitated about accepting the college presidency, saying, "The diadem of a president is a crown of thorns." Abiel Holmes, of Cambridge, in whose library the boy, Oliver Wendell, bumped about among folios as tall as himself, was a man of note, wise, delightful, and sunny, though the boy remembered some ministerial visitors to his father's house "with meager throats and a funeral service in their physiognomies." Samuel Hopkins, taught in Jonathan Edwards's household, softened the sterner features of his master's teaching, giving greater prominence to the equity of God and the beauty of holiness; but his most memorable work was against slavery, against which he fulminated before the nineteenth century came in. When he first startled his congregation in Newport by urging the setting free of the slaves, Whittier truly says, "It may well be doubted whether on that Sabbath day the angels of God, in their wide survey of the universe, looked upon a nobler spectacle than that of the minister of Newport, rising up before his slaveholding congregation and demanding, in the name of the Highest, the deliverance of the captive." Among the clergy in theological literature, in recent years, Charles Hodge is a name of note, his chief monument being his *Systematic Theology*, a comprehensive work in four parts, embracing theology, anthropology, soteriology, and eschatology, with no attempt at originality. He said proudly that "Princeton had never been charged with originating a new idea," in a pride like that of Dr. Shedd, when he said concerning his own book, "There is not a new thing in it—nothing less than several hundred years old." Worthy to stand in ability beside Hodge are Elisha Mulford's two remarkable books, *The Nation and The Republic of God*. The latter, called "An Institute of Theology," deals with reasons for the being of God, and the relations of religion and philosophy to the revelation of God, the Incarnation, the redemption of the world, and the life of the spirit. It presents a complete survey of the noblest conceptions of humanity, history, and the Christian religion, with all the aid to be received from a frank acceptance of the scientific contributions to theology. It comes nearest of American books to being a systematic treatment of Christianity in the light of modern thought. The main features of Mulford's theology are the indwelling of the Spirit of God in humanity and Christ's organic relations with man, the Incarnation being the natural revelation in history of the character of God. Sin is bondage to the order of nature, and redemption is the elevation of the soul into the life of the spirit. After giving four chapters to the influence of the clergy in American life, and as writers of history, poetry, romance, and religious literature, the book before us gives six to as many conspicuous figures of the American pulpit, selecting Timothy Dwight, William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker, Horace Bushnell, Henry Ward Beecher, and Phillips Brooks. From these studies a few morsels are taken. A painful affection of the eyes for many years compelled the first President Timothy Dwight

to dictate letters, sermons, poems, everything he committed to paper, resulting in a style described by Moses Coit Tyler as "composition by the tongue, rather than the pen; the style of an eloquent declaimer with the audience before him; clever improvisation—affluent, emphatic, sonorous, moving on in balanced numbers." Young Channing was for a short time tutor in a family at Richmond, Virginia, where he much enjoyed Southern warmth and hospitality, writing home: "Here I find great vices, but virtues greater than I left behind me. There is one single trait in these people which I admire more than all the virtues of New England; they love money less, they are more disinterested." But he found slavery very depressing, and said, "This alone would prevent me from settling in Virginia." Urging earnestness of manner in the pulpit, Channing once said: "I do not mean that a minister must have lungs of iron and a voice of thunder. Noise and earnestness are very different things. I only mean that a minister should deliver his message as if he felt its infinite weight, and this he may do without being a brawler." Of Channing, Theodore Parker wrote, "A most delightful man, full of the right spirit—a little diseased in the region of consciousness, but otherwise of most remarkable beauty of character." Horace Bushnell describes the humble home where he was born, as one of those "primitive universities of homespun," where hard manual labor was dignified by sturdy character and religious training. In Europe for health, Bushnell noted that Lord John Russell in Parliament said "havin'" and "walkin';" and that Thiers was a most enthusiastic orator, "gesturing up and down with both hands as fast as he could." One of the civic questions on which Bushnell did warlike service was the appropriation of public moneys to parochial schools. Such schools, he held, were no more than private schools, and it would be unwise and wrong to give money from the public funds to private institutions. It might be demanded next that the State appropriate money for schools to teach the Mormon Bible. When some one remarked concerning a certain humdrum, sluggish preacher, "I knew him when he was a boy doing chores for his board," Bushnell commented, "That's what he's doing now." Of Bushnell, Austin Phelps said, "He was a looker on and up, to the firmament of truth, and whatever he saw there he proclaimed to the waiting multitudes below." It is fortunate that Henry Ward Beecher early got out of staid New England and was flung out into the freer, rough, leaping, pioneering West. The life of saddlebags, and river fording, and schoolhouses, and camp meetings in which he shared, had much to do with developing his mighty youth and rousing his great powers to free and natural action. But for this, there would never have been a "Lion of Plymouth Pulpit." It was the Western wilderness that taught him to shake his mane and let out his roar. In the little settlement of Lawrenceburg, Ohio, was his first parish, of which he has told: "I was my own sexton. There were no lamps in the church, so I bought some, and filled them and lit them. I swept the

building and kindled the fire. The only reason I did not ring the bell was that there was none to ring." All his life he laid great stress on the importance to the preacher of health, sleep, and the open air. We once heard him say: "If I reach home on Saturday, tired with travel and work, I do not go to my study; I go to bed, and sleep as long as I can, if it is till thirty minutes to church time Sunday morning. Then I can make more and better preparation with a rested brain in fifteen minutes, than I could have done by cudgelling a tired brain for twelve hours in my study." He urged a certain healthful bravery in preaching, saying, "A congregation knows when a minister is afraid of them, just as well as a horse knows that his driver is afraid of him." Of some sermons he said they were built like the ships down in Maine: "They build them by the mile, and when they have an order they cut off as much as is required, and round off a stern and a bow. Thus some sermons seem to have been built by the mile; there seems to be no earthly reason why the preacher should begin in one place rather than in another." Dr. Holmes said, "The way a man handles his egotisms is a test of his mastery over an audience." Beecher was as frank as a great child, but his egotisms were never used for self-glorification, but only to illustrate and vivify the truth he was unfolding. How just was his tribute to the spiritualizing and hallowing influence of the much maligned Puritan Sabbath: "The one great poem of New England is her Sabbath. Through that she has escaped materialism. That has been the crystal dome overhead through which imagination has been kept alive. The glory of New England's imagination is to be found—not in art or literature—but in her inventions, her social organism, and, above all, in her religious life." Of Puritanism Phillips Brooks, the last great figure in this volume, said with similar admiration: "There is always showing itself out of the depths of Puritanism that great public spirit which meddles with the things of all the earth and which will show its force when that force is called for. It stands like a rusty gun in a corner of the room; but let no one ever fool with Puritanism, thinking it is not loaded, for by and by it will go off." Brooks spoke of Luther and Cromwell as the two men "on whom, more than on any others, the great gates seem to turn and open which let the race through from the old world into the new." When Phillips Brooks was a college boy at Harvard his tastes were for history, languages, poetry, with marked inability for mathematics and metaphysics. His first attempt in active life was as teacher in the Boston Latin School, and a most dismal failure. The head master, Francis Gardner, received his resignation with the severe and disheartening remark that he had never known a man who failed as a schoolmaster to succeed in any other occupation. And then the hand of Providence led the mortified young giant away by the path of humiliation toward his holy mission and his illustrious destiny. A bitter dose of mortification is sometimes a good tonic to begin with. One of the secrets of this great preacher's

power was the unity, the intensity, the concentrated coaction of all his powers in all he did. This is in his words, "Truth, when it is won, is the possession of *the whole nature*. By the *whole nature* only can it be gained;" and also in these, "I have done my work, so far, not as mere headwork, but as the completest possible expression of my personal being that I am capable of." There it is! And when he spoke, the passion of his whole being drove the words, and every drop of his blood went with the force of what he said. Our readers see that this is an interesting and inspiring book.

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#### MISCELLANEOUS.

*Bible Tragedies*. By GEORGE CLARKE PECK. 12mo, pp. 172. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. Price, cloth, \$1.

The son of Dr. J. O. Peck dedicates to his mother this vivid volume of Sunday evening sermons, and sends them forth, he says, "diffidently, yet with the earnest hope of diminishing the tragedies which fill a father's heart with sorrow and a beautiful world with gloom." Any reader of them (and they deserve many) must feel that they are eminently, one might say singularly, calculated to do what the author hopes. Dr. Mains says truly in his "Introductory Word" that these discourses are illuminated with a wealth of illustrative material drawn from fresh and vital sources, abound in vivid and pointed lessons for practical living, and contain nothing hackneyed. One is not surprised that they were eagerly listened to by crowded congregations. The eight Bible tragedies here discoursed about are those of "The Forbidden Fruit," "The Quails," "The Spoil," "The Unseen Hand," "An Ancient Gallows," "A Charger," "The Uninvested Pound," and "The Silver Pieces." The sermons are forcible and faithful, driven by the push of an enkindled mind and an earnest heart. The purpose to save and help men and women burns manifestly through them all. Their scholarship does not make them academic, their theology does not skeletonize them, their familiarity with literature does not make them bookish, their knowledge of history does not antique or make them mindful chiefly of the dead past. All these are only used as implements for touching immediately, movingly, and helpfully the throbbing, struggling, and imperiled human lives of the men and women and young people now sitting in the pews before the preacher. These urgent, incisive, and appealing utterances do not belong to such a ministry as is thus described: "I have heard men preach whose deliverances seemed set to music. They had all the equipment that earth can offer. They were engaged in the most wonderful work that human hands can touch—teaching human hearts the way of life. And yet their ministries were 'sweetness wasted.' They carried no citadels of sin. For they came to their work without that spiritual equipment which alone can qualify a man to preach his Master's Gospel."

# METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, L.H.D., Editor.

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# METHODIST REVIEW.

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JULY, 1901.

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## ART. I.—WESLEY'S ORIGINAL AMERICAN JOURNAL.

By John Wesley's will his manuscripts were given to Dr. Thomas Coke, Dr. Whitehead, and Henry Moore, "to be burnt or published, as they see good." At the time of Wesley's death Coke was making one of his episcopal tours in America and did not hear the news until he and Asbury reached Port Royal, Virginia. For nearly a day so stunned was he that he "was not able to weep; but afterward some refreshing tears gave him almost inexpressible ease." After Wesley's burial by torchlight, early in the morning to avoid the great crowds—fully ten thousand having come to see his placid face as his body lay near the entrance of City Road Chapel the previous day—his funeral sermon was preached in the chapel by Dr. Whitehead, who had retired from the itinerancy and had long been Wesley's favorite physician, being then a local preacher in London. Henry Moore, the companion of Wesley's travels and his confidential friend, to whom he spoke without reserve, was then preaching at Bath. Word reached him from London that John Pawson had taken upon himself to deal with the letters and other manuscripts at City Road in a most unwarrantable manner. Moore, as Wesley's executor, wrote at once to Pawson to put a stop to this destruction. Pawson replied that he was only destroying old and useless letters. Moore replied, forbidding him to deal in any further way with any of Wesley's books or manuscripts, which he was about to destroy, as he "thought they did not tend to edification." Among these was Wesley's own copy of Shakespeare, with notes, for even his journal written in Georgia tells of his

fondness for Shakespeare at that early day. Pawson replied: "It was not my design to give you a moment's pain by what I have done with Mr. Wesley's papers, etc., etc. However, I will send you all—among them a curiosity, some little books written in his own shorthand, which you understand much better than I do." These "little books" proved to be none other than Wesley's daily and hourly journals, the originals from which he afterward made such extracts as he deemed desirable to be published, the latter now known as his famous *Journal*, and more read and more interesting than Xenophon's *Anabasis* or Cæsar's *Commentaries*.

Of these little books which thus narrowly escaped destruction only one is known to be in existence, and that is now in America, where it was written in 1736-37, during the time of Wesley's labors in Georgia, and whence he took it back to England, a hundred and sixty-three years ago. Having been sacredly preserved by him until the time of his death—after narrowly escaping destruction at the hands of Pawson—it had been in the possession of only two families after it left the hands of Henry Moore, until 1897, when it was purchased by Mr. Thursfield Smith, J.P., Whitchurch, Salop, England, from whom it was recently bought by the writer, while fraternal messenger to the British Wesleyan Conference. As the fly leaf shows, Mr. Moore gave it, in 1817, to Miss Elizabeth Taylor, of Carmarthen, who left it by will to Rev. John Gould Avery, in 1847, with the inscription, "From his much obliged and ever affectionate friend, Elizabeth Thomas, late Elizabeth Taylor." The family of Mr. Avery, a distinguished and able Wesleyan minister, naturally set great value on this unique treasure, pronounced to be "the most precious Wesley document in existence," and retained it in their possession for fifty years. Mr. Thursfield Smith, a retired iron manufacturer who has the largest collection of *Wesleyana* of any private individual in England, regarded it as the most valuable Wesley document known, refusing all offers for it until convinced that it should be brought to America, where it was originally written and where six millions of Methodists now have their home.

Before this wonderfully interesting manuscript volume left England for America, Rev. Richard Green, late Governor of



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July 3. La. 1736

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Didsbury College and the author of the *Wesley Bibliography*, and one of the best known and most accurate of England's antiquarians, had it in his possession some six months for careful study, making a translation, where necessary, of many of the abbreviations used by Mr. Wesley in putting so much in small space. The entries of a few days are in Byrom's system of shorthand, which Charles Wesley urged his brother to learn that their correspondence might be conducted in it for the same reasons of privacy that led them often to converse in Latin. Mr. Green's knowledge of Byrom's system has enabled him to translate an occasional entry, as where under date of December 19, 1736, Wesley inscribes, partly in shorthand, on a fly leaf of the journal certain personal rules, as follows :

*In Nomine Dei.*

1. To be more watchful before and in prayer.
2. To strive more to be thankful for what I eat.
3. [A piece of mild asceticism as to abstinence from "choice" food; not decipherable.]
4. Every hour you may—watch, strive.
5. Look into no book but "V. 6" until Christmas.
6. From 12 to 4 P. M., parish.
7. Speak no unkind or unintended word.

The abbreviations for the most part are such as are used to-day in some universities in taking down lectures, a system known as "abbreviated longhand." For instance, the first entry of the day is usually "p. p.," which means "private prayer," followed by "p. w. D.," meaning "prayer with Delamotte." "Lr. br." means "letters to brother"—his brother Charles. "Lr. O.," or "Wr. lr. O.," means "Wrote letter to Oglethorpe." When this entry occurs—"br. B."—it means "breakfasted on bread." "Rp. x." means "read prayer and examined." "Ntw." means "interview." One of the most striking abbreviations is "y," used for "hearers." Thus, "55 y" gives the size of the congregation. Sometimes, as when Wesley preached in Charleston, he is able to enter "about 300 y;" but Savannah, with its small population, rarely furnished more than "120 y."

On the page facing this is a facsimile page of the journal, showing the odd mixture of long and shorthand. How it happens that the records of two days so far apart as July 3 and December 23, 1736, are on the same page, does not appear.

The following letter from Rev. Richard Green tells the estimate in which this manuscript journal is held in England :

Birmingham, Nov. 19.—Dear Bishop Hendrix: Mr. Thursfield Smith has forwarded to me your letter to him of the 8th inst. You express a wish that I should write you my full and candid estimate of your precious little MS. Pocket Journal. Let me first say that—though I think the little treasure should be in the keeping of the American Methodist Church, because the book was written in America and relates to work done in that country; because the American Methodist Church is so large and influential; and because your brethren in America do take so deep an interest in the past history of Methodism, and in all the things relating to John Wesley—yet I begrudge your having it; for, first, it is not a record of Methodism, but solely of John Wesley's years' work before Methodism (as we think of it) had a being; second, and John Wesley was an Englishman, and belongs to England and was one of the greatest of Englishmen; third, in my judgment it is the most interesting relic of Wesley's that we possessed. However, it is yours now, with its many interesting details and secrets locked up in the curious contractions and the stenography. In order to its full translation some one must devote himself to the comparing the entries of one day to similar entries on other days. In this way I succeeded in making out a number of contractions. My "translation" you will find in the large manuscript book which I prepared, and which I understand Mr. Smith gave you with the journal.

I am indulging the hope that when we get possession of Wesley's full Journal (now in manuscript only) we shall be able to translate the diary more accurately.

In the proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, Vol. 1, Pt. 3, I have given an account of your little book. Allow me again to point out the relation of your little volume to the published journals:

First: Wesley for many years wrote for his own use an account of his occupation during every hour of the day. Of course he was driven to use contractions in writing, that he might crowd the whole into small space. Yours is one of the many volumes he must have written; and it is the only one known to exist.

Second: At intervals—you will find reference to this in your volume—he wrote out at full length not only an account of the principal acts of his life, but also his reflections on men, books, etc., etc. Several portions of this (Wesley's common Journal) are known to exist. Mr. Kelly's (to which reference is made in the *Recorder* article that you name) is one portion.

Third: Wesley's printed Journal, so well known throughout the world, is (as he states in every portion) a number (21) of extracts made by him from the manuscript journal, No. 2.

Again let me say that you have a priceless treasure; that I grieve when-



ever I think of the fact that I can spend no more time in the little volume over which I have pondered for so many long hours.

It now occurs to me to suggest that the whole volume might be copied by the "process printing." This, I should think, would pay in your enterprising country, and it would give Methodist students through the world the opportunity of studying Wesley's daily, hourly life during the time it embraced.

This pocket diary or journal of Wesley, now in America, is a volume six and a half inches long by four wide, stoutly bound in calf, and contains one hundred and eighty-six pages of superior note paper. One hundred and seventy-five of these pages are both numbered and dated, the dates also including the days of the week. These pages are filled with Mr. Wesley's neat and clear writing. Each of the numbered pages is devoted to the doings of a single day, and each line to the work of a single hour, save when voyaging in rough weather between Savannah and Frederica, or between Savannah and Charleston. The whole gives a minute account of how he spent every hour of every day, during the period embraced in the journal. This habit, he tells us in the Preface of his printed Journal, was begun many years before, in pursuance of the advice given by Jeremy Taylor in his *Rules for Holy Living and Dying*, so that he might account to himself as well as to God, for how he employed every hour of his time. This little twelvemo he accordingly carried about with him, most of the time in his pocket, that he might make the entries without fail. In a book of *Memories and Anecdotes*, published in 1790 by "Philip Thicknesse, late Lt. Governor of Land Guard Fort," the author mentions several interesting reminiscences of Wesley, to whom he brought a letter of introduction in Georgia. He was with him in a small boat on his way to Charleston, when, despite the officer's remonstrance against the captain's excess of sail and Wesley's against his exceeding profanity, he increased both, the more he was pleaded with, until finally the mast broke and they were all about to be capsized. Mr. Thicknesse relates that Wesley calmly opened his trunk and took out a little book which he said he was anxious to preserve. This he placed in his pocket, so as to have it on his person should they have to abandon the boat. As the pocket journal records minutely this incident of the broken mast, it is quite probable

that this is the very book which he was so careful to preserve and which has survived until now. It is not strange that some of Wesley's spiritual children, following the example of Rev. Richard Green, on first seeing a book most closely connected with Wesley's person, have kissed it. It is John Wesley's best portrait painted by himself. There is nothing in all literature comparable to this self-revelation—a life written by hours!

Happily, the eighteenth century was one in which keeping diaries or journals was quite common. It were difficult to write satisfactorily the history of Methodism without the journals of Susanna Wesley and her gifted sons, the journals of Whitefield and Coke and Asbury. They are as essential as the "field notes" of the surveyor or pioneer. Governor Stephens, who succeeded Charles Wesley as secretary and General Oglethorpe as governor of the colony in Georgia, kept a journal of which only seventy copies were published—a work or series of volumes (for there were several) of untold value to the trustees of the colony for whose benefit it was kept and to all who have had access to its pages. As Wesley's contemporary during some months of his stay in Georgia the governor gives a somewhat minute account of his preaching and habits at that critical period of his history. Wesley is, however, his own chief biographer in recording what took place, not only on the Sabbaths when Governor Stephens has pictured him, but also during the hours of every day.

The daily life of Wesley usually began at four o'clock in the morning, and, according to the faithful record of his hourly journal, the first hour is given to "private prayer." Sometimes even this first hour is also marked by "prayer with Delamotte." His morning hours are spent for the most part at his desk and among his books. His Greek Testament is his constant companion on land and water, so that he early acquired a familiarity with it which enabled him all his life to quote from the original any text of Scripture whose English rendering in the King James Version he had for the moment forgotten. If, in after life, he adopted as his motto, "The world is my parish," it is evident that when he had a parish of his own—and this Savannah parish is the only one he ever had—his motto was, "My parish is the world." His wonderful

journal gives the names of his parishioners whom he faithfully visited every afternoon. Light is thrown on the family life of that little town of wooden houses, each sixteen by twenty-four feet in size, with the neighboring Indians—Tomo-chichi at their head as *mico*, or chief—making their frequent visits. Now, he finds a family quarrel in progress; and at another time he writes the will of a sick parishioner whom he follows a few days later to his grave. Now, he is greatly encouraged about one of his flock whose career he has been watching with hope; then, with an aching heart, he makes the entry, "Mark Hird intoxicated, alas!" Charles Wesley writes from Frederica how the quarrels of two brawling women have disturbed the peace of the village, and John willingly exchanges duties with him for a while. Charles is almost overawed by preaching to a hundred at Savannah, while John's journal records a Holy Thursday's experience at Frederica as follows:

Being Ascension-Day, we had the Holy Communion; but only Mr. Hird's family joined us in it. One reason why there were no more was because a few words which a woman had inadvertently spoken had set almost all the town in a flame. Alas! how shall a city stand that is thus divided against itself? Where there is no brotherly love, no meekness, no forbearing or forgiving one another, but envy, malice, revenge, suspicion, anger, clamour, bitterness, evil-speaking, without end! Abundant proof that there can be no true love of man unless it be built on the love of God.

One stormy afternoon at Frederica is given by hours, where Wesley records the quarrelsome temper of "M. H." and his wife—apparently the woman who had so disturbed the community a few days before. Before dinner she is "angry." He dined with her, and she is reported as "milder" at two o'clock. At three she became "very angry," "quarrelled." At four she is reported as "a little milder." By five she is "very angry, quarrel alas;" and by six she "could not hear." Her quarrel seems to have been with her husband, who was present; for it was a couple to which Oglethorpe said he would rather give a hundred pounds than have them come to America, he having been overpersuaded in giving his consent. After studying her case thoroughly and seeking in vain to help her, Wesley records a few days later: "She utterly renounced my friendship. Be it so!" Such an entry recalls that other one,

when the virago was one of his own household, "*Non eam reliqui; non dimisi; non revocabo.*" Could Charles Wesley avoid recalling his experience in Frederica when, years afterward, he saw much of this person—"a woman with a sorrowful spirit"—who sought the society and counsels of the Methodists? He wrote to his wife, "I called two minutes before preaching on Mrs. W. at the Foundery, and in all that time had not one quarrel."

Such encounters disturbed the spirit of John Wesley far more than his perils in the wilderness, of which his journal gives so minute a record. At times we find him wading in the swamps with the water breast-deep and compelled to spend the night—a December night, too—sleeping on a log without covering or a change of clothing, waiting for it to become light enough to find his way, in company with faithful Delamotte and his ignorant guide, to the nearest farmhouse. Only the soft air of Georgia could have saved from an early grave one who counted not his life dear unto himself, that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had "received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God." He afterward attributed his being cured of spitting blood by living so much in the open air during his life in America. His journal shows him frequently at the oars, as he makes the inland passage from Thunderbolt, down by Skidoway and Wassaw Islands, through Ossabaw, St. Catherines, Sapelo, and Doboy Sounds, on his way to St. Simon's Island. More than one venerable live oak is pointed out as "Wesley's tree," under which he was wont to preach in the open air. The journal that records all these journeys by days and hours proved to be most fascinating to Oglethorpe. To him Wesley not only mentions sending extracts occasionally, but, under date of Sunday, May 23, 1736, we find him closeted with Oglethorpe at midnight, reading his journal. The entries for the next day begin at midnight. "Twelve: read journal to Oglethorpe. He quite open. 1. Talked of M. W. and M. H. [the two great disturbers of the peace, his own and Charles's]. He open. Friendly. 2. Talked of Savannah and Frederica. He advised. 3. Talked of his life, etc. He advised. 4. Slept. 5:15. Private prayer. Interview with Delamotte." So the

record proceeds, showing that Wesley's sleep that night was limited to an hour and a quarter. But he continues his Greek Testament, visits, letters, and studies the next day and evening until nine o'clock, when, after meditation and prayer, he retired to sleep, but "lay without a bolster." He was more fortunate than Charles, if he even had a bed.

The pocket journal shows that he gave much attention to catechising the children. These were not simply catechumens, or baptized children, such as have always had some share in the thought of faithful pastors from apostolic days. But Wesley was accustomed to meet, on Sunday afternoon, thirty or forty children such as Delamotte taught during the week, to carefully instruct them in the Bible, and also to ask them questions on what they had been taught. He thus formed a Sunday school in America some fifty years before Robert Raikes formed one in England. Many of these children taught in that first Sunday school were doubtless orphans, and were afterward gathered into Whitefield's orphanage a little later under his faithful Habersham, who succeeded Delamotte in charge of the school. At this time the journal shows Wesley much given to reading Abbe Fleury, in whose *Instructions to Children* he finds so much good that he adapts and publishes it later, to be used in preference to some catechisms.

The literary industry of Wesley was something prodigious, even at that early period. His journal tells of an *Abridged French Grammar* that he was then preparing. He published the first Methodist hymn book in Charleston, in 1737. This rare book, entitled *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, was reproduced in facsimile some years ago from the only copy of the original edition known to be in existence, which brought \$102.50 at a London book sale. The manuscript journal shows the hours which Wesley employed in selecting and even translating hymns for this collection. Three of the four hymns in his own handwriting on the fly leaves of the manuscript journal now in America were his translations or adaptations from the German, and are published in this first hymn book. One of them has a most interesting history, as showing how much his own poetry became the vehicle of his Christian aspiration and even his experience. The year of his

return to London—when Peter Bohler was instructing him in the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit—after Wesley had heard him and others give their experience he stood up and said, “We will sing the hymn :

My soul before Thee prostrate lies ;  
To thee, her Source, my spirit flies ;  
My wants I mourn, my chains I see ;  
O let thy presence set me free.

Lost and undone, for aid I cry ;  
In thy death, Saviour, let me die !  
Grieved with thy grief, pain'd with thy pain,  
Ne'er may I feel self-love again.”

Bohler relates that during the singing Wesley often wiped his eyes. In his distant American parish Wesley had found among the Moravians this hymn best suited to his need, had translated it, had written it in his pocket journal, and had borne it on his person back to England. There is also in the little journal another hymn translated by Wesley and to be found to-day in the hymn book of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Great Britain. It begins,

O Jesu, source of calm repose,  
Thy like nor man nor angel knows,  
Fairest among ten thousand fair.

This original journal of Wesley shows how, amid all his trying experiences on land and water while serving the colonists of many tongues in Georgia—being unable to begin his coveted missionary work among the Indians, owing to the Spanish and French attacks which angered the red men against all white men regardless of their nationality—he was ever seeking what he beautifully calls “resthood.” Law’s *Christian Perfection* and Scongal’s *Life of God in the Soul of Man*, as well as à Kempis, are frequently mentioned among the books he is reading. Writers like Bishop Potter—who ordained him both deacon and priest—Archbishop Sharp, his father’s friend Patrick, Bishop Beveridge, Owen, Plato, Milton, and Shakespeare are much read. It was Wesley’s custom to finish one book before beginning another, and to enter the date at which a book was finished. The Mystics and even the Church fathers were carefully studied at this time also. This Georgian period was marked by his learning the German,

Spanish, and Italian so that he could readily read the best works of divinity in those languages and was able to conduct religious service in them for the benefit of the colonists speaking those tongues. His diligence in mastering the German tongue, that he might the more perfectly learn the best things written by Moravian and other writers, appears from the entries in his journal which show him to have spent as much as nine hours a day on German, five of these hours without a break. Here is revealed a man as learned as Moses—a man, too, gifted in making the songs of the people and preparing ultimately to make their laws, but like the great lawgiver needing to be seasoned by solitude, trial, self-knowledge, and knowledge of men, before men could see that by his hand God would redeem a mighty people.

Added interest is given to this priceless manuscript book by what Charles Wesley entered on one of the fly leaves just before the brothers parted in Charleston, as Charles was about returning to England. Under date of July 29, 1736, after Charles had been some five months in America and while, as the journal shows, they were on their way by boat from Savannah to Charleston, John proffers his little pocket journal to his brother, that he may make the following memorandum: "Half of ye callico (sic) to Mrs. Davison; ye other half to Mrs. Calwell. Half of ye cloath to Mrs. Patison. Desires Mr. Delamotte to give Reed a penknife. Give Mr. Twait one of Mr. Burton's Sermons." Charles also wrote several lines in Latin—in which the two brothers frequently carried on their conversation when they desired it to be private. These simple entries, in the handwriting of the poet of Methodism, show that he was unwilling to leave the shores of the new world without some simple expressions of his affection for these old parishioners at Frederica, among whom he found some helpers in Christ Jesus. Some of these entries recall the closing lines penned by Paul, "The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, but especially the parchments."

*Engenes R. Oberlin,*

## ART. II.—THE PREACHER AND THE OUT-OF-DOORS.

CONSIDERING the extent to which preachers draw upon the out-of-doors for illustrative material it is surprising what a dearth of definite first-hand knowledge of the out-of-doors exists among them. There is a vast amount of neutral conventional talk about Nature, generalizings on the seasons and spheres, enjoyment of mountains, seas, and days, but very little that is personal, vital, fresh, and real. Well-read people have come to have an almost irreverent acquaintance with the out-of-doors in its wider aspects, and they also possess an amazing stock of text-book information; yet the people who can tell the difference between a sea gull and a fishhawk on the wing, who know when and where to look for the hepatica, are few. So-called "nature study" has had a recognized place, even in the public schools, for nearly a generation—long enough at least for the young men now preaching to have been led to such a personal acquaintance with the outlines of natural history that they should not be led into talking about the "king of beasts who roamed in the dark forests of Africa." One might expect such a preacher to illustrate his next point with polar bears that dwell in the mountain fastnesses of America. Inaccurate, indefinite, conventional; displaying a kind of interest in nature, and a certain appreciation, but how academic, literary, stale! We see things because they are pointed out to us; visit places because others have visited them; enjoy things because told that we ought to. The lilies compare with Solomon's robes, in our eyes, and the ravens live by a divine providence, only because some one says, "Behold!"

The defect of all this lies largely in a wrong approach to Nature. We know too much. We bring a glacial theory to bear upon every pebble, and we march up with a long Latin tag for every roadside weed, or else we are too rapt and worshipful; chanting lines from the poets—"Twinkle, twinkle" at every star, and "Roll on, thou deep and dark blue ocean, roll!" at every stretch of seabeach—like priests and oracles. Science is good; poetry is good; the evil lies not in them, but



in our being satisfied with them in place of a personal acquaintance with the world that they try to explain and portray. Science and poetry are the grammar and literature of the out-of-doors; the real life is to be learned only by living where this life is lived. They broaden our understanding and quicken our love after we get to Nature. They are not the way, the approach; that way is the cow path to the pastures and woods—the way of personal contact and observation. This really is the path of the poet. Before one can climb into the swaying tops of the tall trees and rock with the winds; before he can lie beneath their wide arms in the forest silences and absorb their breath and spirit; before he can sink at their feet with soul and body weary and surrender to their watch-care—before all this he must first get into the woods. Imagination is a timid and tardy creature, ever waiting on the discoveries and conquests of observation. She is like a carrier pigeon, swift and beautiful on the wing, but never willing to fly until taken away from home. She begins her flight where observation liberates her. Imagination without a basis of observed fact is hallucination, as faith without a foundation of certain truth is credulity. “The stars in their courses,” sang Deborah. But not the first night man swept the heavens with his eye did he see that the stars had “courses;” they had lighted him through centuries of nights before he saw them move. And not until their circuits had been burned into his sky was he able to sing, “In their courses they fought against Sisera.”

The elements of the poet's knowledge of the out-of-doors cannot be learned for him. He must get them for himself.

And Nature, the old nurse,  
Took the child upon her knee,

wrote the poet concerning the naturalist, and just as truly might Agassiz have written it of Longfellow. The poet's “effortless absorption” of nature must be preceded by a long, painstaking training in conscious perception. His senses must be taught and drilled into a habit of alertness so spontaneous and automatic that observation becomes second nature. No more than one's untrained fingers can bring balance and harmony and unity into a picture upon canvas can one's

untrained eyes catch and group the pictures of the fields. The world is a beautiful confusion, a sweet but meaningless babel to the poet who is unskilled by long and careful observation and independent interpretation. We must approach nature as we approach literature—personally and back at the alphabet. We began with A B C; our children are being started in with Browning and Emerson. Modern methods are in conflict with the old-time notion that the sane and natural beginning in learning to read is not with the rules of syntax and the philosophy of meter, but with the letters. We did not wander blissfully through the green pastures and beside the still waters of our *Mother Goose* the first time it was spread before us. We wrestled a long time with A B C first; we repeated those letters over and over till they were photographed, chiseled, upon our memories; till our very cerebral twists kinked and crooked and hooked themselves into the shapes of the motley crew. Then the weary waste putting them together and seeing ideas in them! and the ideas together for thought—to say nothing of the years before a suggestion of style came over us! The patient, persistent struggle from the forms of things to their meanings, from meanings to the harmony, the wisdom, and the deeper mysteries of creation, is the only method by which we can learn to read the book of nature. If its beauty, poetry, and truth are to be revealed to us—not to our favorite poet and through him to us—we must learn the alphabet of the out-of-doors, then how to spell and read until reading becomes effortless and the words become no longer mere words but forms of thought, clothed upon with and concealed by their souls of truth and beauty. The progress of man's knowledge of nature has been one of evolution, its process one of induction—from a gradual accumulation of isolated facts to their classification, to inference and discovery of order and law. In the words of Mr. Hamilton Mabie: "Nature first taught man to see and hear things; she first discovered to him his senses, and following this discovery woke imagination, and then religion, poetry, and art were born." This is the history of the race. It must also be the history of the individual. Von Baer's law obtains as strictly with our mental and spiritual as

with our physical development. The heritage of the race is the heritage of the individual, but we are not born to it. Step by step we must traverse the long pathway of the race in our personal development before coming to our own.

This personal contact, this first-hand study of nature, will particularize our knowledge—the only kind of knowledge of the out-of-doors that we can really enjoy or use. There is a striking tendency among people who think to the point in the study to go off into the clouds the moment they get out of doors. Ministers, especially, deal so much with generalities—with principles, cycles, systems, worlds, and infinities—that when they touch things definite and tangible their terms are often vague, their facts general, their thinking watery. Loose this merely book-read man in the woods and fields and he has the

Blank misgivings of a creature  
Moving about in worlds not realized—

which misgivings resemble those of the poet, however, only in their blankness. The preacher who makes flights afiel from the pulpit, and who never goes on foot from the study, usually gyrates among the fog-banks of the Milky Way and gets no nearer the earth, where the things are that interest men. It is easier to fatten cattle on salt and water than to interest men in things in general. If there is one style in writing and preaching flatter, staler, deader than all others, it is the kind that comes no nearer a date than a decade and that talks about the laws of nature and the systems of things. It is the definite, the particular, the specific, that gives distinction, force, and freshness to literary form. We all appreciate the admirable style of Professor John Fiske. Speaking recently about his literary habits he said: "I give very little attention to the way I express my thought. But I hate general terms and hunt round till I find the specific word." What need of searching much further or giving other attention to expression? "Seek first the specific word (for in it usually is the thought) and all things else shall be added to your style," might almost be taken as literary law and gospel. There is a certain pleasure in the sound and the blaze of a sweeping periodic generalization; a kind of dizzy delight in star-soaring. The preacher's

Pegasus rarely needs a curb-bit, but spurs rather; and what the preacher needs is to have, besides Pegasus, a Centaur in his stables, and on his return from the skies to take the man-beast for a canter over the solid, man-inhabited earth. It isn't a fault that we see the world too much from poetic heights and through the mystic veil of farness, it is our right to

Clasp the crag with crooked hands  
Close to the sun in lonely lands

as truly as it is the eagle's, but ought we to roost and nest there? Because the Rev. Edward Everett Hale never generalizes about birds and flowers but mentions the oriole and the columbine, and never about men and women, but talks of John Black and Sara White, he is always interesting. The sight of the world from heights where the wrinkled seas crawl below us is vouchsafed to poets and now and then to ministers and common men, yet Pisgah came but once to Moses and the pathway ran for forty years through the wilderness. We do not stand on Pisgah too often, we simply wander, with our eyes open, all too little in the plains of Moab. This particularized knowledge of the common outdoor life about us is the only preparation for a genuine appreciation of the greater, grander aspects of nature. We have to reckon infinite things in terms finite; and what other measure for Mount Washington and Niagara have we besides the hill in the old home pasture and the brook at its feet? One needs almost to have felt the flame of the cardinal flower before he can watch and worship as the sun sets in a west of burning glory.

Usually those ardent lovers of the out-of-doors whose thoughts are ever trailing over the edges of the universe, climb Mount Washington on the crazy, snorting little engine and step at once from the cab into the world above the clouds. Better that way than never to stand on the top at all. The railroad is a boon to the old, the weak-headed, and those with heart trouble. But the only way for the healthy and vigorous is the path up through the spruce to Hermit Lake and over the Head Wall of Tuckerman's Ravine. There is no preparation for the summit like the struggle through those narrow forest defiles and the climb over that grim, awful Head Wall

—then, just short of the peak, to stop and pick a tiny sand-wort from the Alpine Garden along the very edge of the rent and rocky height! If the majesty of God rolls in upon our souls from this mountain head no less does his infinite love, his infinite power, come to us in this little blossom plucked on our ascent. One who can climb the mountain blind to the revelation, unaware of the mystery in the humblest flower-cup, has no eyes for the far-rolling mightiness of peak and plain and unblurred boundary of sky that revolves about him on the summit. But it takes a trained eye to see the sand-wort and a deal of special knowledge to know it is a sand-wort, while any eye not totally blind can roll around in its socket and make out mountains from the top of Washington. We need this special knowledge, this careful training of the senses. The poet, artist, naturalist, and the simple unsophisticated lover of the out-of-doors come to their love, their discoveries, their inspirations, through much observation of the small and particular. So long as the nebular hypothesis is a more agreeable kind of problem to us than, for instance, the number of feet of earthworms that four young robins will swallow in a day, just so long shall we be shut out of the heart of Nature. This does not mean that we need to be anatomists to feel the loveliness of the Venus of Melos. The strength and grace of the human form appeal to us all. But it is when we take the scalpel and begin to cut that we find we are fearfully and wonderfully made. Our love and understanding wait upon a personal acquaintance. "To know her is to love her," said Burns of Bonnie Leslie; and never was truer word said of Nature. We must know her in particular; as much of her as our dooryards hold, as the trees of our sidewalk, the orchards, copses, and fields about us. "He is a thoroughly good naturalist," wrote Kingsley, "who knows his own parish thoroughly."

Again, this personal contact with the out-of-doors will freshen our facts and make what we know our own. We have worked to death what the books say. We will go out of our way to read what others have written about the bluebird but not once think of listening to the little fellow who sings every spring in the apple tree by the window. We use the commentary too much. "A thorough knowledge of the text

is the best and only commentary you need," is a favorite bit of advice with one of the most luminous biblical exegetes I know. The preacher who will act upon this suggestion shall bring forth new things from the Bible as well as old; and even more abundantly laden shall he come with new things from the fields and woods. It is impossible to sit down before a stupid toad and watch him carefully without discovering something fresh and interesting. We have been slapping mosquitoes all our days, and here within the last few months some things have been found out about them that are of infinitely more interest and importance to most of us than a *bona fide* flash-light communication with Mars would be. There are no two anythings in this world, not even two peas of the same pod, exactly alike; no single thing entirely explored. To discover this unknown is to be original.

In a recent lecture on "Pulpit Power," or a theme to that effect, the following passage occurred. When the speaker had reached the point in his discourse where he was telling the part Nature ought to play in the preacher's education he exclaimed:

Go forth into the beautiful world, and sense the poetry of the Creator. Feel the ceaseless flow of life and motion everywhere. The waves of the ocean teach the student deep lessons of grace and truth; wings of the birds of heaven, branches of the trees, waving grain, floating clouds, dashing torrents and majestic rivers flow—all these are God's visible poetry embodied for our culture. Nature has sweet voices to thrill the dead imagination into life. The voices of the summer are all magical. Even the zephyrs come laden with strident insect voices—a gentle symphony of Nature's orchestra for the soothing of the soul. The countless orbs that course the heavens make a great audience and under the auditorium of the midnight skies great souls listen to the harmonies of the spheres with glowing rapture. Once such divine entertainment appreciated, etc.

Without doubt the lecturer had "sensed" this "entertainment," but we can be pardoned for suspecting his orchestra was made up of the poets and conducted in his library. I do not accuse him of purloining a single phrase. Not at all. But these thoughts have been uttered once for all by a master or else said over and over in these conventional forms till they are trite; stale as the "vernal spring" and as dead as *Rameses II.*

This same lecturer (when he wasn't lecturing) told about a new species of ant that he had discovered, and the tale would have held the attention of any audience under the skies. It is the ant that you have discovered, not the "countless orbs" we all have seen, that we are interested in. No matter if it is but an ant, no matter indeed if it has been named and described before, if you discover it for yourself you will make it new to others. Something of the power of the old Norse goddess Hilda, who brought back to life every night her warriors that had fallen during the day, belongs to the independent thinker, to the first-hand observer. He may take the commonest thought, the most familiar sights, but he puts into them new life and meaning. If the air of reality, if the flavor of the out-of-doors is to get into the preaching, it must first get into the preacher. It will come with the touch of the earth, as strength came to Antæus. One may say many beautiful things about Nature from a wide reading of books, without much personal acquaintance, but they will be general and impersonal, lacking point and force; poor stuff for sermons. The book, *Nature and Culture*, is of this stamp. Compare Mr. Mabie's beautiful chapter on "Personal Intimacy" with, say, the whole of Mr. William Long's book, *Wilderness Ways*. The difference is that Mr. Mabie's is *about* personal intimacy, while Mr. Long's *is* personal intimacy—a crisp, fresh, stirring series of observations that take hold upon us as the most mellifluous philosophizings cannot do. Mr. Mabie goes from his study into the woods; Mr. Long comes from the woods to his study. The atmosphere of the fields, the dash of dew, and the smell of earth about prose and poetry do not come from other books, nor from dreams and imaginings about glories and systems, but from men who saw and heard and felt the out-of-doors life for themselves.

Daniel L. Sharp.

## ART. III.—METHODS OF STUDYING RELIGION.

SPEAKING of the relation of biology to medicine Mr. Huxley once remarked that as the physical sciences develop they become more dependent upon one another.\* The same is true of studies relating to religion. On the one hand theology becomes more and more dependent upon historical and literary science, the history of religions, and even the natural sciences. On the other hand the sciences of man are increasingly impelled to take account of religion as a fact of human nature and history. The result is increasing community of interest between scientific and religious thought. Preachers hasten to appropriate natural science, and men of science, whatever their attitude toward dogma, perceive that religion is not a by-product of the *cosmos*, but a prime factor of evolution in its moral, social, and economic aspects. Psychologists even venture to give advice as to the substance of religious instruction† and to reprimand the churches for their shortcomings.‡

At a moment like this, when tendencies to reorganization are rife, there is special occasion for the study of methods and points of view, as distinguished from the substance of knowledge. It is needful to ask not only whether this or that is true, but also how we can find out the truth. We must know how the various fields of research are bounded and what are the data, the presuppositions, and the procedure within each. There are four chief types of method with respect to the study of religion.

*I. The Method of Speculative Metaphysics.*—Since the aim of metaphysics is to ascertain the ultimate reality of the universe, its conclusions have been almost invariably regarded as vitally related to religion. In the introduction of his *Encyclopædia of the Philosophical Sciences* Hegel remarks that the objects which philosophy contemplates are the same as those of religion. "In both the object is truth in that

\* *Life and Letters*, vol. II, p. 34.

† Address by G. Stanley Hall on "Some Principles of Bible and Sunday School Teaching," reported in *Boston Transcript*, October 31, 1900.

‡ H. B. Marshall, *Instinct and Reason*, p. 490, ff.



supreme sense in which God and God only is the truth." But the century just past has witnessed the practically complete collapse of speculative metaphysics. The methods of the sciences have profoundly modified, probably for all time, the method of philosophical research, and consequently of the metaphysical type of religious thought. Speculation attempted to deduce the world from *a priori* principles, and hence to say how things must be, the philosopher of to-day is content to say what things are as indicated by observation and analysis. Speculation moved from ideas toward things; the newer procedure begins with things themselves. At its best, speculation could do no more than sketch the barest outlines of existence in general, and with respect to the supreme concern of life, its highest product was a justification for a possible religion. The more modern thought, on the other hand, insists first of all upon understanding actually existing religions.

*II. The Method of Theology.*—Theology in its traditional form is closely related to speculative metaphysics. For, first, it does not describe religion as it actually exists, but rather seeks deductively to demonstrate a logical basis for the religion which it represents; and, second, it borrows from metaphysics several fundamental propositions, such as those contained in the proofs for the existence of God. It differs from speculative metaphysics in that it deals with a particular historical religion, and also in that it appeals to intellectual authority. Theology of this, the traditional, type appears to be suffering the fate of speculative metaphysics. Objection is made to both its *a priori* method and its appeal to authority in matters of intellect. As to its method, not only does it stand in sharp contrast to other types of research, but its conclusions have been again and again overturned by the method of the natural sciences. From Galileo to Darwin the method of science, rather than that of theology, has been the arbiter on all points of dispute between the two.

That theological method, however, is at last being modified in the direction of what was once regarded as its foe will be obvious from the attitude of the theologians, presently to be described, toward the question of intellectual authority. But

the lateness of the reform, the long insistence that fact must be gotten at by some process of deduction from a general idea—this has created unnecessary prejudice against the content of religious belief. The Bishop of Derry and Raphoe says :

The commentary edges out the text. The explanation of the mode in which the fact is assumed to be brought about occupies the place which of right belongs to the fact only. Probably half the objections which perplex young minds and seem to them unanswerable—nay, which, in many instances, really are so—come from this source. They are arguments—sharp, fierce, resistless—against a particular explanation or an assumed mode of the fact, none whatever to the fact itself.\*

The appeal to authority, as made by Protestants, has had the following traditional form—Purely rational grounds are first offered to prove the authority of the Bible. Let it be noted that this first step is taken by reason in its ordinary use, and that the existence of authority at all “depends on the answer which reason makes to the proofs furnished, so that reason is the ultimate umpire in the whole case.”† After proving that the Bible is authoritative the mind’s “next step is obvious ; it must find out what is contained in the word.”‡ Thus reason is held to be competent to accept the Bible as a whole before scrutinizing its contents, and we are forbidden to apply to the parts of the Bible the rational processes which we are invited to employ with respect to the Bible as a whole. Newman merely applied this principle with unusual rigor when he taught that the real use of the private judgment is to look out for an authoritative teacher.§

A goodly number of theologians, however, find difficulty with the logic of this procedure. First, it is perceived that the Bible “is not infallible to us, unless we believe in the infallibility of the judgment which pronounces it to be infallible.”|| The attempt, by means of certain faculties, to set up an authority which shall be superior to them contains within itself the seeds of disintegration. For, sooner or later, inevitable differences of opinion necessitate an appeal to Cæsar—the ordinary reason which is the *præ* of the whole. So

\* W. Alexander, *Primary Convictions*, xli.

† R. S. Foster, *Prolegomena*, p. 247.

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 272.

§ Essay on “Private Judgment,” in *Essays Historical and Critical*, vol. II.

|| C. M. Mead, *Supernatural Revelation*, p. 319.

pronounced is the dissatisfaction with this particular theory of authority that a prominent theologian declares that "authority has not only been misplaced, but so grievously misrepresented in its nature that the very word, as employed in the sphere of religion, has become an offense to the friends of truth and freedom." \* The theory occasions no end of embarrassment in its application, also. What, for example, it is asked, is this infallible authority? Is it the manuscripts now in our possession, or the original manuscripts whose precise contents we do not know? In the latter case the real authority is inaccessible and at best only hypothetical. In the former case we are confronted with the problem of what to do if we find errors in the supposed revelation. One author says:

The mind, in such a case, will reason thus: (a) The proof is adequate that this is a book containing divine revelations which are necessarily true; (b) The proof is positive that this statement, as construed or interpreted, cannot be true; (c) Therefore, either the text has been misinterpreted or corrupted, or some clew to the original meaning has been lost, or this particular passage is not one of the contained revelations.†

But this, also, tends to make the authority not a concrete, ascertained standard at all, but rather an abstract idea whose actual application rouses up as many difficulties as the possession of an authority is supposed to allay.

The general approval which thoughtful men have given to the use of critical methods in the study of the Scriptures implies that the right, always conceded to reason, to pass upon the source of the sacred writings as a whole is now conceded with respect to the origin of each of the parts. The Bible is whatever its particular contents are, and the authority of the whole must stand the test of each part. "Even if we were already convinced upon rational grounds that a dogmatic revelation had been given, nevertheless each article of this revelation would continue to be a legitimate subject for research, because the truth or falsity of that article would be a part of the evidence by which the whole was either confirmed or weakened." ‡

For these reasons, as well as others growing out of the con-

\* A. B. Bruce, *Apologetics*, p. 493.

† Foster, *Prolegomena*, p. 274.

‡ J. Drummond, *Introduction to the Study of Theology*, p. 23.

tents of apologetics itself, the notion of authority is undergoing a transformation. The change takes two forms. The first identifies religious authority with that of testimony. Thus, an English writer, attempting to show that authority and free inquiry can be adjusted, says:

There is an authority which does and should enter largely into the grounds for belief, an authority distinct from that which the truths themselves should directly exercise over the mind and conscience. It is the authority of the testimony to spiritual facts of multitudes who in greater or less degree acknowledge their reality, and more especially of men and women whose lives have exhibited exceptional moral power and saintliness.\*

But it is admitted that such authority does not supersede the use of reason at any point. "Our probation in regard to matters of faith will not consist only in the process by which we choose or refuse an infallible guide, and then, after the guide has been chosen, cease forever. It will continue so long as there is possibility of progress in truth and spiritual knowledge." †

This aspect of all intellectual work is so obvious that its application to religion is in danger of receiving less recognition than it deserves. Surely, the general religiousness of humanity creates a mighty presumption that religion is substantially true, and the place of the Bible and of Christian beliefs in the lives of saintly men and women for many centuries is not likely to be founded on illusion. Yet this is only presumptive proof which, if challenged, must receive support from the thing itself, and not merely from reports about it. The final evidence must be looked for in the content of what offers itself as divine truth, and in the effects which it works upon our spiritual nature. The canon of Scripture itself, it is pointed out, was not and cannot be defined by tradition or historical evidence, but only by the immediate spiritual sense of believers. "The divine authority of Holy Scripture consists in the presence and power of God in it, and with it." ‡ Or, as another writer says:

More and more frankly and unreservedly the position is gradually being adopted that the essential elements of religion and theology claim

\* V. H. Stanton, *The Place of Authority in Matters of Religious Belief*, p. 156.

† *Op. cit.*, 157.

‡ C. A. Briggs, *The Bible, the Church, and the Reason*, p. 1.

our acceptance upon their own intrinsic merits, and are to be verified primarily, not by an appeal to authority, but by the satisfaction which they afford to the highest aspirations and the noblest impulses of human nature, and by the personal experience of those who honestly accept them and practically submit their lives to their guidance and control.\*

Apologetics as a distinct branch of study "is gradually giving place to the investigation of the intrinsic merits of the specific ideas and propositions which form the contents of theological teaching. . . . The true foundation of a system of theology, as a science and a philosophy, would seem, therefore to be the nature, condition, and needs of man."† What Jesus says about God and man and their relations, declares Bruce, "needs no elaborate system of evidences to commend it. It is self-evidencing. It is rest-giving."‡ Or, again, "the authority of the Scriptures," says another, "is the authority of the truth that they convey. The Scriptures are authoritative to us because they contain the highest moral and religious truth, which has the right to satisfy our reason and bind our conscience."§ Again, "Christianity is grounded not in the inspiration of its documents, but in the reality of its facts. Therefore, if the Scriptures should by sound evidence be reduced to the level of ordinary human records, possessed simply of ordinary human veracity and correctness, Christianity would not be altered thereby."||

Martineau makes a distinction here which illumines the whole question. He admits that religion is founded altogether upon authority, namely, the authority of the higher within us which commands the lower. "All minds born into the universe," he says, "are ushered into the presence of a real righteousness as surely as into a scene of actual space." And he further adds, "We know ourselves to be living under command, and with freedom to give or withhold obedience; and this lifts us at once into divine relations, and connects us with One supreme in the distinguishing glories of personal existence, wisdom, justice, holiness."¶ The seat of authority, then, according to him, is our moral intuition, which he regards as identical with religious intuition. But this is authority in religion, not in theology.

\* J. M. Hodgson, *Theologia Pectoris*, p. 2, ff.

† *Op. cit.*, *ibid.*

‡ *Apologetics*, p. 494.

§ W. N. Clarke, *Outline of Christian Theology*, p. 45.

|| *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

¶ J. Martineau, *The Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 69, f.

It is the source of religious facts, but theological knowledge is to be reached through analysis of these facts by the ordinary processes of intellect. Some such distinction between authority in religion and authority in theology underlies the whole movement for reform in the theological point of view. Though theology is not likely to accept Martineau's reduction of religious intuition to mere moral intuition, it does already perceive that religion, like conscience, exists in its own right. It does not come to us through ratiocination; it does not wait upon our deliberate volition. On the contrary, it is provided for in an instinct which responds almost perforce to spiritual incitements. And such incitements are inevitable. We live in a spiritual environment which certifies itself directly to our spiritual nature. As the poet sees, rather than proves, the truths which he sings, so every soul has some glimmer of the divine within itself. We become aware of it, not through any planning of our own, not merely because some one tells us about it—it comes not with observation—but as a natural expression of what life must mean to creatures like ourselves. The scribes relied upon a reasoned authority; they found a connection between God and man by means of a syllogism. But Jesus taught as one having another kind of authority. The Sermon on the Mount has an air of finality about it that logic could not bestow. It may be asked, furthermore, whether this higher kind of authority—the authority of what we are—is not essential to the application of any supposed intellectual authority. As Martineau remarks, we never acknowledge an external authority “till that which speaks to us from another and a higher strikes home and wakes the echoes in ourselves, and is thereby instantly transferred from external attestation to self-evidence.” \*

This, as nearly as we can set it forth, is the attitude of the new thought. It does not destroy authority in religion, but strengthens it by transferring it from the ever-disputable ground of mere intellect to the inexorable demands of the moral and spiritual nature. Herein it merely formulates what has always been claimed by a large section of Christians, that religious experience is the ground of religious certitude. The

\* *Op. cit.*, vi, vii.

dogmatic method seeks to control the facts of religious experience by its theory of divine grace; the better method employs the facts of such experience as *data* from which to infer a theory of divine grace. One proceeds from theory toward life, the other from life toward theory. To one, truth intellectually grasped is the independent and authoritative element; to the other, the independent and authoritative factor is the commanding power of religious ideals and experiences, particularly under the historic influence of Jesus. In the technical language of logic the new method begins with judgments of worth as true *data* and then looks to see how these *data* can be fitted to a system of existential judgments. Bushnell's proof of the divinity of Christ from the perfection of his character is a good practical example. Jesus's formula of the relation of knowing and doing expresses the same great idea of method, as also his answer to the disciples of John. The dogmatic method undertakes to tell us how the facts, on an *a priori* theory, ought to be. The method of experience says, "Go your way, and tell . . . what things ye have seen and heard."

The theology which accepts this attitude goes a long way toward assimilating its method to that of other branches of research, and secures a new claim to be called the "science of divine things." The effect upon the contents of theology may be less than is popularly supposed. Certainly the doctrinal agitations of our day hardly touch the facts of religious experience, or call in question the truth of Christ's teachings. They concern, rather, the scaffolding with the help of which men have sought to rear a theological edifice. The facts themselves are less in dispute than the reasons offered in proof of them, and so we have the remarkable spectacle of strenuous labor to save premises that are incomparably more doubtful than the conclusion to which they are supposed to lead.

This transition from authoritative theories to authoritative facts assimilates theology to modern science. Yet theology cannot be merely a science as distinguished from philosophy. It must go on from the phenomenon to the underlying reality, from the worth of religion to the truth of it, from faith to knowledge. It must therefore incorporate philosophical ele-

ments. It must take advantage of modern critical, as distinguished from speculative, methods in metaphysics, and in particular it must ground itself in the rigorous analyses of the higher logic and of theory of knowledge. For its basal problem is and always will be how to pass from judgments of worth to existential judgments.

*III. The Method of the Science of Religion.*—The two methods thus far described aim to determine the truth of religion, rather than to describe the facts of religion simply as facts. The latter aim is that of the science of religion. A science of religion is possible because there are observable religious facts. Its possible range—since religion is a universal human function—is coincident with the mind of man, past and present. Its function is not to test beliefs, but solely to describe religious phenomena and set forth their relations among themselves and to other phenomena. It studies all religions, in order to determine the sources and original forms of religion, the order and laws of religious development in the individual and the race, and the place of religion in the general equipment of man's mind.\* Fragments of the science of religion already exist. It began as the "comparative study of religions," later developed into the "history of religion," and has lately sent out a new bud called the "psychology of religion." What the history of religion seeks, says Menzies, is "a knowledge of the religions of the world, not as isolated systems which, though having many points of resemblance, may yet, for all we know, be of separate and independent growth, but as connected with each other and as forming parts of one whole. Our science, in fact, is seeking to grasp the religions of the world as manifestations of the religion of the world."†

As the history of religion thus seeks to grasp religion in its unity as well as diversity, so the psychology of religion, fixing

\* The term science is here used in the specific sense of "special science," as distinguished from philosophy. In a larger sense, of course, all methodical knowledge is science, and so De la Saussaye (*Manual of the Science of Religion*, p. 7) includes both the history and the philosophy of religion under the term "science of religion." Tiele, on the other hand, not only excludes metaphysics but also the history of religion from the science of religion. To him, "science of religion" refers to the inferences that may be drawn from the material gathered by the history of religion (*Elements of the Science of Religion*, vol. 1, p. 15, ff.).

† A. Menzies, *History of Religion*, p. 3.



its attention on the inner process of religious experience in its totality, tries to coordinate the religious with the other mental functions so as to exhibit the unity of the mental organism. The necessity for this branch of investigation grows out of the fact that religion, in its totality, is primarily a body of mental states and processes. The sensible monuments of religion are simply expressions of the religious mind.

Not from a vain or shallow thought  
 His awful Jove young Phidias brought;  
 Never from lips of cunning fell  
 The thrilling Delphic oracle;  
 Out from the heart of nature rolled  
 The burdens of the Bible old;  
 The litanies of nations came,  
 Like the volcano's tongue of flame,  
 Up from the burning core below,  
 The canticles of love and woe.

Temples, sacred literatures, priesthoods, ceremonials, myths, and creeds—these are products of religion; the thing itself is the state of the worshiper's mind. Psychology, accordingly, must be the torchbearer for the whole history of religion.

This point of view is too obvious to be new. It controls the ancient notion that fear made the gods. It inspires Hume's essay on "The Natural History of Religion," in which he begins as follows: "As every inquiry which regards religion is of the utmost importance, there are two questions in particular which challenge our attention, to wit, that concerning its foundation in reason and that concerning its origin in human nature." The same point of view is present in Spencer's ghost-theory of the origin of religion. Indeed, irrespective of special theory, it is now generally admitted that worship arises through mental tendencies and processes far less deliberate than reasoning. "Religion belongs to the normal functions of human nature; the lack of it always indicates a disturbance, whether in the individual life or in the life of society."\* Thus far, however, the psychological point of view has led to more speculation than positive knowledge.

\* F. Paulsen, *Ethik*, 2te Aufl., p. 373. Compare H. R. Marshall, *Instinct and Reason*.

Theories concerning the origin and early development of religion are still somewhat chaotic,\* and, in fact, few fundamental questions concerning the psychological content and relations of religion can be said to be really settled. The probable reason is the belated development of method in psychology itself. The scientific study of religion, in fact, has largely coincided in time with the transformation of psychology from semimetaphysics to an empirical science. At first this reform seemed to demand that the study of mind become objective like biology. But thoughtful men pointed out that the whole evidence for the existence of mental states depends upon some one's being introspectively conscious of them. Accordingly, the last decade has witnessed a general disappearance of such terms as "physiological psychology" and "psycho-physics," while "experimental psychology" takes their place and the method of psychology is declared to be that of "experimental introspection."†

Since introspection is the fundamental method of psychology, and psychological method is fundamental to a science of religion, it follows that introspection of religious processes is the necessary groundwork of such a science. Just as we know that our neighbor is happy or sad because we see his body making certain motions which our own body spontaneously makes when we experience those moods, so the "vanished gods" and the worship offered them can be reconstructed for our thought only through analogy with what we find in our own minds. The religious consciousness of the present is a portal through which we must pass, then, if we are to comprehend the religions of the past; the religion of civilized peoples furnishes the clew to that of the uncivilized; and, finally, the religious consciousness of the investigator himself is his primary instrument of research. To understand the history of religion we must, says Pfeiderer, "project ourselves into the spirit of the historical religious societies. Such an interpretation of the symbols of the spiritual life of others is

\* Compare, for instance, Grant Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God*; D. G. Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*; Andrew Lang, *The Making of Religion*; and F. B. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*.

† E. B. Titchener, *Primer of Psychology*, p. 32. Compare the same author's *Outline of Psychology*, p. 341.

possible only for him who knows and observes the corresponding impulses of his own soul." \*

Various writers, ancient and modern, have used spontaneous deliverances of the soul as evidence of the truth of religion, as when Tertullian declared, "There is not a soul of man that does not, from the light that is in itself, proclaim the very things we are not permitted to speak above our breath." † But it was Schleiermacher who, more than anyone else, turned attention to self-analysis as the key to the science of religion. We are not to halt, he tells us, at mere broken echoes of the original sound; we must transfer ourselves to the interior of the soul itself. "Otherwise ye will understand nothing of religion, and it will happen to you as to one who, bringing his fuel too late, hunts for the fire which the flint has drawn from the steel, and finds only a cold and meaningless particle of base metal with which he cannot kindle anything." ‡ Again, arguing that the reality of religion cannot be found in the letter of sacred literature, but only in the soul's essential experiences, he exclaims, "If you only knew how to read between the lines!" §

Herein the study of religion does not differ from the method of historical science in general. History is not a series of annals of tangible things and visible events; real history reconstructs the past so that it seems real, and this it does by causing us imaginatively to live it for ourselves. This point of view is also in harmony with that of evolution. For, in any conceivable scheme of development, the past has to be interpreted by the present. We know what to look for in an embryo, and how to understand what we see, because we are acquainted with the mature organism. Just so we obtain our notion of religion and the problem of its development from knowing it as a present fact. ||

Psychology, then, is an immanent factor for all science of religion. There are reasons, moreover, why the psychology of religion should be organized as a special branch of study.

\* O. Pfleiderer, *Evolution and Theology*, p. 136, f. Compare J. H. Woods, *The Value of Religious Facts*. † *The Soul's Testimony*, chap. vi.

‡ *Reden ueber die Religion*, p. 33.

§ *Op. cit.*, 56.

|| "Different Methods of Defining Religion," vol. 1, lecture II, of Edward Caird's *Evolution of Religion*.

First, the field of the science of religion is so vast that there must be division and subdivision of labor. Second, the divergent character of the material calls for divergent methods. One part calls for the analytical processes of the psychological laboratory, another for the critical sifting of historical material. The former yields what corresponds to physiology, the latter what corresponds to morphology. In addition, only the psychology of religion is equipped for such minute study of individual men as must underlie all generalizations concerning the nature and content of religion.\* Besides these specific considerations drawn from the conditions of a possible science of religion, there are still other reasons why the psychology of religion may be expected to assume a larger and larger rôle in the future. On the one hand, both theology and preaching, through their increasing reliance upon the religious consciousness and their increasing emphasis upon the historical Christ, find themselves obliged to undertake an empirical determination of the content and the laws of spiritual life.† On the other hand, general psychology has awakened to the fact that it must not be content with exhibiting merely the elements of consciousness and their simplest combinations, but must go on from this mental chemistry to mind as an organism, with its laws of development in the child and the race, its interplay of functions, its racial and individual types, and much more. In proportion as psychology thus makes the whole man its object it is obliged to take account of the religious function.

Finally, the characteristic practical problems of our day—those of education, of social progress, and of Church life—are pressing home the necessity of understanding the religious element in man's constitution. In particular, the present condition of religious pedagogy, both theoretical and prac-

\* The study of contemporary cases has been begun by E. D. Starbuck in *Psychology of Religion* and G. A. Coe in *The Spiritual Life*, while F. Granger in *The Soul of a Christian* has made a study of certain historical characters.

† F. H. R. Frank, *System der christlichen Gewissheit*; Newman Smyth, *The Religious Feeling*; R. S. Foster, *Philosophy of Christian Experience*; L. U. Stearns, *The Evidence of Christian Experience*; J. C. Granbery, *Experience the Crowning Evidence of the Christian Religion*; F. H. Foster, *Christian Life and Theology*; W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*. These titles are cited, not as examples of psychological method, but of the tendency of Christian thought to look to experience for verification.

tical, cries aloud for a thorough study of the religious mind.\*

IV. *The Method of the Philosophy of Religion*.—After the speculative, the theological, and the scientific methods have achieved their utmost, there remains a still further demand, namely, that the facts in their totality, as presented by the science of religion, be exhibited in their relation to a general theory of the world—which the Germans call *Weltanschauung*. The theological method in its traditional form comes short of this result because its subject-matter is a special religion; the speculative method, because it cannot do justice to empirically ascertained facts. Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion* was the forerunner, though by no means the realization, of this final synthesis whereby the widest knowledge of fact is brought to bear upon the question of the ultimate reality of the universe. Drive metaphysics out through the window and it will come back through the door. In the middle years of the nineteenth century metaphysics became discredited through the conviction that knowledge of realities as distinguished from phenomena is impossible, but deeper analysis has shown that some knowledge of reality is involved in all knowledge whatever. Agnosticism appealed to the conditions of a possible knowledge, but those conditions declare that a self-consistent agnosticism is impossible. The new metaphysics, in fact, is a flowering of the theory of knowledge, and the metaphysical element in the philosophy of religion is accordingly no longer speculative and deductive, but analytic and inductive in the highest sense of these terms. As physics and chemistry are built upon analysis of sense *data*, so metaphysics is built upon analysis of the function and implications of knowledge in general. The results thus attained the philosophy of religion employs in connection with the generalizations of the science of religion.†

The relation of the science to the philosophy of religion, therefore, is not one of mutual exclusion. The former analyzes particular facts, external and internal, and generalizes

\* As a sign of the times may be mentioned N. M. Butler and others, *Principles of Religious Education*.

† See John Caird, *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*; Edward Caird, *Evolution of Religion*; O. Pfleiderer, *Philosophy and Development of Religion*.

from them various historical and psychological laws. The result is a vast picture of the religion and of the religions of mankind. But as long as we retain the purely scientific attitude it is humanity and not divinity which we see in the picture. We perceive that man is a worshiping animal, and that he believes that the object of worship responds to his advances. But is there such a being, and does he respond; and if so, what is he about in this long process of the world's religious development? Is religion true? Positivism says that, having made our widest generalization concerning the mere historical process, we have reached the limit of our possible knowledge. If so, they are deceivers who teach children to worship God believingly, for the most that can be said for religion is not that it is true, but only that it comforts the heart and promotes morality through imagining itself to be true. But the philosophy of religion points out that even positivism makes assumptions which demand an analysis which reaches beyond the sphere of the special sciences. Thus, it is assumed (1) that there are facts, (2) that they and their laws can be known, (3) that we can know one thing to be better than another, and (4) that we ought to be and do one thing rather than another. The contention of the philosophy of religion is that a rigorous examination of these assumptions leads to a view of the universe essentially harmonious with the demands of the religious heart, so that a synthesis is effected between the historical process and the ultimate nature of reality.

How is such a philosophy of religion related to the new type of theology described a little way back? Undoubtedly theology is approximating more and more the general philosophy of religion. On the one hand, it relies, as it always has done and always must do, upon metaphysics for the logical justification of religion in general; on the other, it exhibits Christ and his religion as the culmination and explanation of the whole development of religion. If, then, it incorporates into itself both the scientific and the metaphysical elements of the philosophy of religion,\* how can any ultimate sepa-

\* Even the Ritschlian theology, which seeks to separate theology from metaphysics, has to meet metaphysics on its own ground, namely, on the question of the relation of knowledge to reality. Ritschl remarks that the present heated theological contro-

ration be possible? Their problem, their *data*, their methods being the same, they are essentially one. Yet this is rather an ideal or a tendency than a realized fact. The vast field requires such division and subdivision of labor that theology may well remain for an indefinite time what she is to-day, a mediatrix between the contents of the Christian faith and the products of a science and a philosophy of religion that come just short of including the whole of Christianity within their field.

versies hinge upon fundamentally different conceptions of knowledge (*Theologie und Metaphysik*, p. 32. Compare R. A. Lipsius, "*Neue Beiträge zur wissenschaftlichen Grundlegung der Dogmatik*" in *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.*, p. 177). Similarly, Kaftan says: "It may be regarded as an established fact that, to reach a conclusion concerning the last and highest questions of human knowledge, it is necessary to start from a general discussion of the theory of knowledge. Even theology, in so far as it has an apologetic task to perform, neither can nor ought to-day to avoid such discussion" (*Die Wahrheit der christlichen Religion*).

George A. Coe.

**ART. IV.—VOLTAIRE'S PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.**

VOLTAIRE, whose real name was François Marie Aronnet, was born in Paris two hundred years ago. It would be difficult to find another prominent historical character concerning whom, so long after his death, opinions differ so widely as to what manner of man he really was. By some he is regarded as the very incarnation of evil; by others, as a reformer and, in his time and place, an influential champion of free thought. Possibly the execration on the one hand and the glorification on the other have been equally excessive. It is, however, not the purpose of the present paper to inquire into his character and influence, but to show what was his belief in matters pertaining to philosophy and religion.

During the Middle Ages and up to the time of the Reformation theology and philosophy went hand in hand. The scholastic philosophers, of whom Thomas Aquinas was easily first, were all churchmen. But the Church became too narrow in its views to admit of the expansion required by the progress of science, and so scholastic philosophy became a mere juggling with words, without the possibility of life. After the Reformation the assimilation of new ideas by philosophy was again possible in those countries where the reformed faith prevailed, but Catholic countries remained in a state of stagnation and had no part in the brilliant intellectual movement which characterizes this epoch. The Catholic Church was just as eager to prevent the dissemination of the teachings of Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton as of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin—a fact which must not be overlooked in considering the intense acerbity of the conflict which Voltaire waged with the Church.

In the early part of the eighteenth century the prevailing philosophy in France was the dualism of Descartes, who taught that man was composed of a material body and a spiritual substance, the soul, and that this soul was created already furnished with certain ideas called innate. This doctrine of innate ideas was opposed by Locke, who with a more scientific method than Descartes undertook to show that man has no



innate ideas, but that all our ideas come to us through the medium of the senses. This doctrine, commonly called "sensualism," was developed in Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*, published in 1690. The author here taught that the human mind, like a photographer's plate, receives without discrimination an impression from any object that may be placed before it. This theory being admitted, the soul cannot be said to have an existence apart from the body. Locke's philosophical opinions were brought to the attention of Voltaire, who, having become obnoxious to certain persons in power at home, was obliged to go into exile and spent nearly three years—1726–1729—in England. To send Voltaire to England was a gigantic blunder on the part of the French government. If he had been permitted to stay in Paris he would probably soon have become a gay courtier, occasionally writing satiric verses which would never have produced any widespread or lasting sensation. But the years which Voltaire spent in England were the most important of his life. Newton died during his stay there, and he was in London when the body of the philosopher lay in state in Westminster Abbey and statesmen, nobles, and scholars gathered there to pay their homage to a man whose sole claim to distinction was that he had enlarged the bounds of human knowledge. When Voltaire remembered that in France even the Cartesian system was forbidden to be taught by a decree of the Sorbonne and of the Council of the King, and that he himself was imprisoned and exiled because he was suspected of having written a brief poem which he had not written—when he remembered these things his mind was in a condition to profit by the object lessons in free speech which he received in England. "In extreme old age," says his biographer, Parton, "his eye would kindle and his countenance lighten up when he spoke of once having lived in a land where a professor of mathematics, only because he was great in his vocation, could be buried in a temple where the ashes of kings reposed, and the highest subjects in the kingdom felt it an honor to assist in bearing thither his body."

The teaching of Newton's system was probably not formally forbidden in France, chiefly because the authorities there

scarcely knew that there was such a man as Newton, and they certainly knew next to nothing about his system. Voltaire popularized Newton's writings in France, as well as elsewhere in Europe, where the French language was at that time the general medium of communication among persons of culture; and it is also to Voltaire that we owe the preservation of the anecdote concerning Newton and the falling apple, which apparently trivial circumstance is said to have led to the discovery of the law of gravitation. Voltaire, having thus been brought into contact with Locke's system, adapted it in the main, but held a theory analagous to Descartes's dualism, which taught the indestructibility of matter as well as the existence of a spiritual principle that Voltaire called the "world soul"—*l'âme du monde*. Concerning man's nature, however, Voltaire's belief approached more nearly to that of Locke. He confessed that he had always found the doctrine of man's dual nature an attractive one, but in spite of all his efforts to prove its truth he had rather been convinced of its untenability, and that to his grief. He says, "The more I try to convince myself that there are two of us, the more I am persuaded that I am only one."

According to Voltaire the essential difference between a man and a brute is one of degree. Archimedes was not different from a mole, except that the former had a finer organization than the latter. Just as from man—the highest organism of which we have any definite knowledge—there is a gradation down to where we are unable to distinguish the organic from the inorganic, so there may be a similar series of organisms higher than man, having more than five, even an infinite number of, senses. At this point Voltaire's philosophy seems not to differ greatly from materialism, but he endeavored to guard against such an implication. Materialists regard those phenomena usually called "mental" as purely physical. The brain, they say, secretes thought just as the liver secretes bile, and thinking consequently is a process analagous to digestion. Voltaire, however, specifically denies that thought and digestion are similar. Thought, he says, is not a function of matter, but a special faculty with which the Creator has endowed the human organism. Yet,

after all, he thinks, our knowledge on these subjects will always be very limited, and on this point he asks, "Which of us weak automata, whom an invisible hand has set in motion on the stage of this world, can see the cords by which he is guided?"

Voltaire so frequently returns to a discussion of the immortality of the soul that it is plain his sympathies were in favor of the doctrine while his intellect refused to be convinced. He admits that it would be pleasant to outlive one's self, to preserve forever the nobler parts of one's being after the destruction of the baser, but finds no solution of the question save in the hope of a better life in the future. While he admits that God, by preserving some particle of the body, might also preserve the function of the soul that was connected with it, yet the result of his reasonings is practically a denial of the immortality of the soul. The chief reason, doubtless, why Voltaire was unwilling to deny the doctrine of immortality was because he saw its usefulness in the moral government of the world. In his dialogue *Sophronimos and Adelos* (1766) he says:

I have long hesitated to proclaim my ideas on this subject because I feared the consequences might be dangerous, but I now think I see my way out of the labyrinth. We dare not accuse God of injustice because the three-headed Cerberus, Ixion's wheel, and Prometheus's vulture are mere fictions. There are for the wicked more real and unavoidable punishments in this world. I mean the pangs of conscience, which are certain, and human vengeance, which seldom fails. I have seen many wicked and contemptible persons and they were always unhappy.

Voltaire was, nevertheless, not always consistent in his views on this matter. His own observations convinced him that the wicked were not always miserable nor the virtuous always happy, and so he continually returned to the idea of future rewards and punishments.

Whoever holds with Locke that all our ideas come to us through the senses will also believe that man is not a free moral agent, since he has no more control over his thoughts than a mirror has over the images which it reflects. Now Voltaire regarded it as of the utmost importance that the will should be free, and he therefore tried to reconcile Locke's

determinism with his own ideas of free will. To him the whole moral government of the world rested on the principle of man's free agency. In his *Discourses on Man* (1734) he says that the freedom of the will is the most precious gift of the universal Father to his children, and so calls it the "health of the soul." About the same time, in a lengthy correspondence with the crown prince of Prussia, afterward Frederick II, who was an ardent determinist, he vigorously assails the philosophy of the latter. Later in life, however, we find Voltaire in the camp of the determinists, admitting that disbelief in innate ideas was inconsistent with belief in free will. What a man wills, says he, is determined by impressions received through the senses, and over these we have no control. An unconditioned act of the will would be an effect without a cause, which is an absurdity. "It would certainly be very strange that all nature, even the heavenly bodies, should follow eternal laws, and that there should be in the world a creature five feet high who, despite these laws, could act with perfect freedom and in accordance with his own whims." Man's only freedom, according to Voltaire, consists in his ability to carry out his resolutions. He resolves to walk, but this resolution is the result of an idea received through the senses. His freedom consists only in this that he can walk or not, as he will; freedom is merely the power to do. Man cannot free himself from the necessity that controls his will. If it is objected that man thus becomes a mere machine, Voltaire replies that everything in the universe is under the control of fixed laws. "We are merely the wheels in the machine of the world."

Voltaire clearly foresaw what inferences could be drawn from these theories. If the man who leaps into a stream in order to save a drowning man and the one who robs and murders a lonely traveler both act in accordance with fixed laws, how can we speak of one action as virtuous and another as vicious? Cannot the evil doer protest that he could not do otherwise, since his will was not free? But Voltaire thought that morality would not suffer by his system, since the law of nature whereby vice is vice and virtue is virtue would still prevail. One man does good, another does evil according to an inevitable law, just as one man becomes sick

while another keeps his health. That the former did not will to be sick does not make his disease any the less inconvenient or painful, nor does a crime become less reprehensible because the will of the perpetrator was not free. If a criminal should plead that his act was a necessary one, the reply is that his punishment is also a necessity. The right of society to punish criminals is in no respect restricted by the doctrine of determinism. Voltaire, however, never wrote a formal treatise in which his philosophical opinions were set forth. They must be gathered from his writings on a great variety of subjects, and since his opinions were likely to be affected by his moods we sometimes find him contradicting himself; but when we consider the totality of his writings we need be in no doubt as to what Voltaire thought on any important topic. In all his speculations Voltaire had practical morality in view. He constantly seeks the connection between philosophy and the conduct of life. He declares it to be a noble thought that a perishable creature like man could arrive at a knowledge of God, but that this knowledge is of no more service than a knowledge of algebra if we cannot deduce from it some rule of life.

Voltaire was not an original thinker, but an eclectic philosopher. Carlyle said of him that he never uttered a great thought. His strength lay in his ability to popularize the thoughts of others. Emerson says, "Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it," and so Voltaire poured light on a variety of subjects and rendered service in some ways to the advancement of learning. His philosophy is subject to many criticisms both on philosophical and religious grounds, yet he seriously and diligently meditated on the problems of life, and sought to gain and disseminate knowledge which he believed would benefit mankind.

Coming now to speak of Voltaire's religious opinions, it may be remarked in the first place that he has frequently been called an atheist. This opinion, however, could never be held by any careful student of Voltaire's works. As will appear, he had a special horror of atheism. It is also said that even though he did proclaim the existence of God he was not sincere, but preached this doctrine because he thought the

masses could better be held in subjection if told that God would punish their evil deeds, though he thought that a philosopher had no need of God. Doubtless it would be possible to quote passages from Voltaire's writings which would justify attributing to him such opinions. True, in reply to Bayle's assertion that atheism and immorality did not necessarily go together, and that a well-ordered community when all were atheists might well exist, Voltaire says that this would hold good of philosophers, but that the masses needed a strong rein, and that if Bayle had to govern only a few hundred peasants, he would not be slow in proclaiming to them a God that rewards and punishes. Therefore, he says, "If God did not exist it would be necessary to invent him." Speaking of atheism he says :

In the fifteenth century Italy swarmed with atheists, and what was the result ? It was as common to poison as to give a supper, to plunge a dagger into the heart of a friend as to embrace him. There were professors of crime, just as there are now teachers of music and mathematics. Atheism and fanaticism are the two poles of a universe of horror. The narrow zone of virtue lies between these two poles.

If we pursue the subject further we shall see that Voltaire had not merely practical reasons for believing in God, but theoretical ones. If he did think that priests were sometimes a great evil, he did not think that God should be held responsible for the acts of his pretended servants. The teleological argument for the existence of God seemed to Voltaire unanswerable. Some things exist, he reasons ; therefore, something must have existed always, or something must have come out of nothing, which is absurd. The universe is intelligently made, therefore it must have been made by an intelligent being. Every work that shows design must have had a designer, and the world is preeminently such a work. Now it is impossible that an intelligent Creator should have been evolved from inert, unintelligent matter. The intelligence of a Newton must have come from another intelligence.

From the top of the head to the end of the toes all is art, all is design, means, and end. Really one feels some indignation against those who pretend to deny final causes, and who are so disingenuous as to deny that the mouth was made for eating and talking, that the eyes are

marvelously arranged for seeing, and the ears for hearing. This audacity is so senseless that I fail to comprehend it.

Again, in the *Dialogue of Sophronimos and Adelos* (1777) Voltaire writes :

I have always, with Cicero and Plato, recognized in nature a supreme power, as intelligent as powerful, that has arranged the universe as we see it. I could never think with the Epicureans that chance, which is nothing, could have made everything. As I see all nature subject to constant laws, I recognize the lawgiver, and since all heavenly bodies move according to the eternal laws of mathematics I recognize what Plato has so aptly called the "Eternal Geometer."

"The watch proves the watchmaker," was his constant argument for the existence of God, and it is worthy of mention that he used this argument before the birth of Paley, whom it served so well. We thus see that Voltaire's theory of life was based on his dualistic philosophy. If matter has not in itself "the promise and potency of life," as Tyndall said, then there must be outside and above nature something that gives it life and motion. .

Concerning the evil in the world Voltaire had very definite ideas. This subject is frequently discussed in his romances, which are usually didactic in character. In his poem on the earthquake at Lisbon (1766) he contends against the doctrine that "whatever is, is right." Evil exists, he says, and it would be absurd to deny it. When Epicurus says that God either could not or would not prevent the existence of evil, Voltaire prefers the former, because he prefers to worship a God with limited power, rather than a malevolent one. While he considers the origin of evil as an unsolvable problem, he thinks that probably the world could not have been made any better even by an omnipotent Creator. He even says that a world without evil would be as impossible as a triangle whose three angles were not equal to two right angles. Since man is perishable he is necessarily subject to infirmity and decay, with the attending pains and inconveniences. Besides, man's passions and emotions, which are a necessary part of him, sometimes lead him astray.

But Voltaire went farther than to proclaim that God was merely the Creator of the world; he also affirmed that this

Creator was likewise the ruler of his creation. In his treatise on *God and Men* (1769) he says :

No society can exist without justice; therefore we proclaim that God is just. If the laws of the State punish detected crime, we proclaim a God who will punish undetected crime. A philosopher may be a deist like Spinoza, but the statesman should be a theist. We know not what God is, but we do know that he is just and reasonable, and let that suffice.

He says elsewhere that God has provided for the moral government of the world just as he had provided for its physical government. He who violates natural laws suffers punishment; why not also he who violates moral laws?

As Voltaire grew older he took a more serious view of the problem of evil, and was more inclined to believe in the immortality of the soul, as well as in future rewards and punishments. Whereas he had formerly held that probabilities were against immortality, he now says they are in its favor. His arguments, however, are all of a purely negative character. Since we do not know what it is within us that thinks, we cannot assert that it will not survive our bodies. Since thought is nothing material, why may we not believe that God has implanted in us some divine principle that is immortal? In the *Dialogue on the Soul* (1777) he says :

I do not say that we have no soul, but I say that I know nothing about it. I believe that God gives us five senses and thought, and he could well have made it so that we should live and move and have our being in him, as Paul and Aratus say.

While Voltaire had great respect for religion in the abstract he rarely speaks respectfully of the Christian religion; and it is precisely his views on this point that have aroused the greatest antagonism. True, his hardest blows were directed against the Roman hierarchy, which enforced by persecution its dogma that ignorance is the mother of devotion, and so put itself directly in the way of all progress, and was, on that account, specially hateful to Voltaire, as to many others. As will appear later, he had great respect for the person of Jesus, but regarded him merely as an honest enthusiast—*enthousiaste de bonne foi*. Some of the dogmas of certain theo-



logians excited his indignation, and in his *Epistle to Urania* (1724) he exclaims :

Ye immense regions of America, ye people whom God placed in the extreme East, and ye of the far North, ye all, whom error binds as with a deep sleep, shall ye be forever given over to the wrath of God, because ye know not that once upon a time, in a remote part of Syria, the son of a carpenter died upon the cross ? No, such a picture is unworthy of the God whom I am to worship. One offends God only by injustice to his creatures. He judges us according to our virtues, not according to our sacrifices.

Voltaire's religion, as well as his philosophy, was greatly influenced by his sojourn in England. There he adopted the doctrines of the English deists, of which Bolingbroke, Shaftesbury, and Tindal were the chief apostles. Deism was, in fact, the general prevailing form of unbelief before the rise of German rationalism and the materialism of the later scientists. Voltaire never allowed to pass unimproved an opportunity to cast reproach on the Jews and their sacred writings, and therefore emphasized the fact that the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Greeks believed in immortality, whereas the Old Testament contained scarcely a hint of it—which showed what barbarians the Jews were as compared with their enlightened neighbors. Neither did he have much respect for the New Testament, as a whole, although there is much in it that he approved. The fact that miracles are there frequently mentioned made the book distasteful to him. Concerning Jesus he always spoke respectfully, when he spoke seriously. It is true, indeed, that his pages are blotted with some ribald jests on this subject, for the shame of Voltaire was that he jested at times on almost everything which he talked about. In the *Philosophical Dictionary* (1764), in the article on "Religion," Jesus is spoken of in a manner to which no one could object ; and the treatise on *God and Men* begins by saying that only a rogue or a fanatic would say that the light of reason should not be used in investigating the history of Jesus. Concerning the authorities on this subject, Voltaire says that the Greek and Roman historians make no mention of Jesus, and even the better Jewish ones, such as Josephus and Philo, are silent concerning him. Our only means of information, then, are the gospels on one

hand, and some defamatory Jewish writings on the other. Nevertheless, according to Voltaire, we may be certain that Jesus was the son of Mary, a carpenter's wife, and that Joseph was his father. He came from the lowest class of people and professed to be a prophet, like many others. He had the power to attract followers, a power possessed only by persons of some ability who lead an upright life. He who would be a leader must begin by winning the respect of those whom he would lead. Jesus may be called a "rural Socrates." Both preached morality, without any special occupation; both had disciples and enemies; both said hard things against the priests, and both were executed. Again in his *Histoire de Jenni* (1769) Voltaire says: "I believe with Jesus Christ that one should love God and his neighbor, pardon offenses, and make good what was done amiss. These are the maxims of Jesus. They are so true that all legislators, all philosophers have always held and always will hold the same."

Voltaire, through misapprehension, even thought it necessary to defend Jesus against the assertions of the gospels themselves. Such expressions as "I came not to send peace, but a sword" and "If any man . . . hate not his father, and mother, . . . he cannot be my disciple" he declared to be so diametrically opposed to the general utterances of Jesus that they cannot be genuine. Since the gospels were not written until long after Jesus's death, Voltaire maintained that we could not expect them to be an accurate report of what he said. Besides, his language was frequently figurative, and since we in no case have his exact words, but only translations or paraphrases of them, we cannot always be sure of the precise sense which he attached to them. Nevertheless, if we take all the speeches attributed to Jesus concerning the meaning of which there can be no reasonable doubt, we shall find that he taught love to God and man and an unsurpassed system of moral deserving of universal recognition.

The miracles recorded by Jesus were of course a stumbling-block to Voltaire, but not as serious a one as might be expected. Some of them he believed to be inventions of later times, while others might have been "pious frauds" on the part of Jesus, for the sake of winning adherents to his wholesome

doctrines—a proceeding which Voltaire regarded as quite justifiable under the circumstances. The inhabitants of Judea and Galilee were ignorant and superstitious, demanding signs and wonders, and as they could only be benefited by this deception there was no harm in practicing it. In fact, Voltaire was never very scrupulous as to his own methods if he was anxious to make a point, and strict regard for truth was not one of his virtues. He contended that the Christianity of the eighteenth century in France was as remote from the religion of Jesus as from that of Zoroaster, and that Jesus himself would have looked on it with contempt.

While Voltaire had but little respect for the Catholicism which he saw about him, he did not look on Protestantism with much more favor. Admitting that the latter had thrown off some of the grossest superstitions of the former, he thought these improvements could have been made without turning the world upside down, as did Luther and his companions. In this Voltaire's opinions coincided exactly with those of Erasmus, who often expressed himself in almost exactly the same words as Voltaire. Leo X, according to the latter, was as a man greatly preferable to Luther. Even if he was pope, he was at least a man of culture and a promoter of the arts, whereas the latter was a rude peasant whose language was sometimes so coarse as to be unfit for repetition. Voltaire was, moreover, an ardent lover of peace, and therefore thought that it would have been better to have endured all the absurdities and iniquities of the papal rule, which would have disappeared in time, than to have stirred up a strife which set all the nations of Europe by the ears and caused the thirty years' war, that most lamentable and destructive of all wars. On this point two things may be remarked. One is the radical difference between the French and the Teutonic mind. It is impossible for one to comprehend the workings of the other. Voltaire could neither understand nor appreciate the work of Luther because it was impossible for him to look at it from the latter's point of view. For the same reason it was impossible for him to appreciate the dramas of Shakespeare, whom he regarded as almost as great a barbarian as Luther. The second point is Voltaire's utter lack of his-

toric sense, which made him fail to see that, even judging by his own criterion, Protestantism was far preferable to Catholicism in this, that the latter made free thought a crime and punished it as such when it had the power, whereas Protestant governments, if not entirely free from the persecuting spirit, were never guilty of such outrages as characterized the Inquisition. That "the noble liberty of thinking," which Voltaire extolled so highly, prevailed in England and not in France was due chiefly, if not solely, to the fact that the Protestant religion prevailed in one and not in the other.

Voltaire has sometimes been charged with expressing a desire to destroy the Christian Church, and with boasting of his ability to do this. It would probably be difficult to show that he ever expressed such a sentiment, and it is certain that he never did so when speaking seriously, as the following will show. At the close of his treatise on *God and Men* he says :

Swift wrote a beautiful book in which he claims to have proved that we are not yet ready to dispense with the Christian religion. I agree with him. True, it is a tree which hitherto has borne only deadly fruits, but we do not desire to cut it down, but to graft it. Let us worship the supreme Being through Jesus, since that is the custom. What does it matter whether we offer our homage to that Being through Confucius, Marcus Aurelius, or Jesus, if we are only sincere ?

Again in the *Philosophical Dictionary*, he writes :

If you say religion has caused thousands of crimes, I reply, not religion but superstition, the most cruel enemy of the pure worship which we owe God. It is a monstrous serpent, throttling religion in its coils. Let us crush its head without wounding the religion which it infects and devours. . . . A stupid priest excites contempt, a wicked priest inspires horror, but a good priest is a man whom we should cherish and respect. Let us fear abuses and try to prevent them, but let us not condemn a custom that is useful to society. That the Jesuits have been banished from France is no reason for banishing God. Let us rather love him the more on that account.

One other point deserves mention. Voltaire in his letters frequently used the words "*Ecrasez l'infâme*," which have often been translated "Crush the wretch" and referred to Christ. Now, no one who had studied the subject would see in this expression an allusion to Christ. In the first place,

Voltaire himself more than once explains what he means by "*l'infâme*." For example, in a letter he writes: "I wish you to crush '*l'infâme*;' you know well that I speak of superstition. As for religion, I love it and respect it as you do." And d'Alembert in his reply speaks of "the infamous fanaticism which you wish to see crushed," etc. Again, if we examine a few of the passages in which these words occur, we shall see that "*l'infâme*" is feminine and so could not refer to Christ. He says, "*Si vous pouvez écraser l'infâme, écrasez-la.*" Frederick the Great, who knew Voltaire's sentiments, writes, "*J'approuve fort la méthode de donner des nasardes à l'infâme en la comblant de politesses.*" What, then, was this "infamous thing"? In the words of Mr. Saintsbury:

"*L'infâme*" is not God, it is not Christ, it is not Christianity, it is not even Catholicism. Its briefest equivalent may be given as "persecuting and privileged orthodoxy" in general, and more particularly it is the particular system which Voltaire saw around him, of which he himself had felt the effects in his own exiles and the confiscation of his books, and of which he saw the still worse effects in the hideous sufferings of Calas and La Barre.

Voltaire's biographer, Parton, speaking on this same subject says:

It was religion claiming supernatural authority, and enforcing that claim by pains and penalties. It was religion that could put an ugly tall pot on the head of a clown, a crooked stick in his hand, and then sit him down, squat like a toad, upon the intellect of France. It was religion making an ignorant bishop the censor of Newton in Newton's own subjects. It was religion killing religion, and making virtue itself contemptible by resting its claim on grounds untenable and ridiculous. It was religion wielding the whole mass of indolence, ignorance, and cowardice, and placing it solid and entire in the only path by which the human race could advance. It was the worst thing that ever was in the world.



## ART. V.—THE KINSHIP OF THE RELIGIOUS AND POETIC IMPULSES.

POETRY is not often thought of as worthy to be considered a Madonna and the hallowed mother of an infant God; she is more often regarded as being in many of her manifestations a hoyden and light o' love, a whimsical girl of airy and inconstant fancies, at best as a nurse to soothe with rhyme the infancy and youth of man. As womanhood is mother, wife, sister, sweetheart, so may the spirit of poesy range through as many varied phases and manifestations.

The wisest observers remark that the art of poetry, as to its brightest, strongest, and most planetary appearances, seems to be in eclipse. Mr. E. C. Stedman, our leading critic, regards this as temporary, and says :

I believe that, later than Shakespeare's day, the height of utterance in his mode and tongue [that is, the dramatic] is not of the past, but still to be attained by us; . . . our own will have its speech again, and as much more quickly than after former periods of disuse as the processes of action and reaction speed swiftness than of old. To one bred to look before and after, this talk of atrophy seems childish when he bears in mind what lifeless stretches preceded the Miltonic and the Georgian outbursts. A pause, a rest has been indicated, at this time especially innocuous and the safeguard against cloying; meantime our new-fledged genius has not been listless, but testing the wing in fields outside the lyric hedgerows. In the near future the world, and surely its alertest and most aspiring country, will not lack for poets. Whatsoever the prognosis, one thing is gained from a compilation of the songs of many; this or that singer may be humble, an everyday personage among his fellows, but in his verse we have that better part of nature which overtops the evils in us all, and by the potency of which a race looks forward that else would straggle to the rear.

Mr. Stedman thus believes the occultation temporary, and strikes defiantly against the shield of any who declares that poetry is not a potent force in the advancement of even the century that now begins a hoary year of man. An American poet makes a simple stalk of corn

. . . . Type the poet-soul sublime  
That leads the vanward of his timid time  
And sings up cowards with commanding rhyme.

But the present essay will not regard recent or racial manifestations of the desire of mankind to be soothed or stimulated or delighted by the beautiful art of verse, but will rather seek to show how closely together in kinship lie the two demands of man's nature—one for religion, the other for poetry. If we may not speak of one as a progenitor of the other, we may consider them as having common parentage, as being well-nigh one in heart and blood.

At the outset it seems proper to say that back of all the flowerings of poetic form in all times and among different peoples lies the essential poetic energy, the instinctive impulse of man's spirit toward expression, the outgoing of his imagination. Among primitive tribes whatever was not connected with daily surroundings and bodily needs would readily appear to be connected with the supernatural. As soon as the first dream or memory came to a man his thought would postulate the unseen and spiritual. The recognition of the possible existence of divine power outside of man's vision straightway impels the creature to prayer. Prayer or worship, in its simplest form, is an ascription of superiority to the Unseen and an invocation for help and sympathy. This instinctive exercise of the imagination moved by emotion seems to be in essence the poetic energy. And often this poetic energy at once seeks to take shape in outburst of sacred song. Goethe says, "The beautiful is a primeval phenomenon, which indeed never becomes visible itself, but the reflection of which is seen in a thousand various expressions of the creative mind, as various and as manifold as the phenomena of nature."

Omitting reference to books which contain the inferences of anthropologists who have studied the conditions of races still in savagery, we may consider the internal evidence furnished by an ancient race which has contributed more than any other to the religious substance of the world, namely, the Hebrews. Herein may be found conclusive evidence that, whereas the æsthetic tendency was comparatively slight toward the development of other arts, it was strong toward the development of sacred song. Professor Toy says:

The most distinctly characteristic part of Old Testament literature is the prophetic. The position of the Israelitish prophet is unique. No

other people has produced a line of moral and religious patriots who followed the fortunes of the nation from generation to generation and, amid all changes of political situation, remained true to their cardinal principle, which was that no conditions of power and wealth would avail a nation which did not pay strict obedience to the moral law and place its reliance in God. . . . The prophets are political-religious watchmen who appear at every crisis to announce the will of God. . . . They differ from other orators in that their audience is not a court of law, nor an assembly of the people, but the whole nation; and the question which they discuss is not the interpretation of a statute, or a particular point of political policy, but the universal principle of obedience to God. The language of the prophetic discourses is for the most part rhythmical and measured, and the discourses themselves naturally fall into strophes and paragraphs.

Professor Toy further adds that "Hebrew poetry," by general admission, "is characterized as to its form by rhythm and parallelism." Rhythm "is the melodious flow of syllables. Parallelism, a form characteristic of, and almost peculiar to, old Semitic poetry is the balancing of phrases; the second line in a couplet being a repetition of the first in varied phrase or presenting some sort of expression of, or contrast to, the first." Dr. Toy gives many examples of the eloquent outbursts of the prophets, and they all exhibit these elements which he says are characteristic of the old Semitic poetry. The Book of Job is reckoned among the great poems of the world. The Psalms present a complete fusion of devotional and lyrical fervor, each one being a prayer and a song.

But the point is here made that not only in the professedly poetical productions is this fusion found, but that it constantly underlies almost all the contents of the sacred books of this people. It may almost be said that whenever there is strong religious fervor there is also high lyric enthusiasm. Whenever the thought is intense it is both devout and poetical. No lower enthusiasm than this of man's relation to Deity can kindle the lyric spark. Coleridge laid down what must be a true *dictum*, that there is no necessary antithesis between prose and poetry. In the sense of leaving aside all consideration of mere constructive form, it may be held that even in the historical books of the Old Testament there is constant



evidence of what has been called the poetic energy. Genesis is marked by the presence of its essential elements.

The same blending is found in other literatures, ancient and modern. It is not without significance that Herodotus says of Homer and Hesiod, "It was they [the poets] who made a theogony for the Greeks, assigned names to the gods, distributed their honors and arts, and revealed their forms." In ancient India simple hymns are the foundation of the sacred Vedas, as scriptures of faith and worship. So, likewise, in Icelandic, the oldest spoken language in Europe, the chief *Eddas* are collections of mythology and poetics. The greatest one, *Voluspa*, or "Prophecy of the Sibyl," is deemed worthy to stand at the head of all old Germanic songs for beauty and dignity, for language and the inherent worth of its material. Its purpose is to give a complete picture of the whole heathen religion. It contains the history of the universe; the creation of the world out of chaos; the origin of giants, dwarfs, gods, and men; and ends with their destruction and ultimate renewal. Everywhere, among all the peoples, in India, Persia, Germany, Iceland, Babylonia, and among the Anglo-Saxons, we find this intuitive association of the two efforts of the human spirit. Carlyle calls Dante's "*Divina Commedia*" a "mystic, unfathomable song," "sublime embodiment of the soul of Christianity," "the thought that ten centuries lived by, expressed in everlasting music." And Dante succeeds in fusing beauty with spiritual teaching; art does not become obscured by doctrine, but beauty and spiritual purpose are at one. "In all man's gropings about the roots of mystery" the religious instinct and the poetical impulse are ardent coworkers.

Lafcadio Hearn, a student of Japan, has this to write of the Shinto faith—anciently, *Kami-no-Michi*, The Way of the Gods:

Buddhism has a voluminous theology, a profound philosophy, a literature vast as the sea. Shinto has no philosophy, no ethical code, no metaphysics; . . . it is a power indefinable as magnetism, invulnerable as air. . . . The reality of Shinto lies not in books, nor rites, nor commandments, but in the national heart, of which it is the highest emotional religious expression, immortal and ever young. Far underlying all the

surface crop of quaint superstitions, and artless myths, and fantastic magic, there thrills a mighty spiritual force, the whole soul of a race, with all its powers and impulses and intuitions. He who would know what Shinto is must learn to know that mysterious soul in which the sense of beauty and power of art, and the fire of heroism and magnetism of loyalty, and the emotion of faith, have become inherent, immanent, unconscious, instinctive.

This seems to say that only a poetic mind might hope to understand this elusive religious faith. In an essay, recently published, entitled "From Bacon to Beethoven," Sidney Lanier has this suggestive passage:

Now man strives always to place himself in relation not only with those definite forms which go to make up the finite world about him, but also with that indefinite Something up to which every process of reasoning, every outgo of emotion, every physical activity, inevitably leads him—God, the Infinite, the Unknown. The desire of man is that he may relate himself with the Infinite both in the cognitive and in the emotional way. Sir William Hamilton showed clearly how impossible was any full relation of the former sort in showing that cognition itself was a conditioning (that is, a defining, a placing of boundaries appreciable by the intellect), and that therefore the knowing of the Infinite was the conditioning of the Unconditioned; in short, impossible. This seemed to preclude the possibility of any relation from man to God of the cognitive sort, but Mr. Herbert Spencer has relieved the blankness of this situation by asserting the possibility of a partial relation still. We cannot think God, it is true; but we can think toward him. This in point of fact is what men continually do. The definition in the Catechism, "God is a Spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in being, wisdom," etc., is an effort of man to relate himself to God in the cognitive or intellectual way: it is a thinking *toward* God. Now, there is a constant endeavor of man, but one to which less attention has been paid by philosophers, to relate himself with the Infinite not only in the cognitive way just described, but also in the emotional way. Just as persistently as our thought seeks the Infinite, does our emotion seek the Infinite. We not only wish to think it, we wish to love it; and as our love is not subject to the disabilities of our thought, the latter of these two wishes would seem to be more capable of a complete fulfillment than the former. It has been shown that we can only think *toward* the Infinite; it may be that our love can reach nearer its object. As a philosophic truth, music does carry our emotion toward the Infinite.

Robert Browning says, in "Abt Vogler:—"

All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good, shall exist:  
Not its semblance, but itself: no beauty, nor good, nor power

Whose voice has gone forth, but each survives for the melodist

When eternity confirms the conception of an hour.

The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,

The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky,

Are music sent up to God by the lover and the bard :

Enough that he heard it once : we shall hear it by and by.

But God has a few of us whom he whispers in the ear,

The rest may reason and welcome : 'tis we musicians know.

Reduced to their simplest terms Music and Poetry have the same basis. The essential element of one is the essential element of the other; that is, rhythm. Music is rhythmically arranged sounds; poetry is rhythmically arranged words. The earliest musical instrument was the human voice, capable of uttering sounds and also words. If this analysis be correct, it must have been along the track of song, rhythm uttered by the human voice, that primitive man early essayed to send his emotion toward the darkness in which dwelt the object of his love and aspiration, the Infinite. Song, or envoiced rhythm, is the earliest manifestation of the poetic energy, and it concerns itself with feeling about the Unknown, the Mysterious, the Infinite. It is a stream flowing in the same channel as the religious impulse; it seeks to aid the thought of man by bearing it on the bosom of its rhythm toward the ocean.

The perceptive faculties show us the palpable, the visible, that which appears; the imaginative faculties suggest glimpses of the eternal realities. Imagination and feeling are wings with which the genius of man seeks to quit the actual and get into the ideal. Wherever these two move, the element supporting them is the poetic-religious. Horace Rushnell says, "We shall know that poetry is the real and true state of man, the proper and last ideal of soul." State it differently, and somehow poesy is transformed into faith. The daily sacrifice of the Catholic Church has been called a great religious poem. The supreme object of religion is to know God or to love *toward* him, and to find brotherhood in humanity. The metaphysician shows that Infinity cannot be mentally conditioned, cannot be known as man knows Nature or the objective, that is, in the scientific sense. Spencer says that God is

unknowable; that is, the Unknowable may be Deity. Ernest Haeckel seems to say that there is no Deity to be known, no personal Deity, none save the Sum of Matter and Force. There is an ancient saying, "The fool hath said *in his heart*, There is no God." Haeckel is esteemed an acute thinker and scientist. Can we save him from the scriptural designation of one who, though learned in some wisdoms, may be yet foolish? Perhaps he does not utter this negative in *his heart*, but has merely thought and said it with the mind; never having felt the divinity revealed in poesy, perhaps he has simply denied him in scientific category. Though we may not know God, supreme object of man, in scientific realm, in characterization of mind, or metaphysics, in logical definition of philosophy, or in any sensible realization, yet may we not know him with the heart? Reason, metaphysics, philosophy, science may seem to have failed to completely demonstrate Deity in a personal sense, yet the heart's poesy may reveal him. Beyond metaphysics and science, it is in the spiritual realm chiefly that faith and poesy are found, and there they are as two wings of the human spirit; by both the soul of man is lifted above the ground.

If it be true that these two impulses of human nature, the poetic and religious, show their twinship in the dawning of intelligence, in fact suggest a very identity of rootage, it is not surprising that the fruits of the tree should display the same features of kinship. In other words, the development of the poetic energy in the growth and blossoming of the poetic art shows numberless examples of the tendency of the singers to become spiritual teachers. The Psalms furnish example after example of this fusion of the imaginative and the spiritual. Time does not suffice to quote any of these, nor any of the wonderful rhapsodies of the prophets. Illustrations may be drawn from all of the greatest modern singers. The dramatic is said to be the highest form of the art, and Shakespeare is accepted as the supreme master in this form. Is it not true that he, who sounded the whole diapason of man's complex nature, constantly recurs to this master chord of spiritual aspirations? With words of tenderness and reverence he refers to Jesus:

In those holy fields  
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet  
Which fourteen hundred years ago were nailed  
For our advantage on the bitter cross.

The plays of the great Greek dramatists graced the important state festivals and were parts of the popular religious ceremonial. *Æschylus* was of intensely religious or spiritual nature. Browning says, The world is better

Because Euripides shrank not to teach,  
If gods be strong and wicked, man, though weak,  
May prove their match by willing to be good.

Pindar believed in genius as the gift of God; believed that the poet had priestly authority, was, in a sense, the voice of the Most High; the *blessed ones* are said to have manifested themselves to him. Virgil, whom Tennyson calls

Wielder of the stateliest measure ever molded by the lips of man,

was religious, mystical, spiritual. The *Æneid* was esteemed as a bible of classical literature during the Middle Ages, the conflict seeming to be a spiritual war and the warrior taking on the guise of a priest. Eschenbach, greatest mediæval German poet, covers in "*Parzival*," the whole circle of religion and ethics. He sang of the Holy Grail as a visible manifestation of the ever-living Christ, "a light to guide, a rod to check the erring, and reprove."

But such illustrative facts may be found in all the literatures of the world. Without dogmatism it may be said, that perhaps the religious and poetic impulses of man's soul are of identical root, and that, for the loftiest spiritual teaching, we may go not only to teachers, but to the makers of thoughtful, soulful, melodious poesy.

*Clifford Lauen*

**ART. VI.—THE INTELLECT—ITS FUNCTION IN RELIGION.**

THERE is an ancient legend that Apollo, having fallen in love with Cassandra, one of the many daughters of Priam, bestowed upon her the gift of prophecy. But she afterward refused his suit, and as he could not take back his gift he added the curse that no one should believe her predictions. The truth underlying this legend seems to be that some kindly deity bestowed upon man the power of thought, of reason and judgment, and then in a fit of jealousy or fear ordained that the race should not trust this divinely given faculty. It has therefore become the custom among a certain class of public speakers to warn men very strongly against depending on their reason or intellectual natures. The intellect, they say, is not the highest faculty, its teachings and authority are not always to be accepted, and as a guide it is frequently unsafe and misleading. We are especially not to trust our reason in the province of religion, for intelligence and religious knowledge or experience are somewhat fundamentally opposed, the one to the other. These speakers sometimes carry the opposition so far as tacitly to assume that no exceptionally intelligent man can be really and truly religious, and that no sincerely religious man can be particularly intelligent.

If we are not to trust the intellect—the writer follows the old psychology in this discussion—in deciding the most momentous questions of life, it is fair to ask, Which one then of the faculties of our nature are we to believe and follow? The answer, no doubt, of a great part of those who disparage the reasoning powers would be, The sensibilities or emotions. We get an idea that the man who is controlled by his feelings, who is kind-hearted and sympathetic, with an intense religious experience, must necessarily be a safe religious guide; as though a clear mind was not a prime factor in a pure or worthy life. “Keep thy heart with all diligence,” says Solo-

mon, "for out of it are the issues of life." But note that it is the intellect which is to be the keeper and decide upon what the heart's affections shall be placed. A young man, in speaking of John Calvin, said, "His was a theology of the mind, while John Wesley's was a theology of the heart." The reason of one man may, from broader knowledge, wider experience, and a richer nature, construct a more worthy system of theology than the reason of another man; but it is the work of the intellect, and not of the emotions. We are, it is true, to pay much attention to the development and training of our emotions and passions, for their strength and intensity determine in a great measure the force of our characters and the value of our lives. One great aim of education is to learn to love and hate correctly, to direct our affections to worthy objects, and to despise the little, the mean, and the base. The emotions should be strong and elevated in tone, leading to manly action; and our first objection to the men who disparage the intellect and exalt the feelings is that they do not train the affections and make them efficient instruments for good. They too often permit them to run riot, chasing all sorts of vagaries, and yet expect them to bring forth valuable fruit; as though the horses roaming wild over the plain will in some way produce more and better food for the race than the plodding animals which are yoked to the wagon or the plow.

However strong or richly developed our sensibilities may be, they must be thoroughly under control of the reason. We have not yet given due attention to the training of the affections and of the will as powerful servants, but not masters, of the intellectual faculty. We need to be urged to train, to control, and to direct wisely the sensibilities with which we are so richly endowed, and not to suppose that the man who cannot govern himself is the person to instruct others in divine truth, as a half-crazy woman placed upon the tripod at Delphi was supposed to be the appropriate instrument of divine revelation. The stronger and richer our emotional natures the

more we are inclined to religious enthusiasm, the more we need to cultivate our intellects; just as we need the stronger reins and cooler head the more fiery the steeds we drive. There was plenty of feeling on the field of Waterloo, a superabundance of devotion and reckless courage, but the battle was lost from lack of good judgment on the part of the French commanders. Upon life's great battlefield the long-headed men advance, and the men who discredit the reason and exalt the emotional natures are constantly falling to the rear. Civilization is not advanced, the world is not saved, the Church is not built up by feeling, except as controlled and made effective by the reason. To let our feelings easily move us to action is a sign of weakness, of lack of will power or directing force which is the determining element in our character. The man who is led hither and thither by his feelings, even though they may be religious, is like a log rolled over and over by each succeeding wave, till at last it is buried in the sand as an object with which nature is tired of playing.

However important a faculty the imagination may be, probably no one would place it at the head of our soul endowments or claim that it should act independent of the reason. The work of the imagination is to create for us a world in which we are to live and work, the index of our soul's desires and tendencies. Its images are, under the reason's guidance, to be lofty and attainable; its ideals, noble—a rational world harmoniously constructed for human development. In the formation of this ideal world the intellect is to be the controlling power, as it was when the universe was created and God pronounced it very good. It is the world which the imagination constructs and in which we think and act which determines our significance as men. Not only do we construct this ideal world of our soul habitation, as the nautilus does its shell, but we are constantly remodeling the material world in accordance with the dictates of our reason. As God is forever creating things in his likeness, of which we are the highest known type, so we are persistently striving to mold



this visible world into our likeness, to conform it to our thought. Man needs a world which he can so transform as to reflect and express himself, and happy will he be if it may be said of the products of his hand and brain, as of his great Exemplar's works, "In wisdom hast thou made them all."

If the men who seek to discredit the intellect would emphasize the will as the chief of all our faculties, we would certainly have great sympathy with them. Nine tenths of the work of education and of preparation for life seems at times to be the strengthening and training of the powers of volition. Men fail more often from lack of will force than from lack of knowledge or feeling. We have scarcely begun to realize yet that the will can be educated, that men can make themselves act and keep on acting till action becomes second nature. But, however well developed the will may be, it must be guided by the judgment, and the more vigorous it is the more necessary that it shall be strictly under the control of the reason. The will is to be trained to absolute freedom from unworthy motives and to perfect response to the intellect and the affections. A man with a strong will is safe or useful only when a well-instructed reason sits enthroned as the arbiter of his actions. Without that reason he is like a ship without a rudder. We are not to give up our wills, as some teach, but to use them as tremendous forces for life's work. Jesus's constant effort was to get the disciples to do something, to manifest some energy for the upbuilding of the kingdom. Our wills are to be freed, strengthened, and set to work vigorously and intelligently. God does not want us to humble ourselves in the dust, to belittle our faculties. "Gird up now thy loins like a man," he said to Job; "I will demand of thee, and declare thou unto me." "Son of man," he said to Ezekiel, "stand upon thy feet, and I will speak unto thee." He would not increase his own glory at the cost of our shame, but would use our faculties developed the most highly possible, proud as any earthly father when in the strength of our manhood we have overcome the evil. We can imagine his delight

as he gathers about him at the last day the bold thinkers and the hard fighters on earth's battlefield, when his promise shall be fulfilled, "He that overcometh shall inherit all things."

That the intellect holds the first place among man's faculties is shown from a number of considerations. The loss of the reason is without doubt the greatest calamity that could befall one—worse than the loss of sight or hearing or all our senses; it is the taking away of the general power upon which the value of all the rest depends. The supreme importance of good judgment, or common sense, is the stock in trade of all proverbs, those quintessences of wisdom among all peoples. "He that getteth wisdom loveth his own soul," while, appropriately, stripes are "for the back of fools." Reason is the source of enlightenment, of knowledge of God, of men, of creation, of all natural and spiritual truths. Any purity or moral strength worthy the name comes from deliberate choice by the reason and assertion of freedom by the soul. When the prodigal son came to himself—that is, when his reason was again enthroned—he said, "I will arise and go to my father." We often speak of the moral nature as though it was independent, to be cultivated by itself apart from the intellect or sensuous nature; but the fact is, the whole person must be trained—the physical organs and appetites, the sensibilities, the will, all under control of the great leader, the reason. The fruits of the Spirit, in the fifth chapter of Galatians, spring from a rich emotional nature controlled by the intellect, while the fruits of the flesh spring from an equally strong emotional nature without such control. Instead of our reason being an obstruction to true enlightenment, it is the feelings, the sentiments, the prejudices which keep men from seeing and following the truth. Our reason is the most precious gift of the heavenly Father to his children, given to be the guide and enricher of life. If we mistrust and decry it we must not imagine that God is going to give us another and better faculty. As Napoleon among his marshals, Apollo among the muses, or Jupiter among the gods, so is the intellect

among the faculties, and we simply advertise our folly in disparaging it. Through it the heavens declare to us God's glory, history his footsteps, the Bible his handwriting, the conversion and sanctification of men his grace and power. We must rise through reason up to reason's God; and that is the only Jacob's ladder whose ends rest, the one upon God's footstool, the other upon his throne, instead of dangling aimlessly in the air.

The preacher appeals to men's reason, and would belittle himself and his message if he appealed to anything else. We are to judge all things—ourselves, God, and the angels—by the reason, and wisdom is to be justified by the reasoning faculty of her children. "Come now, and let us reason together," saith the Lord, as the method peculiarly fitted to the subject and to man with whom he pleads. Christ constantly avoided signs and wonders and appealed to the intellect of his hearers, confusing them because they were weak where they thought they were strong. The pulpit preaches Christ, Christian doctrines, and Christian ethics to the intellect because they are particularly adapted to be grasped in that way. Christianity is to the fullest extent reasonable, and that is the only certain guarantee of its becoming the universal religion. The incarnation, teachings, life, and miracles of Christ—with the greatest of all miracles, his resurrection—are presented and enforced to the intellect. When Christ talked to Nicodemus about the new birth he appealed to his reason, and confounded him by showing him that he had not thought. "Why should it be thought a thing incredible," or unreasonable, "with you," says Paul, "that God should raise the dead?" On the journey to Emmaus the risen Lord expounded the Scriptures to the judgment of the two disciples till not only their spiritual but their bodily eyes were opened. When the wonderful story of redemption was to be told the world it must be expressed in the language molded and enriched by nearly a thousand years of thought. The great thinkers of Greece tried to understand God and man's rela-

tion to him, to make him cognizable to the intellects of their people. For this reason Christianity went to Greek philosophy and the Greek language for its expression, and to one trained in Greek thought to adequately set it forth for the Gentile world. God at that time needed a man versed in all the wisdom of the Greeks, just as in former times he had needed a man learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and that is the kind of men he always uses when he has some great work to do. To-day we must go back to the Greek fathers, to get a true conception of Christianity and to square our own dogmas by those who knew how to use their intellect and did not despise its weapons.

We need to emphasize the exceeding great value of man himself as a rational being. It may not be that all the universe was made for his development, but that is the limit of our thought. Man as a rational being is his own end, the supreme object of all his efforts. The material universe, the angels, the holy Trinity are all engaged in building up and perfecting this royal child, for whom Deity itself became flesh that he might show him his ideal and goal. The chief aim of education is to make men morally free, with absolute liberty from all enslaving influences and entire devotion to spiritual ends and rational methods. There is only one virtue, the acting with intelligence and good judgment in all the affairs of life. The best Christian is not the one who has the most feeling, or is in the ordinary sense the most consecrated to God, but the one who is the most intelligent, the clearest sighted, the purest and strongest in purpose, the one who brings the most things to pass for the benefit of the race. In no sphere of speculative knowledge is clear, profound, consecutive reasoning so greatly wanted as in matters of religion. We need some one of intellect great enough to grasp the truths of the Bible and express them in terms of to-day, to interpret the Gospel intellectually to the present generation and apply its precepts in a rational manner to the problems of everyday life. Unfortunately, thinking is an unknown science to all

but the few well-disciplined minds which are the real educators of the world. Religion itself springs from, and has its basis in, the reason. The fact that we have a form of faith and worship, and especially the purity, strength, and efficiency of our religious belief, depends upon our intellectual faculties. Even though it may have been given by revelation, yet it must be grasped and interpreted to the soul by the reason. Religion is not based on feeling or sentiment, but on well-defined principles commended to and accepted by the judgment. The idea of immortality also has its origin in the intellect. Men had to rise above their sensuous natures and be governed by their reasons to get a conception of their immortality. Christ "brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel," but only by showing man his divine origin and relationship and that the highest reason demanded his reunion with God. Our moral and spiritual natures, if not in origin, yet in development, in strength, in practical efficiency, depend upon the intellect. Our whole religious life—its value, its purity, its power to improve ourselves and others—is conditioned by our intellectual comprehension and vigor.

We are to love God with all the mind—an intelligent love based on a comprehension of his nature and work through study, reflection, and the doing of his will. To approach God through the intellect—by which feeling and devotion increase as we grow in knowledge of him—is a natural and healthy development. A short road through nervous excitement or religious ecstasy without such development is abnormal, narrowing our knowledge and limiting our sympathy. Neoplatonism—the idea that there is something above reason by which we learn of God and are brought into communion with him—has always existed in the Christian Church, and always leads to mysticism and spiritual excess. Mystical principles which are not accessible to the universal reason are the source, not of freedom or progress, but of restraint or despotism. Some student of tendencies has said, "There never was a des-

potism which did not rest on superstition ;” and the muzzling of men’s mouths, shopworn ideas, and intellectual dishonesty are its fruits. Superstition, like agnosticism, is peculiarly congenial to minds religiously sluggish, and it seems to be the highest wisdom, both for the agnostic and the pietist, to consider that through which all things exist as the unknowable. But to make God an unintelligible quantity, whether a force or a spirit, is not conducive to vigor of thought or energy of soul. We naturally dislike the intelligent because of their superiority to us, but we think we have as much and good emotion as anyone. From depreciating study and intelligence we are led step by step to oppose science, knowledge, order in the world of history, abandoning the senses and the reason and reveling in mysticism. While the thoughtful leaders of the Church are struggling back to primitive Christianity, our Neoplatonic brethren are embracing old ideas and sentiments which have always been the great foes of the Christian faith. One of the greatest struggles of the Church has been against that weight of superstition, or dogma, or authority which has constantly tended to repress intelligence and destroy thought. Religious prejudice and theological narrowness have kept men from intellectual effort, and have caused them to impede the action of aggressive thinkers, making the Church a laughing-stock in its opposition to the plain teachings of science and philosophy. But religious views which depend for their acceptance on the rejection of our judgment are untrustworthy and dangerous. People who reject the testimony of their reason and trust in visions and inspirations have already begun to decline. They are a type of arrested development, or, like a man in a well, they may be able to see stars at midday, but their field of view is exceedingly limited. Having depolarized the organs of their brain, they have little liking for reflection or for books which arouse the intellect and compel thought. They want something to move their feelings, to feed their morbid appetites. Having accustomed themselves to be governed by their feelings, many of these people from

the paralysis of their intellects and the warping of their judgments have little power to resist temptation. We naturally distrust people who are weak, and thoughtless visionaries cannot become the leaders of the Lord's hosts. While those who are especially emotional are not to be counted less worthy of esteem than other Christian people, the only guarantee of a strong, pure, and useful life is a well-instructed intellect, thoroughly trained reasoning powers, and good judgment.

If we believe in special providence and in the personal quickening and guidance of the Holy Spirit, must we not believe that there is something higher than the intellect to guide man? But in this we mistake the office and work of the Holy Spirit. He is not a force which takes control of a man from the outside and directs him as an engineer guides his engine or a man the horse which he drives. He rather quickens the entire man by acting directly upon all his faculties. He elevates the imagination, rightly directs the feelings, strengthens the will, but above all illumines the intellect and seats the judgment firmly upon her throne. To be religious we must serve God not with one but with all our faculties, and he in turn touches and uses all. He guides our reason, strengthens our understanding, illumines our thoughts, purifies our feelings, and sets our will toward moral freedom and nobility of character. Christ tries to shine into a man's heart, to reveal himself to the man's entire self. He is commended to man's whole nature, particularly to the intellect as the controller of all. The characteristic of true holiness is strength, not weakness; activity, not indolence; thought, not sentiment; the bringing in of the kingdom, not the idle waiting for its approach. The truest test of entire sanctification is development of the power to think rightly, to act vigorously, and to influence men largely for good. The sanctified have received "the spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind."

We have clearly failed to apprehend the work of the reason in the realm of spiritual things. Professor Davidson in his work on the education of the Greek puts it admirably:

Our reason out of the *data* brought to it by the bodily senses and from its own resources constructs an external physical world in which we live; so out of the *data* furnished it by the supernatural sense and from its own resources the reason constructs the inner spiritual world in which we also live. Of this spiritual world reason demands a personal God as ruler, that his will shall be our law and that he shall be related to man as Saviour and Friend.

The spiritual world of each is constructed by the intellect upon *data* furnished by the supernatural sense, and it is to be like the new Jerusalem of which God is the light thereof. But of all the faculties of the human soul there is none which demands such careful training, such absolute subordination to the reason as the supernatural sense. The entire sum of human attainment or endowment might be represented by a circle the component parts of which are truth and love. Of these the truth is not only the object, the working element, but the food, the invigorator, the home of the intellect; while love, springing from the emotions largely, yet depends on the intellect for its stability and worth. Of this sum of human attainment one person cuts off a little segment and calls it "natural selection," "evolution," or "higher criticism;" and another person, a segment from the other side, and calls it "holiness" or the "second blessing," or "faith healing;" just as children cut off or dam up a small portion of the Mississippi River, while the great stream of truth and love flow ever onward. The difficulty is not that each of these ideas do not have somewhat of truth in them, but that their advocates act and talk as though each separate item was the whole circle; and the advance of speculative knowledge and, above all, the philosophy upon which human progress depends must wait while the partisans on either side squabble over their respective theories.

Geo. S. Innis



# ART. VII.—LITERATURE AS AN ELEMENT IN CHINESE REFORM.

A FEW evenings ago, as the writer sat at his desk with his forehead on a *t'ao* of Chinese books, meditating as to the best methods of bringing the Gospel to the Chinese, there was a rap on the study door. It was rather late in the evening for callers, being possibly past nine o'clock; and, thinking it was some member of the compound who had stepped in to ask a question, without rising from the desk we twisted about in our study chair and called out, "Come in." The door opened, and a strange Chinese gentleman entered the room—we say strange advisedly, for he was strange in more ways than one. He was dressed in winter garments, mostly fur, we believe, though of that one could not be certain, as his under-garments may have been "wadded." His body was strangely angular. His shoulders were square, and to parody the description of Willie's wife, as given by Burns,

He had a hump upon his breast,  
The twin o' that upon his shoulder,

which gave him the appearance of the little hunchback boy who begs in front of the foreign hotel and stores on Legation Street in Peking, only more so.

We begged him to take a seat, and called for tea, while he made various commonplace remarks about the weather, and about our health, age, and family, saying at the same time that his humble name was "Shu." After partaking freely of the tea he remarked that he sympathized heartily with Lu Tung in the matter of tea-drinking. "How is that?" we asked.

"A seventh cup of tea," the poet said,  
"Is like a gentle breeze beneath my arms,  
Which wafts me to the region of the blest,  
And rids me of terrestrial cares and storms."

The room being warm, the hot tea, in addition to his fur and wadded garments, brought the perspiration out upon his brow, and we politely suggested that he lay off his topcoat. He thereupon put aside several layers of his garments, which

left him a short coat of blue cloth fastened under the arm with two bone pegs, and, though he looked a trifle less respectable, he certainly appeared more comfortable. And as we eyed him more closely his face reminded us of the composite photographs seen in some of the magazines, which made us think of him as a fair representative of his race. We have long made it our practice, when a Celestial who knows nothing of the flight of time favors us with a call, to secure from him all possible information, which, though it is not always reliable, is certainly varied and with proper sifting is sometimes valuable as well as interesting and may often be turned to account. So we turned the conversation to the subject of our meditation, namely, the best method of bringing the Gospel to the Chinese people.

"Without directly answering your question," he remarked, "I think I can tell you the best method of bringing any subject to the attention of the Chinese people. From time immemorial they have been lovers of learning. They reverence paper on which characters have been written. The *literati* are to them a race of beings only a little lower than the gods. Indeed, a large proportion of their gods are nothing more than deified men of learning, while Confucianism, their principal religious cult, is little other than the deification of genius. Education, then, is the principal avenue to the Chinese mind and heart at the present time. Not necessarily because it is the most important thing—perhaps it is not—but because it is the most important thing he knows about and loves. He knows the uses of, and loves, learning. He has made it the thing to be revered most of all throughout the empire. His greatest and best men from time immemorial have not been his priests, but his scholars. To unite the scholar with the priest is to make a combination which with but little difficulty will gain admission to his heart. But, until the priest and scholar are united, there is no hope of the establishment of a religious system which will supplant Confucianism, or which will have a permanent or lasting influence. Show them that your scholars know more than their scholars, that your knowledge is both more powerful and more useful than theirs, that your priests are both wiser and more pure than either

their priests or their scholars and you have admission to their mind, which is the corridor of their heart."

"But," we interposed, "it is beyond the power of the Church to educate such a vast concourse of scholars."

"Perhaps so," he answered; "but that is the most certain road to the Chinese heart. This education need not necessarily be carried on in your schools. That is not the genius of the Chinese educational process. They have never had a school system. What they have always had are books and teachers, and the bulk of the expense of their education has been borne by themselves. What is imperative upon you is to prepare the books. The Chinese, as I said, from the most remote times have been lovers of literature, and from before the time of Confucius until the present the *litterati* have been the controlling element in the empire. A man eminent as a *littérateur* is looked upon with great respect, without regard to his orthodoxy, as is evidenced by the popularity of Mo tzu, Chuang tzu, Hsün tzu, Yang tzu, Han Fei tzu, Hui Nan tzu, Ts'ao Ta Ku, and a host of others; and those periods which have been noted as literary periods are the most brilliant in Chinese history—such, for instance, as the latter part of the Chou, the Han, the T'ang, and the Sung dynasties. Ch'in Shih-huang, one of the greatest warriors the world has ever known, is execrated as a tyrant; Liu Pang and Li Shih-min are all but unknown; while such literary heroes as Ssu-ma Kuang, Li T'ai-po, and Chu Hsi are looked up to as patterns by every schoolboy.

"If you would understand the influence that literature has upon the Chinese, study the introduction, growth, and development of the great religious movements that have taken place within the dominions of China, at the same time remembering that Confucianism is little more than the Four Books and Five Classics, together with what has been developed through the study of them. Take, for instance, the introduction and growth of Buddhism, a system which has not much to recommend it, except that during the darkest of China's dark ages—the period from the Three Kingdoms to the T'ang—it deluged China with a literature, most of which, it is true, were translations of books brought from India, some of which

were good, but most of them very indifferent, and this moreover at a time when the making of books was anything but an easy task. Introduced about A. D. 65, by the year 400 the king was such an ardent disciple of the Buddhist faith as to call a council of eight hundred priests to assist in the translation of books, at which council he himself was present, while at least two of the princes helped to transcribe the work of the translators. In A. D. 451 a Buddhist temple was allowed in every city, with forty or fifty priests, and the emperor himself performed the tonsure for some of those who took the vows. In A. D. 467 the Prince of Wei constructed an image of Buddha fifty feet high, in which he used five tons of brass and six hundredweight of gold, and five years afterward he resigned his throne and became a Buddhist monk.

“At the beginning of the sixth century there were not less than three thousand Indians in China, while the temples had multiplied to the number of thirteen thousand, the prince himself discoursing publicly on the sacred books. The first emperor of the Liang three times assumed Buddhist vows, expounded the Sutras to his courtiers, and finally gave up his throne and entered a monastery at Nanking; while by A. D. 730 we are told that 2,278 different works had been translated by not less than one hundred and seventy-six different translators. Such was the growth of Buddhism, it being due for the most part to the influence exerted by the importation into China of such a vast amount of new thought and literature, while it is supposed that the period of the T'ang poetry is due to the literary impetus given by the making of tonic dictionaries, the discovery of the four tones, and other study of the language done by the Buddhists in making these numerous translations. The thought which I wish to impress upon you is this, that the establishment of Buddhism was due largely to the fact that it prepared for itself a vast amount of literature, and in doing so it enriched China, not only by the literature which it imported and the development it brought about, but also by the impetus which it gave to the Chinese in the revival of learning, the blossom of which is known as the period of the T'ang Poetry.

"What I have said of Buddhism," Mr. Shu went on to say, "is likewise true of Catholicism. This, as you know, was first introduced into China by John de Mento in A. D. 1293, but was exterminated by the Ming dynasty a century later, and was not reintroduced until it was brought by Matthew Ricci in A. D. 1589, about three hundred years ago. It will be remembered that Father Ricci arrived in Peking January 4, 1601, and by the year 1636 he and his associate workers together with their Chinese converts had published no less than 'three hundred and forty treatises, some of them religious, but most of them on natural philosophy and mathematics.' This bookmaking was kept up by Longobardi, Schall, Verbiest, and their associates and successors, the last two being the most intimate advisers of the last emperors of the Ming and the first emperors of the present dynasty. It is not too much to say that the astronomy and mathematics of the Chinese were changed so materially as never to go back to their old theories, and because of this literary assistance, more perhaps than anything else, Catholicism was practically established throughout the empire, so that during the first fifteen years of the eighteenth century, 'in the governor-generalship of Kiangnan and Kiangsi alone there were one hundred churches and a hundred thousand converts. And the survey of the empire was carried on by the emperor's command from 1708 to 1718, under the direction of the Jesuits, of whom Regis, Bouvet, and Jartoux were the most prominent members.'

"When the missionaries were expelled under Yung Cheng we are told that 300,000 converts were deprived of teachers, and after the numbers because of persecution had been reduced the missionaries are accused of conducting themselves with such ostentation as to be unable to reach the masses. The accusation is made by Father Ripa as follows: 'The diffusion of our holy religion in these parts has been almost entirely owing to the catechists who are in the service, to other Christians, or to the distribution of Christian books in the Chinese language'—while in 1881 we are told that they had 41 bishops, 664 European priests, 559 native priests, 1,092,818 converts, 34 colleges, and 34 convents. Allowing

for a large overestimate, or for many adherents who were weak disciples, we have still a goodly company for three hundred years' work. The Catholics in Peking are doing no small amount of bookmaking at the present time, and what they do they do well, putting their volumes up in a form and style which would do credit to any press. An examination of the catalogue of the Pei T'ang press will indicate the character of the work they do. They have in it a list of not less than eighty-three books, most of which are for catechumens or others wishing to study the doctrines of the Church. The work done on their press, moreover, is vastly superior to that done on the presses of Tientsin or Shanghai."

"May I ask if you belong to the Catholic Church, Mr. Shu?" we inquired.

"I belong to no Church," he answered; "I simply try to see things as they are. The Roman Catholics and Buddhists began in the right way to make a success of the introduction of their systems into China, and had the former not become ambitious for temporal power whenever they beheld their efforts more or less crowned with success Catholicism would have been far more widespread than it is at the present time. Contrast with these two systems the introduction of Christianity into China by the Nestorians. These probably came to China not later than A. D. 505, or during the period when Buddhism was making such monumental literary efforts and taking such rapid strides. So far as we know at present they have left no record of their presence in China other than the self-enlogistic tablet at Hsi-An-fu. To blot out Buddhism and Catholicism from China, one would have to destroy a large part of China's best literature and learning. For, while Buddhism cannot claim a single book which ranks with the sacred books of Confucianism and Taoism, she has insinuated herself into all the ramifications of Chinese life and literature. And, indeed, this Nestorian tablet contains a very complimentary reference to Buddhism in the description of how the priest I Ssu clothed the naked, fed the poor, attended on and restored the sick, and buried the dead. If he were a Buddhist priest, it is a very complimentary reference, and, if not, the mention of Buddhism in this connection is still an indica-

tion that Buddhists were beyond all others in such benevolent work. To destroy Catholicism would throw Chinese astronomy and mathematics back where they were a thousand years ago. Nevertheless, Nestorianism has passed away with nothing but the epitaph on a single tombstone to tell of its existence. We are told by this inscription that 'the Scriptures were translated and churches built;' and this was done 'when the pure, bright, illustrious religion was introduced to our T'ang dynasty.' But if the Scriptures were so translated, and if other books for the instruction of the people were written, they have either all passed away or lie buried among the uninvestigated *débris* of Chinese literature.

"We are not confined, however, to the Nestorian tablet for proof that Nestorianism was both widespread and influential. This fact is abundantly testified to by early travelers, and especially by Sir John Mandeville, if his testimony is reliable, and Marco Polo, of the general truth of whose testimony at the present time there is perhaps little reason for doubt. In addition to these we have various other testimonies, chief among which is the general belief in the Christian prince, Prester John, and his dominions, and in the record of Friar Odoric, of Pardenone, the story of whose travels in western India and northern China agrees in the main with the record of Sir John Mandeville. Nevertheless, as we have just said, although the Nestorians were numerous during the Yuan dynasty, at the present time with the exception of the stone tablet not a trace of them is left. Such could not have been the case had they been as diligent as the Buddhists in the preparation of a good literature.

"What I have said of the Nestorians may be said with equal emphasis about the Mohammedans. 'Very little is known by the common people'—says Doolittle—'about the Mohammedans and their worship and creed. The Mohammedans are exceedingly uncommunicative on subjects relating to themselves.' When their system was introduced into China, and how, it is difficult to say. It is attributed by Archdeacon Gray to Wos-kassm, a maternal uncle of the Prophet, between six and seven hundred years after Christ. Dr. Williams says that as early as the T'ang dynasty the Mohammedan mission-

aries came to Canton and Hang-chou. The system was not introduced, however, merely at one place. It was carried by sea to the southern cities and by caravans of traders from central Asia to the northwest, west, and southwest provinces. It will thus be seen that the Mohammedans have been in China for not less than twelve or thirteen centuries. In all the border provinces they are numerous. Their customs in regard to pork, wine, and idols are very strict. They have a school connected with almost all the large temples, for the study of the Koran in the native Arabic. But they seem not to have learned the influence of literature upon the minds of the people and its disintegrating power on Chinese life, and so they are practically without books for the instruction of the masses, and without a distinct literature as a representative of the sect. Consequently they have made less progress as an integral factor in Chinese religious life in thirteen centuries than Buddhism did in five. It is not improbable that when the Nestorians were cut off from the mother Church by the rise of the Moslems and the conquests of the Mongols they gradually amalgamated themselves with the Mohammedans, since they had long since ceased to maintain the purity of their faith, as well as to circulate the Scriptures which we are told had been translated into the Chinese.

"Protestantism began with literature. It would seem almost as if some mysterious Power was directing the pioneers of Protestant missions in this particular direction. First, they were shut out from preaching to the people, their efforts being directed toward the making of dictionaries and other books which would assist them in the translation of the Scriptures, and toward the compilation of books which would help the people to understand the Scriptures and give them some idea of the world as it existed outside of the Middle Kingdom. This, however, is only one form that literature took with Protestant missions and missionaries. And this was one great advantage which they had and still have over the Romish Church, which withholds the Scriptures from the common people. Let me recite to you some facts which are as familiar to me and to a large proportion of educated Chinese as they are to you. The various Bible societies were among



the pioneers in taking up this work. Nevertheless, those who were engaged by the Bible societies did not confine themselves to this one line of work. It is not necessary to call attention to the success which the Society for the Distribution of General and Christian Knowledge has had, and how, when the emperor, Kuang Hsü, turned his attention to foreign learning, there was such a demand for its publications that it was unable to produce books fast enough to satisfy the demand. You are familiar with the recommendations made by the viceroy, Chang Chih-tung, in his famous book, *China's Only Hope*, in which he advises that Chinese members of legations to foreign countries should study the languages of the countries to which they are sent, and translate the best works of those countries into Chinese, and in which he commends the work done by some of the leading missionaries and others, urging that printers be encouraged to issue large editions of these works for general distribution throughout the empire. And, if you have been noticing, you will have observed that this book is advertised by yellow posters pasted upon walls, the same as foreign medicines, dentistry, and various other articles of less usefulness.

"You are aware of the amount of pirating of foreign books that is going on in Shanghai. Books prepared by various writers have scarcely issued from the press before, by the photographic process, they are reproduced by native shops in the city. Legge's *Four Books* may be had in a pirated form for an equivalent of \$1.75, and the American Board has just taken the plates away from a firm of pirates who have been printing Williams's *Syllabic Dictionary* and selling it at a phenomenally low price.

"All these things indicate the appetite the Chinese have for learning, and especially do they show the way in which the teachings of any system—the truths of Christianity, if you please—may be brought to them through literature. I need not call your attention to the work that is being done by the various tract societies, and the education that is being carried on by them among the lower and middle classes; nor need I remind you that in China the lower classes of to-day may be the middle classes of to-morrow and the upper classes of

next week. Missionary societies do a wise thing when they transfer those missionaries who have literary ability to this particular work, relieving them from all other duties. I venture to say that most of the missions all over China have had a common experience in this matter, namely, that persons come and apply for admission into the Church who were first led to take this step by the reading of *Evidences of Christianity* or some other book of a like nature. All those who have the ability to make such books should do their utmost to produce as many of them as possible.

“In addition to the various Bible societies, tract societies, and societies for the distribution of general and Christian knowledge, there are a number of individuals who issue their own works. There is an Educational Association which publishes a large number of valuable scientific and other books. There are institutions of learning which issue publications used not only by themselves, but by other institutions as well. There are missions which issue books from their own presses, all of which help to swell the ranks of what may properly be termed Protestant Christian literature.

“The style of literature, however, which is doing as much perhaps as any other to disintegrate the old order of things is that which goes under the name of *pao*—newspapers and magazines. They are new to the Chinese. Although this nation has had a newspaper longer than any other, it has not been issued for the use of the common people; nevertheless it has whetted their appetite for news to a keen edge, and so they read this style of literature with an avidity which they manifest for no other. These papers need no bookseller to handle them. They make their own weekly or monthly visit. They come to a larger number of homes and are read by a larger number of people than any other one kind of books. They contain, moreover, the kind of food the people want—something light, something about the present time, the present condition of affairs. They point out to them the errors of the past, the prospects of the future, and advise them how to avoid the one and attain the other. They further contain variety, and are thus highly attractive to a great mass of people who have neither the time nor the ability to read long

books. China is like a great mass of lime, and books are the water which is slaking this heap; or, shall I say, which is dropping on a vast amount of calcium carbide, thus generating a gas which when lighted will illuminate the empire.

"The empress dowager may order the exclusion of all the new learning from the present examinations, but she cannot prevent its acquisition by the people. She cannot stop the disintegration of the old order of things and the old order of thoughts which is going on in the minds of hundreds of thousands of young scholars throughout the whole empire. They must keep quiet for the time being, but when this dowager has passed away, as she will by and by, and a new emperor comes upon the throne who sees or is forced to see the necessity of progress, he will find a host of young men grown old in the study of foreign things and ready to give him advice which it will be safe for him to follow in the development of the new empire."

We could not but hold our breath a large part of the time while Mr. Shu was making this many-colored speech, partly because we did not want to break the thread of his thought, partly because of his surprising knowledge of China's religious literature and the way it had been created, and partly because of the fearless way he attacked the conservative party. When he said "the new empire," we started with surprise, the *t'ao* of Chinese books slipped from under our forehead, and we awoke to find that Mr. Shu, who buttoned his blue coat under the arm with two bone pegs and looked like a composite Chinese, was nothing more than the *t'ao* of Chinese books on which our head had been resting and which had inspired this peculiar dream.

Isaac A. Headland.

ART. VIII.—SHALL CHRISTIANITY HAVE A FAIR TRIAL IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY?

THE closing decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the uprising of many and various classes of people each demanding its "Rights," and nothing more sharply accentuates the era just finished than the leveling up and leveling down process by which slaves and serfs and unfortunates of every class were brought upon substantially a common footing of industrial and social privilege with others. However welcome and, in the main, wholesome this ferment may be, it is not without its regrettable incidents and real dangers. Among these may be mentioned the tendency to be more concerned with rights than with duties, more energetic in exacting legal and moral claims than in discharging the overdue obligations imposed by new conditions of enlargement and opportunity. It is probably true that our nation, well-nigh intoxicated by unexampled material prosperity, is in serious danger of forgetting Him "who giveth the power to get wealth." The sad state of the pagan world, the pinching poverty and hunger of the great mass of idol worshipers, is rooted in moral rather than material causes. They are people who illustrate the descent of man from better conditions. "Because," says St. Paul, "that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools. . . . For this cause God gave them up," etc. Since this darkening of the mind issues in those terrible conditions which we find practically everywhere outside of our Christian civilization, how great the need to beware "lest the light that is in thee be darkness." One of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church recently, in ordaining a class of young men to the Christian ministry, said, "The great majority of mankind went to bed hungry last night, and will go to bed to-night again with their hunger still unsatisfied, and this condition has continued through the ages, and will continue until our Gospel has been preached to all nations and to every creature." Christian

missionaries have abundantly proven that the hunger of the great masses of the heathen people is founded in ignorance and inability to utilize natural resources all about them. The Rev. W. H. Hollister, of the Kolar Industrial Mission in South India, has raised crops of wheat three to five times as large as the natives are able to produce by their defective methods of agriculture. It is easy to show that the Gospel of Jesus Christ means better and more abundant food for mankind, better clothing, better homes, better education, a fuller life, and a larger hope.

It is by no means clear, however, that the average man has pondered the twin relationship of spiritual and material good. He is inclined to grasp eagerly at the latter, while remaining stolidly indifferent, if not hostile, toward the former, at least as represented by the creeds and confessions of the organized Churches. It is a curious but not unprecedented consequence of this attitude toward revealed religion that the Christian community is held sharply accountable for any existing laxity of morals, as well as the troubles of labor and capital and the continuance of war. The tyrant of old who demanded bricks without straw of the enslaved Israelites was not more unreasonable than many a man who is now discussing Christianity in a patronizing way or assuming the rôle of censor toward those who hold its essential tenets. Before committing themselves to the notion that Christianity is a failure, men would do well to ponder the reply of Dr. George P. Fisher, "Christianity has never been tried." It has been experimented with—in a small way. A few nations have tolerated it. No country has adopted it throughout in any full and satisfactory sense. A few people here and there have been "sanctified in spots," but the overwhelming majority of the human race never heard of Jesus Christ, while in countries nominally Christian, the unchristian sentiments and practices of the great majority practically nullify the statutes which accord Christianity a place among their institutions. Every church, even in the most favored communities, is like a sanitarium located in a vast swamp where miasmatic vapors obscure the sun, and slimy, stagnant pools, filled with all manner of uncanny, living creatures, wait to engulf the convalescent who

makes a single misstep. Even under such adverse conditions a few individuals may arrive at tolerable health and soundness, but may we fairly reckon on a large per cent of cures or justly discount the healing art for accomplishing so little amid such surroundings? Moral sanitation is as much an essential of moral improvement as the physical sort is of normal bodily health. That men should be slow to grasp this important truth is not so much to be wondered at, when we recall the ignorance and perversity with which many people even now assail boards of health and those wholesome quarantine regulations whose value has been proven by scientific knowledge and large experience. The proposition may be a startling one, but sober truth must justify the affirmation that no nation on the globe is really trying Christianity or is according to the followers of Christ those rights and immunities which belong to them in a land where Christian principles are acknowledged to be the basis of the common law. There is more concern in many quarters about the rights of negroes, workingmen, Indians, and Filipinos than about the interests, legal and moral, of that class whom Christ designated as "the salt of the earth and the light of the world." If society were bent on destroying the savor of the salt and quenching the world's only light in utter darkness, present conditions might be well understood, but they are wholly inexplicable in the presence of a purpose to give Christianity—I do not say encouragement, but merely a fair trial. Doubtless there are situations in which it is a weakness rather than a virtue in a Christian community to consent passively to further infraction of its constitutional and statutory rights. St. Paul took no personal advantage of the dilemma in which his persecutors at Philippi had placed themselves by their illegal and brutal treatment of himself and his companion; but his assertion of his Roman citizenship on that occasion alarmed and humbled the men who had looked upon the followers of Christ as "sheep" in a sense never intended by the Master.

"Why are you leaving the church?" I asked of a railroad man who desired me to erase his name from the roll of membership. "Because the railroad company compels me to work

on Sunday, and no man can do that and be a Christian. I don't know anything but railroading," he added, "and don't know any other way to keep my family." The man was one of a great and growing army of employees forced, against their desire originally, into a practical defiance of God's law of the Sabbath, until callousness usurps the place of conscientious scruple, and the greed of the wage earner is only matched by that of the employer. The vast volume of Sunday traffic, crowded Sunday excursions by rail and steamer—wholly at variance with statute law in most of the States as well as with the higher law of God—attest the indifference of the general public as to even the continuance of Christian worship or the existence of Christian ideals among us. The state or nation which permits this shameless violation of the Sabbath may be coquetting with Christianity, but is not serious in its purpose to give it a fair trial—has not adopted Christianity as its rule of life, and is perpetrating gross outrages upon its best class of citizens by exposing them to this epidemic of permitted and encouraged immorality.

One of the clearest rights of a Christian family in a land like this is the rearing of children without unnecessary danger from evil moral influences. This right is denied as really as was the claim of a negro slave to liberty through large sections of the country in the ante-bellum days. And this is the more remarkable when we consider the increasing vigilance taken to guard the young against influences inimical to health. Children are warned nowadays by printed notices, and restrained, if necessary, by officers of the law from entering homes where scarlet fever, diphtheria, etc., exist, yet in these very communities public authority not only does not post the saloon, the bawdy house, and the gambling hell, but actually sells permits to at least a portion of these corrupters of the young to prosecute their nefarious work. Children may not walk the streets on the way to school or church without running the gauntlet of these snares spread in the open day for their unwary feet. That some of the rising generation escape the worst ruin that these licensed and unlicensed destroyers can inflict, is as marvelous as that some of the Armenians escape the ferocity of the Turk. In the latter

case, if many fall by the sword and fagot of the destroyer, there is at least a limit to his reach; he cannot touch the higher nature nor quench the hope of the life immortal. Yet all about us in this splendid and opulent civilization of ours, as by a strange anachronism, lurks a survival of ancient or mediæval savagery, blighting the bodies and souls of the innocent and the helpless, every hour of the day, and every day in the year. On every hand are broken, gray-headed fathers and pale-faced, weeping mothers, who asked only the privilege of rearing their children in respectability and honor. Yet society turned loose on those children a pack of greedy cormorants, in open denial of any right of Christian parents to surround their little ones with the well-known safeguards of a Christian civilization and to keep constantly before them the higher ideals of the Christian life. When Mr. Cudahay offered \$25,000 to the abductors of his boy to restore the child every parental heart approved the action, while joining with all classes in the hope that summary justice might be meted out to the perpetrators of this bold and distressing crime. But suppose a legislature, State or national, should, in a fit of aberration, or for a "consideration," propose to issue licenses to the abductors of children? Can any imagination portray the eruption of fiery indignation which would overwhelm such a legislature, and in a single day compel the undoing of its nefarious work? That a similar burst of popular and public indignation has not long since overtaken the liquor traffic and related evils is the sufficient proof that society at large, if not essentially pagan at heart, is still unwilling to see its ancient gods dethroned and to commit itself to the higher standards of Christ and the Church. Can such a nation be called "Christian," or claim without hypocrisy to be according Christianity a fair trial?

Then, too, every human being struggling up out of evil conditions into a better life, like a wrecked mariner reaching the shore half dead, may surely ask of his fellow-beings active sympathy and real help in right living—general good example, an atmosphere impregnated with prayerful influence and tonic spiritual force. Yet, does society at large recognize any obligation to take such a man to its heart, to safeguard him



against spiritual enemies, to feed him with the bread of life, and build him up in righteousness? That "there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth," is one of the sweet and thrilling revelations of Jesus Christ, and that there is corresponding joy in a small circle on earth is a well-attested fact. There are those who with outstretched hands and melting hearts and moistened eyes welcome the returning prodigal, standing ready to do their utmost to make his reformation real and permanent. But will the general influence of society be helpful? May he hope to find himself surrounded by praying men who live in daily illustration of the life of faith on the Son of God? May he hope to find instruction in things spiritual in the current books and multitudinous issues of the daily press, thick as autumnal leaves all about him? If he had turned Mohammedan and lived in a Mohammedan country, he would hear the voices of high officials daily calling him to prayer, and see the multitude falling prostrate all about him, on the streets and in the market place; but, being a Christian, shall he find the multitude helping him to learn the way of life after the Christian pattern? He may find it difficult, perhaps impossible, to secure even the most menial employment whereby to earn his daily bread, because he believes in the law of the Sabbath and the right of Christian worship on God's holy day. Has this man any rights which society at large feels bound to respect?

One of the anomalies of our nineteenth century civilization is the persistency with which that small minority of the population known as the Christian element is held responsible for the condition of morals and the present-day continuance of hoary evils whose lurid trail of destruction runs through all the ages. One may easily account for the wild fulminations of the ignorant and embruted classes, on the principle which led the Emperor Nero of old to charge upon the Christians of his day unspeakable crimes, including the burning of the city of Rome. For these alleged crimes Christians were tortured, thrown to wild beasts in the amphitheater, and otherwise maltreated to the death, as the chief attractive features of the great spectacular shows provided for the amusement of society. History is well aware that Nero burned the city himself, and

that no ink is black enough to write the vices of this inhuman monster. Yet why should the blind, unkempt pagan ferocity of the first century against the Christian community survive through the nineteenth, tempered only by the spirit of the age? Why, for instance, should Frederick Harrison, in the closing issue of the *North American Review* for the century just expired, hold the Church responsible for war—the English Church especially, for the war in South Africa? The priests of that Church are, he declared, “a sort of black police that has to stand by the government right or wrong. . . . No medicine man, no witch-finder in Central Africa would utter a more atrocious blasphemy than these men are guilty of” in their patriotic sermons and prayers. He questions whether “Christianity is a civilizing and moralizing force,” whether it “prevents us as people from injustice and oppression, and as men and women from the pride of life and the lusts of the flesh.” One cannot help asking again, how Christianity is to do its work on people who reject it. Can the medicine on the shelves of the apothecary cure the man who will not take it? or abundant harvests stay the death of people bent on self-starvation? The activities of the Churches are an offense to Mr. Harrison and his school of thinkers. The charities, reforms, missionary enterprises, and the quiet, godly lives of the many under their influence count for nothing; these all, including the noble volumes written in exposition and defense of present-day Christianity, especially Mr. Balfour’s *Foundations of Belief*, are parts of “a theological confidence trick.” “What have the Churches done to purify and check all this?” asks Mr. Harrison, after enumerating a list of present-day evils. But why not belabor free thought, agnosticism, and the various other “isms,” which, together, make up the vast majority of mankind? none of them being hampered by Christian dogma, and all as like to one another as peas in a pod in holding themselves aloof from every form of Christian effort. Are we to understand that only Christians are callous or impotent in the presence of the corrosive evils gnawing at the heart of our civilization?

The stain of paganism surviving into the life and literature of our day is apparently as blind and impervious to fact and

as little capable of doing justice to Christianity as of yore. Our cultivated pagans have made little progress in one hundred years. Almost without change of a sentence one might apply to them, at the close of the nineteenth century, the strictures which Porson, Prescott, Milman, and others visited upon Gibbon for his wholly inadequate and notoriously unfair treatment of Christianity in *The Decline and Fall*, which appeared in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Of that great work Porson observes, after paying a high tribute to the intellectual ability and industry of the author, "He often makes, when he cannot readily find, occasion to insult our religion, which he hates so cordially that he might seem to revenge some personal injury." Milman, in the preface to his edition of Gibbon, remarks: "Who would obscure one hue of that gorgeous coloring in which Gibbon has invested the dying forms of paganism, or darken one paragraph in his splendid view of the rise and progress of Mohammedanism? But who would not have wished that the same equal justice had been done to Christianity? . . . Christianity alone receives no embellishment from the magic of Gibbon's language; his imagination is dead to its moral dignity, it is kept down by a general tone of jealous disparagement, or neutralized by a painfully elaborate exposition of its darker and degenerate periods."

Who of our elegant agnostics at the opening of the new century is ready to acknowledge the substantial benefits which Christianity has wrought during the century just expired? Whence came the inspiration to liberate slaves and abolish serfdom, to minister to the poor of great cities in the present large and liberal way, to establish farm colonies and college settlements, rescue missions, homes for the aged, hospitals for the sick, etc.? The Christian community is only a small element numerically of society as a whole, but count the number of institutions devoted to higher learning which have come from the heart of the Christian Church, as well as those whose aim it is to give elementary education and manual training to waifs and strays. Compare these with the organized efforts of our critics for the promotion of education, benevolence, and moral reform, and see if Christianity need blush for her record in

these particulars? It would be interesting indeed to see a list of nineteenth century charities, education enterprises, and moral reforms originated and maintained by that school of thought which affects to deplore the inefficiency of the Christian Churches. When compelled in any way to take notice of the helpful Christian activities of the century, one may still distinctly note the change of style of which Milman complains in Gibbon—from the warm, lofty, and glowing periods which portray the rise of Mohammedanism to the “frigid apathy,” the bare, hard, patronizing, lack-luster description of the work and progress of Christianity in our day. One cannot help asking whether the paganism of the twentieth century—assuming its survival—will be any more competent or willing to do justice to Christian effort and achievement than that of the century past?

A still more important question is, Will it take a fair share of the much-needed work which Christianity is doing for the prevention of vice, the proper care of the sick, and the uplifting of the submerged classes, either jointly with Christian workers or on independent lines? If its scholars, its men of eloquence, its men of wealth will cease their useless wailings over the narrowness and inefficiency of the Christian Church, and gird themselves for real service by leading their followers into organized effort on educational and benevolent lines, what wonders of social and moral improvement may mark the twentieth century! A Robert Ingersoll Memorial Hospital in each of the great cities will do more to commend agnosticism and free thought than volumes of disquisition on the weaknesses of Christianity, especially, if, in such institutions, the poor can have surgical treatment and skilled nursing absolutely free, as in many of the hospitals founded by the Churches. Then such schools as the evangelist Moody founded at Northfield, for the education and manual training of the young who lack the care of parents and guardians—what a field of activity this for our brilliant agnostics. Further, the work of temperance reform, the plague of the social evil, and the corruption of our young men, either with the connivance of city officials, or through their guilty indifference. It cannot be that moral and social health can come

in the twentieth century while cancer planters operate for gain without let or hindrance on all classes of the population. Instead of asking, as Mr. Harrison does concerning the little group of nominal Christians, "What have the Churches done to purify and check all this?" rather let him ask, "What has the great majority done, led on by the writers and lecturers who agree at least in excoriating the Churches?" The methods of Christianity may not be the best, and the results attained not wholly satisfactory, yet surely it has made some impression on the giant evils of the day. Not a few sots, wife beaters, and cruel fathers have been reclaimed, as missions of the Jerry McAuley type in every city of the land, and men restored to a lost manhood sitting comfortably in the midst of their happy families, bear testimony. It has also palsied the hand of many a conscienceless ward worker and rural magnate who took advantage of the public apathy to advance himself by granting immunity to the worst forms of vice. Movements of the kind instigated by Dr. Parkhurst and Bishop Potter have their counterparts, with less of notoriety and public parade, in many a small town and country village from ocean to ocean, and substantial fruits have been reaped in this way. It is noticeable, however, that the men who have organized and led these movements to victory have not been the agnostics, or other representatives of the great majority.

Christianity has done something on its own particular lines, yet surely a new propaganda of civic and social righteousness is sorely needed. The harvest is great and the laborers are few. Will our cultured critic join us in a prayer to the Lord of the harvest, that "he will send forth more laborers into the harvest"? This will mean that their eloquent lecturers shall take the platform after the manner of John B. Gough and Father Matthew, and side by side with thousands of Gospel preachers and devoted women, who are slowly but surely molding public sentiment into an attitude of resistance to the wanton evils that prey upon our generation. It will mean, too, that sympathetic, hand-to-hand uplifting contact with sots and Magdalens which Jesus illustrated, and which is practiced to-day in his name by the loving hearts and tender hands of

his professed followers, and in which work they stand practically alone. I repeat, the lines of Christian effort may be faulty, but what surer way of securing the best methods can be devised than for those who affect to deplore the callousness or inefficiency of Christian people to take the field in person, and become the allies and tutors of the Churches in the sublime art of winning men to sobriety, industry, and the higher ideals of life? If they will not join us in this confessedly much-needed work, ought they not in justice recognize the progress of the work, and now and then drop some word of encouragement to the workers?

What if the Christian element should become discouraged in the twentieth century—chilled by the cold north wind of ungenerous cynicism which has blown steadily upon it from infancy until now? This has happened before over large areas, and it may happen again. In that event, who will carry on the vast educational enterprises, the reforms, and the various works of charity and mercy which now stand to the credit of the Christian Church? Can any one of the various schools of free thought, or all of them combined, be relied on for this service? Such a suggestion, if the subject were not so serious, is well calculated to provoke a smile on the faces of men and women who, having given themselves to the service of their fellow-beings in a practical way, have had abundant opportunity to learn how little sympathy with this work is to be found among unbelievers in the Christian religion. An elephant attempting to suckle and rear a human baby would not present a more incongruous image to their minds. But should Christianity win in the twentieth century, despite its unpropitious environment—lack of moral sanitation, lack of just appreciation of its purposes and efforts, the bad example and covert or open opposition of many who should themselves be doing the work at which it aims—in that event, many of the sparkling lucubrations of the free thought of our day may become just as ridiculous as the coarse and blatant deism of the eighteenth century is now. Thomas Paine's loud boast, that he had gone through the forest of Christianity and cut down every tree, and the famous prophecy of the greater Voltaire, that Christianity would be extinct in one

hundred years, make "interesting reading" at the close of the nineteenth century. Church membership has steadily advanced upon the population in this country through all the century, while the Holy Scriptures, which one hundred years ago were circulated in fifty tongues, are now translated into four hundred languages and dialects, and the circulation goes forward steadily in all the four quarters of the globe.

The century which has just dropped into the eternity behind us witnessed such growth of Christian organizations and such advance of Christian ideas as none other ever saw, and, to the eye of faith, the future is luminous with promise. It may be that Christianity will win in the twentieth century even without the fair chance for which we plead, and that free thought will undergo a change of heart. Otherwise it must die of shame for its inability to comprehend the higher ideals of life, and its refusal to give practical help in the work of the world's betterment. Said King Henry the Fourth to one of his tardy generals after a great victory—as quoted by William James in *The Will to Believe*—"Hang yourself, brave Crillon! we fought at Arques, and you were not there."

*Robt. F. Bishop*

**ART. IX.—IS MAN IMMORTAL? THE ANSWER OF SCIENCE.**

SCARCELY anyone can be found to-day who dares dogmatically declaim against the probability of a future life. This is the more remarkable as it is not twenty years since even some reverent students persuaded themselves that they could not discover the doctrine of immortality in the Old Testament. Though there have been no supplementary revelations, yet scholarly men to-day see the writings of Job, David, Isaiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, and Hosea scintillating with brilliant prophetic flashes of a life beyond. In this discussion it is my purpose to show, if possible, the relation of the world of thought to this oldest and most invaluable of all the gracious doctrines of the Holy Bible. Dr. Martineau wisely remarked, "Man does not believe in immortality because he has ever proved it, but he is ever trying to prove it because he cannot help believing it." If we shall be compelled on the threshold of the argument to confess that there has not been a scientific demonstration of a future life, we are reassured in our faith in immortality because physical science has been powerless to prove anything against it; the opponents of a future life have gained nothing by any negative arguments. "No future event can be scientifically demonstrated," says Washington Gladden; "the future, to the scientific man as well as to the religious man, is the domain of faith, not knowledge." Is there any probability, however remote, of a future life? When Bishop Butler startled the unbelief of a hundred and seventy years ago, by his colossal and invincible argument for immortality from analogy, he did not claim that his logic demonstrated a future life, but that it established a probability; and that "if there is any probability, however little, for, and none against this view, this probability ought to be made our rule of action." As suggested by Professor Cooper of Rutgers College, "in our daily life we are compelled to act on what in the main has the greater degree of probability, since there are but few matters pertaining to our action which afford demonstrative proof. Here comes in the force of analogy."



First, then, there is a strong probability of a future life because in the natural world annihilation is a myth. Your house burns down but no force is destroyed. By a slow process of growth the soil and rain and sunlight and atmosphere are transformed into the tree which furnishes the building material. Combustion simply releases these forces and they go to their original condition. There are transformations of energy, but the physical law of the persistency of force prevents destruction. So it was at a point in creation, out of materials then in existence, God made man's body, and out of his infinite resources fashioned man's soul. Death is combustion. The body, in death, returns to the earth from which it came, and the soul released flies out to the region of its nativity. No diminution! No annihilation! Experimental psychologists are believing to-day that there is no reason to conclude that the mind dies when the body dies. They say: "The evolution of mind has built up mental aptitudes, and these aptitudes have built up a physical basis for them to rest upon. The rising scale of organic evolution has thus been due to the development of mind." It is the mind that is the man; and mind is spirit and cannot die.

Again, chaos and confusion precede order and symmetry. In the physical universe, from disorder and gloom, by methods of development, have been marshaled the mighty hosts of suns, planets, satellites, animal and vegetable life, until all is capable of perfect classification; also in the universe of thought. In their earlier periods principles were followed like phantoms in the breaking dawn. To-day, astrology, with its sages and magi, has given away to astronomy, which, with inebriating fascination, handles the telescope and the spectrum. Alchemy, with its witches and wizards and boiling caldron, has given up its homely chrysalis for the gay plumage of an indisputable science. So we look for order in the moral government of the universe. Here is moral confusion! Peaks of holiness rise higher, but canyons of vice grind deeper! What one holds dear, another defames! The laws which some obey, others deride. Here, the good suffer, the bad prosper. The Psalmist discriminately writes, "My steps had well-nigh slipped, when I saw the prosperity of the

wicked." Here, too, are many monstrosities which feed upon the pains and aches of their fellows. Order must come, but another world will be necessary! Tears enough are wrung from broken hearts by evil influences to run the water wheel of immortality forever! Another life will be required to correct the irregularities of the rewards and punishments of this life. Creation is a colossal failure if there is no immortality. Better to have been a brute on the hillside than a man, if there be no life after this! If the Bible doctrine is a myth, then life is a burlesque, integrity a burden, and conscience a curse! Persuade all men that there is no life after this and the human family would be hurried to extinction by suicide! In the future world virtue will be rewarded, and those who here have suffered for the right will be crowned by the Judge of all the earth, who can make no blunders!

Again, the superb consummation of all development and evolution is man. Is there not a strong probability that the Creator, after spending an eternity of time and an omnipotence of power on the preparation of the world for man's coming and the creation of man in the likeness of God, has more in store for man, this masterpiece of Infinite Genius, than a transitory career of a few suffering years, and then oblivion? Let us inquire of some scientists what may be their conclusions concerning this extraordinary question. Professor Le Conte says:

Nature, through all the whole geological history of the earth, was gestative mother of spirit, which after its long embryonic development came to birth and independent life and immortality in man. Is there any conceivable meaning in nature without this consummation? All evolution has its beginning, its course, its end. Without spirit immortality this beautiful cosmos, which has been developing into increasing beauty for so many millions of years, when its evolution has run its course and all is over, would be precisely as if it had never been—an idle dream, an idiot tale signifying nothing. I repeat, without spirit immortality the cosmos has no meaning.

It is no more than ten years since Professor Le Conte thus boldly asserted his faith in immortality. His chivalric and logical argument has probably affected the scientific mind more than any other influence, and has given the probability

of a future existence a place in nearly all scientific treatises of the present. Dr. Lyman Abbott adopts the same argument and says: "Immortality is not a demonstrated fact but it is a necessary anticipation. Without it all evolution would be meaningless. It is inconceivable that God should have spent all the ages in making a Gladstone, a Lincoln, a Jefferson, a Shakespeare, only that he might make a body with which to fill a grave." In his little book, *Through Nature to God*, Professor John Fiske reaffirms his well-known strong belief in a future world. He says:

So far as our knowledge of nature goes the whole momentum of it carries us onward to the conclusion that the Unseen World, as the objective term, in a relation of fundamental importance, that has coexisted with the whole career of mankind, has a real existence. The lesson of evolution is that through all these weary ages the Human Soul has not been cherishing in religion a delusive phantom, but it has been rising to the recognition of its essential kinship with the ever-living God. Of all the implications of the doctrine of evolution with regard to man, I believe the very deepest and strongest to be that which asserts the everlasting reality of religion.

This thought has been treated by nearly all recent writers on the subject of immortality, but by none more beautifully than by Dr. Gordon, when he says: "Man is nature's last and costliest work. Can it be that this last and finest product of nature, this result of intelligence and love, aimed at from the beginning and reached at a cost immeasurable, shall not be conserved in growing beauty and power forever? Physical evolution finds its goal in man, and the process that hereupon begins finds its end in the complete realization of his ethical and spiritual nature." Dr. Romanes was recognized by the scholars of Europe as a most versatile scientist, and his return to the fullest acceptance of the Christian faith, just before his unexpected death, accentuated his belief in a future life from the standpoint of a conscientious modern evolutionist.

We have entered upon that era in the history of scientific research when there are few antagonisms between science and religion, and when the seekers for light are becoming predisposed to discern and reinforce mutually helpful truths. Science was never so reverential and religion never so intel-

lectual as in the studies of these eventful days. It augurs well for the growth of the truth when leading thinkers of the scientific school put themselves on record in words like these: "But as for myself, having studied as earnestly as I could these momentous problems, I have become convinced that the final answer of science will but deepen, fortify, and exalt our human faith in God as an intelligent, self-conscious Being, infinitely more tender and benign than our loftiest conceptions of human love; and I trust it will strengthen and purify and elevate our human hope of immortality as continued individual existence." All science tells us to-day about the "arrest of the human body;" and because the laws of development have produced a perfect body and thus closed one chapter of advancement, the evolutionist looks with an enthusiastic anticipation, that reminds us of the exuberant expectation of the exponent of Gospel truths, to the further perfecting which may be logically expected in man's spiritual nature.

Again, there is a strong probability of future life because of a universal and instinctive longing for immortality. To live again is the hunger of the soul. As the babe instinctively takes nourishment at the mother's bosom, so men without instruction have reached out for a future life. Let us go back along the years and put our question, "If a man die, shall he live again?" There is but one response. The Hindu, the Chinese, the Persian, the Grecian, the Roman, the Egyptian, the continental, the islander, the savage, the philosopher, all answer with a generous affirmative, more forceful and insistent as they have been advanced and cultured. Socrates speaks for his age when he says: "I believe a future life is needed to avenge the wrongs of this present life. Those who have done their duty, in that future life shall find their chief delight in seeking after wisdom." Cicero speaks for his age: "Yes, O yes! But if I err in believing that the soul of man is immortal, I willingly err; and if after death I shall feel nothing, as some philosophers think, I am not afraid that some dead philosopher shall laugh at me for my mistake." Man's soul is in exile. Like the homing pigeon, when he is released, man flies back to God. The race is homesick. Man is not forever satisfied with humanity; divinity is planted

within him. With Victor Hugo and every true man, the nearer he approaches the end, the plainer he hears around him the symphonies of the world which invites him. Man knows death does not end all, because when he approaches the grave he feels, with Hugo, that he has not said the thousandth part of what there is in him. Is not immortality a first principle? *Romanes* said that all first principles are known by intuition. The soul intuitively reaches for life, and the God who gives man this reach will see to it that it comes to his grasp. *Bryant* believed that God would be as good to the man as he was to the bird of whom he sang :

He who from zone to zone  
Guides through the boundless sky thy certain flight,  
In the long way that I must tread alone  
Will lead my steps aright.

This instinctive expectation led *Franklin* to write as his epitaph, "The body of Benjamin Franklin, like the cover of an old book, its contents torn out, and stripped of its leather and gilding, lies here food for worms; yet the work itself shall not be lost, for it will, as he believes, appear once more in a new and more beautiful edition, corrected and amended by the Author." It inspired *Addison* to say :

It must be so, *Plato*, thou reasonest well,  
Else why this pleasing hope, this fond desire,  
This longing after immortality.  
'Tis the divinity that stirs within us,  
'Tis heaven itself that points out an hereafter  
And intimates eternity to man;

and *George Eliot* to breathe the prayer :

O may I join the choir invisible  
Of those immortal dead, who live again  
In minds made better by their presence; live  
In pulses stirred to generosity,  
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn  
For miserable aims that end with self,  
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,  
And with their mild persistence urge man's search  
To vaster issues;

and the dear *Quaker Whittier* to utter these trustful words :

And so beside the silent sea  
I wait the muffled oar;

No harm from Him can come to me  
On ocean or on shore.

I know not where his islands lift  
Their fronded palms in air,  
I only know I cannot drift  
Beyond his love and care.

And thou, O God! by whom are seen  
Thy creatures as they be,  
Forgive me if too close I lean  
My human heart on thee.

Nor are we surprised when the superb soul who could say,  
“One law, one element, and one far-off divine event, to which  
the whole creation moves;” and who could pen immortal lines  
that smooth the path from the infinite heights down to man’s  
ignoble nature, comes to the sunset edge of life, he should  
summon his waning strength and sweetly sing :

Sunset and evening star,  
And one clear call for me;  
And may there be no moaning of the bar,  
When I put out to sea;  
But such a tide as moving seems asleep  
Too full for sound and foam,  
When that which drew from out the boundless deep,  
Turns again home!

Twilight and evening bell,  
And after that the dark;  
And may there be no sadness of farewell  
When I embark;  
For though from out our bourne of time and place  
The flood may bear me far,  
I hope to see my Pilot face to face,  
When I have crossed the bar.

True love also insists upon a future life. David Hume used  
to say that he believed in immortality when he thought of his  
mother.

*Charles Edward Locke.*

## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

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JESUS scathingly rebuked the scribes and Pharisees for their unwarranted exactions and impositions, for teaching as doctrines the commandments of men, and for laying on men's shoulders heavy burdens grievous to be borne. This tyrannizing un wisdom has not ceased its irritating operations. Wherever nonessentials of belief or conduct are insisted on as if they were essentials, moral and mental confusions ensue; misunderstandings, resistance, and conflict are inevitable. Richard Baxter long ago wrote the following wise words, whose wisdom has to-day even a wider applicability than to the matters referred to in his particular statement:

Two things have set the Church on fire and been the plagues of it above one thousand years: 1. Enlarging our creed, and *making more fundamentals than God ever made*. 2. Composing, and so *imposing*, our creeds and confessions in *our own words and phrases*. When men have learned more manners and humility than to accuse God's language as too general and obscure, as if they could mend it, and have more dread of God, and compassion on themselves, than to *make those to be fundamentals or certainties which God never made so*; and when they reduce their confessions, (1) to their due extent, and (2) to Scripture phrase, that dissenters may not scruple subscribing, then, and, I think never till then, shall the Church have peace about doctrinals. It seems to me no heinous Socinian notion which Chillingworth is blamed for, namely, Let all men believe the Scripture, and that only, and endeavor to believe it in its true sense, and promise this, and require no more of others; and they shall find this not only better, but the only means to suppress heresy and restore unity.

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HYMNS AND THEIR HELPFULNESS.

Now that the carefully appointed Committee of Nine are wrestling with the extremely difficult problem, how to give us a smaller Hymnal and yet a better one—increasing the value but diminishing the price, making room for many new pieces and yet leaving out none of the truly excellent among the old—and are appealing somewhat widely both in private and in public for helpful suggestions that shall make their completed work the conspicuous success which we expect it to be, it seems

in order to call attention to the riches we have in the Hymnal so soon to be superseded, and also to say a few words concerning the importance of the right use of hymns for the promotion of the spiritual life.

Not all Methodists, we fear, know what a treasure they have in the book which for nearly a generation has ministered so effectively to their public worship and private devotion. We are disposed to think that it has no superior, among similar collections, for genuine merit and close adaptation to its purposes. And we are fortified in this opinion, which might otherwise be set down to a somewhat pardonable bias in favor of that made familiar by daily use and associated with denominational prepossessions, by two facts strongly confirmatory of our judgment. Drs. Philip Schaff and Arthur Gilman, compiling in 1880 their *Library of Religious Poetry*, a book of one thousand octavo pages, which they call "a collection of the best poems of all ages and tongues," unconsciously paid a high compliment to our Hymnal by including more than half its contents in their book. Dr. James Freeman Clarke, so long a leading Unitarian preacher of Boston, and no mean authority in literary matters, in his Lowell Institute lectures for 1880, says:

The Wesleyan hymns I am inclined to put at the head of literature of hymnology. For depth of conviction, truth of sentiment, spontaneous flow, they are nowhere surpassed and rarely equaled. The hymns of Watts have a stately march; those of Doddridge flow out calmly and solemnly from a deep source; the hymns of Montgomery have a poetic charm; Faber's are like the notes of a lark out of the depth of the sky; such hymns as those of Heber, Bowring, Pierpont, are typical of high culture filled with religious life; but for the union of love and light, spiritual insight and poetic freedom, there is nothing to compare with the best hymns of Charles Wesley, which spring pure and transparent, like some divine water, out of the ground of Methodist experience.

Our present Hymnal, ordered by the General Conference of 1876, succeeded the one prepared in 1848, as that in turn had superseded the one authorized in 1820, which was itself considered fourth in the official series, so far as the Methodist Episcopal Church is concerned. The Wesleys themselves, it is well known, set the musical ball rolling, so to speak, in the very beginning of the great movement called Methodism—clearly perceiving the vital importance of getting the truth sung by the people as well as listened to from the mouths of the preachers—and it has rolled on with ever-increasing volume and momentum from that day to the present; so that we inherit the ripe



results of the labors of large numbers of the most pious and gifted minds. The edition of 1820, including the supplement prepared by Dr. Bangs and added in 1836, contained 697 hymns in all, and had very little in it except the compositions of the Wesleys. The 1848 book contained even more of Wesleys' hymns (564 of Charles's and 37 of John's), but room was found for selections from 123 other authors by making the total number 1,148. The editors of 1876 yielded to the broader spirit of the day by greatly enlarging the list of authors culled from, making it 336, of whom 196 supplied only one hymn each. Of Charles Wesley's hymns 256 were dropped, leaving 308, and of John's 6, leaving 31. With two hymns from Samuel Wesley, father of the brothers, and two from Samuel, Jr., this makes a total from the family of 343 out of 1,117. It is wholly safe to predict that there will be in the forthcoming volume a still further excision of this class of hymns, many scores that are not really up to the mark being removed to make room for larger selections from the immense wealth of modern and ancient hymnology outside our own denominational bounds. The truths for which we have so strongly stood have now made their way so widely and have become incorporated so commonly in the writings of those not following our banner that there is the less need for us to be exclusive or narrowly restricted in our range. Charles Wesley's preeminence above any other one writer, both in our Hymnal and in the general estimate of the more competent judges, is not at all likely to be overthrown, but we may freely concede that it is not granted to any one writer, however marvelously gifted, to produce a very large number of really first-class hymns, and the best effect is obtained by a wide comprehension of varied endowments. It is very interesting and instructive to note how wide is the range of Church affiliation among the 336 authors contributing to our present hymnal. No less than fifteen Unitarians and as many Roman Catholics have a share in the volume. A good many hymns are taken from the Roman Breviary—that is from the Prayer Book of the Roman Catholic Church. The translation of a Latin hymn by Gregory the Great, Pope of Rome in the sixth century, is incorporated in our Discipline and made part of the ordination service for elders. We sing hymns by popes, cardinals, bishops, abbots, priests, and monks; hymns by kings, viceroys, generals, lawyers, doctors, and business men; hymns

by Congregationalists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Lutherans, Moravians, and Quakers. Not a jar nor touch of strife mars the delightful harmony. There is a very signal agreement of Christian hearts in the midst of the disagreement of their minds. It is surely a foretaste of heaven, where the ransomed hosts shall come up from all ages, all nations, and all beliefs, and unite to chant the high praises of God around the throne. "Ten thousand thousand are their tongues, but all their joys are one." "Names and sects and parties fall, but thou, O Christ, art all in all." This blessed unity and catholicity is exceedingly refreshing and unspeakably soothing to the soul wearied with the discordant notes of wrangling theologies. A glance at any of the larger Hymnals proves unmistakably that in every communion multitudes of true Christians, trusting in the one great name of Jesus, though they may spell or pronounce it differently, are on their way to the one sweet heaven which he has prepared for those in every land and of every name that truly love him.

A few years ago a London periodical invited its readers to send in lists containing what in their judgment were the best one hundred hymns in the English language. A prize was offered for the list that should most nearly correspond with the general verdict. More than 3,400 lists were received. These lists revealed some interesting facts, among others that the most popular hymns are those which have the most to say of our Lord Jesus Christ. Toplady's "Rock of ages" received 3,215 votes. The second in point of popularity was Lyte's "Abide with me;" the third, Wesley's "Jesus, Lover of my soul." The last hymn upon the list, Cowper's "Sometimes a light surprises," had 886 votes. The list contains hymns from fifty-five different authors, headed by Wesley and Watts, who each contribute seven. "When I survey the wondrous cross" stands first among those by Watts. Cowper and Bonar have each five; Heber and Neale four each; three are given severally from Tate and Brady, from Doddridge, from Montgomery, from Faber, and from Charlotte Elliott. A large number of authors are represented on the list by one hymn only. The chosen version of the twenty-third Psalm is that of Sir Henry Baker, "The King of Love my Shepherd is," composed only in 1868, but widely popular both in England and America.

Rich as are the standard Hymnals of the great Churches, he who wishes to get the greatest amount of help for his own per-

sonal growth must not confine himself to these. There are a great many collections of religious poems suitable for devotion besides those appointed to be read in the churches. Indeed a large part of those that touch the individual heart the closest are for that very reason less adapted to the general congregation, and can scarcely be set to music. The periodicals and papers also publish from time to time fugitive pieces that often strike happily a chord with wide vibrations, or sympathetically express just the mood in which we find ourselves at the moment of reading. It is a good plan to form books of such extracts, each for himself, culling here and there from standard authors or occasional writers just the lines that best meet the individual need. Such a book may be a source of strength and consolation in many an hour of trial. Some of those most eminent in piety, John Fletcher for one, have done this, and commend the practice to our imitation.

Among modern poets who have been able to minister to large numbers in things of the soul, and whose works are best worthy of a place near the Bible, there are few if any to equal Frederick William Faber and Frances Ridley Havergal. The former especially well deserves to be called *the* poet of the spiritual life. He was at once a poet of high rank and a saint of the most genuine sort. There is in his verse a flavor quite distinct from all others. It has a peculiar sweetness and tenderness of sentiment joined with marvelous smoothness of flow. Its melody lingers in the ear and captivates the mind, while its profound spiritual truth stirs the soul. There seems to be in his poems what one might call an odor of Saint John. There is a close intimacy, a familiar acquaintance, a freedom with God, that reminds us of the disciple that leaned on Jesus's breast. They who greatly admire the rugged strength and grandeur of Luther's lyrics, or the sedate solidity and biblical exactness of Watts's hymns, will not be so likely to fall in love with Faber. But they whose favorite book of Scripture is the Gospel or the Epistle of John will find delicious food in these lovely lines. They abound in sentences that are sermons. Whole treatises are compressed into single words. Thoughts are suggested, affections are kindled, and desires stimulated in a way seldom surpassed. All who wish to become acquainted with the deepest, sweetest things in the Christian life, and wish to have something by them through which they can at any time test

their attainments, cannot do better than to commit to memory Faber's most heavenly hymn, beginning "I worship thee, sweet will of God." It contains lessons as to close walking with God and full fidelity to him, lessons as to the gain of loss, the blessedness of self-sacrifice, the destruction of disappointment, the joy of absolute acquiescence, the power of weakness when it trusts, the privileges of complete partnership with the Almighty, the secret of true freedom, the possibilities of devout obedience, that, properly conned, will inevitably transfigure the soul. In wealth of thought, beauty of expression, and felicitous description of the glory of union with the Lord, it leaves nothing to be desired. Thrice blessed he who ponders well its meaning, adopts its lofty ideals, and presses rapidly on toward its complete realization.

Miss Havergal, whose rich experience has become well known to the general Church, and who has laid that Church under deep obligation by her little books of Scripture meditation, will doubtless be remembered longest by her hymns. Those hymns, written from her heart, have reached other hearts in large numbers. Taught by manifold tribulations, through all of which she grew strong, never faltering in her allegiance, she became able to strike with a firm hand notes that loftily ring and widely echo. What multitudes have profited by her deep hymn of dedication, "Take my life, and let it be consecrated, Lord, to thee." What hosts have sung, and will sing for many years to come, "I know I love thee better, Lord, than any earthly joy." Her "Secret of a happy day" has thrown light on the pathway of multitudes. And from hundreds of thousands of throats has triumphantly sounded forth her

True-hearted, whole-hearted, faithful and loyal,  
King of our lives, by thy grace we will be.

If we were asked to select two stanzas that should express the very essence of consecration, and that might be repeated with great benefit an indefinite number of times, we should choose two from her pen—first this:

In full and glad surrender we give ourselves to thee,  
Thine utterly, and only, and evermore to be!  
O Son of God, who lovest us, we will be thine alone,  
And all we are and all we have shall henceforth be thine own!

and next this:

Only for Jesus! Lord, keep it forever  
Sealed on the heart and engraved on the life!  
Pulse of all gladness, and nerve of endeavor,  
Secret of rest and the strength of our strife.

The treasures of hymnology are practically inexhaustible. Additions are made to them all the time. Doubtless some of the best are yet to come. Wise is he who gives much time to the exploration of this interesting country, the cultivation of this fruitful field, the utilization of this useful means of grace. He "shall mount up with wings as eagles," he "shall run, and not be weary," he "shall walk, and not faint." For a hymn is a wing by which the soul soars above earthly cares and toils into a purer air and a clearer sunshine. And when the hymn is married to such melody as is its fitting mate we have two wings with which to speed our flight toward the heavens. Naught can better scatter the devils of melancholy and gloom, of doubt and fear. Praise predominates in the hymns that are dearest to the Christian heart, praise and prayer. Both these sentiments are greatly intensified by being wedded to music. When they have passed through some poet's passionate soul, and he has fixed them in a form of expression where beauty is united to strength, then these sentences, at once concentrated and ornamented, meet the deep needs of great numbers. They bring out into clearness what before was vague, only half felt because unexpressed. Our feelings are not only poured forth through them, but greatly stimulated by them, and so we gain a double benefit.

The attitude of praise is a victorious one in the Christian life, because it implies faith and trust, hope and love. The unbelieving and desponding heart never sings. They only whose spiritual vision pierces the dark and perceives the Almighty Father sitting serene above the storm can burst forth with pæans of anticipative triumph. And no one can question but what the outward act helps to produce the inward feeling. Songs on the lips tend to work their way down into the soul. Emotion grows as it gains utterance. We cannot afford to omit this powerful ally in overcoming depressive influences. Even if at first the words have to be somewhat forced, and a strong effort of will is needed to make them flow, the cheerful sounds will soon react upon the desponding spirit and drive away the demon of sadness. When we have sung through certain ringing stanzas, such as

God is my strong salvation,  
What foe have I to fear?

and many others that might be mentioned, we shall be in a different frame of mind. There is no better antidote to "the blues" than a hearty Hallelujah, and if the pæan of our praise be prolonged through half a dozen verses it will be all the more likely to make a deep and lasting impression.

#### SONGS FROM VAGABONDIA. \*

VAGABONDIA is an unmapped region, never caught in the net of latitude and longitude, lying between here and Arcadia, bordering Bohemia on one side and Philistia on the other—though without boundary lines, for the god Terminus never visited that land, where, in fact, the worship of any Divinity of Order is prohibited by law. Its most settled population consists of people who are like gypsies, of whom

Somebody says they have come from the moon,  
Seen with their eyes Eldorado,  
Sat in the Bo-tree's shadow,  
Wandered at noon  
In the valleys of Van,  
Tented in Lebanon, tarried in Ophir,  
Last year in Tartary piped for the Khan.

A wild desire to visit Vagabondia—a fever of unrest which the Germans name *wanderlust*—sometimes seizes even reputable earthlings. What the tourists through that region are not is easier to say than what they are. They are not, for example, logicians; for sweet unreason is their only rationale. They are not moralists; for their sense of responsibility frequently abandons them and goes straying off by the road of By-and-By which leads to the town of Never. They are not mathematicians; for their path has no equation, their curves would give geometry the vertigo, and they are gyrating through a region where two plus two cannot be depended on to make four, where asymptotes shun the curves with unconcealed aversion, and tangents coldly refuse to kiss the circle. Yet very respectable

\* *Songs from Vagabondia*. By BLISS CARMAN and RICHARD HOVEY. Designs by TOM B. METEYARD. 16mo, pp. 55. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. Price, boards, ornamental, \$1.

*More Songs from Vagabondia*. Same authors and designer. 16mo, pp. 72. Same publishers, style, and price.

*Last Songs from Vagabondia*. Same authors and designer. 16mo, pp. 79. Same publishers, style, and price.

persons are reported to have been seen in Vagabondia, though in such strange disguise that no observer would suspect that, when housed at home in the serious and sedulous service of life, they are men of many dignities and degrees—possibly bishops, jurists, purists, sages, or saints. The region here spoken of is not the abode of professional idlers or other worthless persons. On its road house registers one does not find the name of dapper and dainty Sir Ringlets, who dotes on his wardrobe, and lives on to-morrow's labor and overdraws his account ; but the autographs of brainy and strenuous toilers vacationing with wild Nature, indulging, for the nonce, like the Howadji in Syria, in "that fair forgetfulness of yesterday and to-morrow which is the golden garland of to-day ;" men who, from anti-septic sunbaths and copious draughts of mountain oxygen, are getting red blood, steady nerves, rude health, wild appetite, rampant, vehement, resonant power, with which to serve Him who said, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work;" men who have broken away from indoor duties and desk-bound tasks, and, with an envious thought of Nebuchadnezzar, said :

I will go out to grass with that old King,  
For I am weary of clothes and cooks.  
I long to lie along the banks of brooks,  
And watch the boughs above me sway and swing.

Let me taste the old immortal  
Indolence of life once more ;  
Not recalling nor foreseeing,  
Let the great slow joys of being  
Well my heart through as of yore ;—

men who suddenly remember in the midst of their work that the Lord of the world keeps open house out-of-doors for

The vagabondish sons of God  
Who know the byways and the flowers ;  
Who idle down the traffic lands,  
And loiter through the woods with Spring ;  
To whom the glory of the earth  
Is but to hear a bluebird sing.

From Vagabondia came, in 1894, *Songs from Vagabondia*, bound in light lavender boards and running to five editions ; in 1896, *More Songs*, bound in ecru, the color of a yellow-ripe wheat field, selling three editions ; and in 1900, *Last Songs*, in dark-brown cover like sere November oak leaves, of which last book *The Nation* says it "closes the rather prolonged period of juvenility in its authors ;" the successive booklets symbolizing

by their sombering covers the shading seasons of advancing life. The singers of these songs from Vagabondia are Richard Hovey and Bliss Carman—the latter of whom must have most credit for them—each of whom separately published six other volumes of verse, while conjointly they issue these three thin little books; in the first and last of which the authorship of each poem is indicated by the initials attached, whereas in *More Songs* the higher critics are left to guess out the author of each piece by applying their keen intuitions to its internal evidences. The differences in style, point of view, degree of culture, and type of mind in the poems of the ecru book would force the critics to assume at least a dozen collaborators in order to account for the work of these two men. One higher-critical guess which we will venture is that it is Bliss Carman who sings over “A copy of Brown-ing” seventeen verses, of which these are the last:

Through all the seasons,  
You gave us reasons  
For splendid treasons  
To doubt and fear;  
Bade no foot falter,  
Though weaklings palter,  
And friendships alter  
From year to year.

Since first I sought you,  
Found you and bought you,  
Hugged you and brought you  
Home from Cornhill;  
While some upbraid you,  
And some parade you,  
Nine years have made you  
My master still.

We venture again that it is the same ecstatic vagrant who sings “A Vagabond Song:”

There is something in the autumn that is native to my blood—  
Touch of manner, hint of mood;  
And my heart is like a rhyme,  
With the yellow and the purple and the crimson keeping time.

The scarlet of the maples can shake me like the cry  
Of bugles going by;  
And my lonely spirit thrills  
To see the frosty asters like a smoke upon the hills.

There is something in October sets the gypsy blood astir;  
We must rise and follow her,  
When from every hill of flame  
She calls and calls each vagabond by name.

And we will forever resign all claim to higher-critical instinct if it is not the soul of Bliss Carman which was stirred to this rapture:

Over the shoulders and slopes of the dune  
I saw the white daisies go down to the sea,  
A host in the sunshine, an army in June,  
The people God sends us to set our hearts free.



The bobolinks rallied them up from the dell,  
The orioles whistled them out of the wood;  
And all of their singing was, "Earth, it is well!"  
And all of their dancing was, "Life, thou art good!"

Nor is there any difficulty in telling who wrote "In the Workshop," in which we see the Maker at work fashioning men. He made one with a loyal heart; and that was a lover. He made another with a roving eye; and that was a vagrant. He made a third with a loyal heart *and* a roving eye, mixture of lover and vagrant; and that was a poet—whom, we conjecture, the Maker named Bliss Carman, the true laureate of Vagabondia, the bard of odd fancy, racy nature, sportive spirit, original mind, gypsy heart, and daring expression.

These tramping troubadours, Hovey and Carman, are two frank, hearty fellows, who have faced all weathers, and the cheer of whose gay comradeship rings in Hovey's "Song at the Crossroads."

With a steady swing and open brows  
We have tramped the ways together;  
We have met our loss with a smile and a song,  
And our gains with a wink and a whistle.

They are men of the vision and the dream, and also of eager strong endeavor. To imagine, aspire, and realize is life's processional for them. Roaming the world by its most enchanting ways, their hearth the earth, their roof the azure dome, they cherish the high, wholesome, and stimulating faith that "it is better farther on," and seek to hit the happy trail and find a road to Arcady. Their visionary yet urgent aspiration is sustained even in their last poem, "The Adventurers," written by the two together, in which they describe, it would seem, themselves as soldiers of fortune, flying no man's flag, but beating the drum at the crossroads to summon all who will march to "conquer the golden hill-lands of Desire, the Nicaraguas of the soul."

These three blithe, buoyant books of *wanderlied*, with their hundred and thirty-eight poems, persuade us that Vagabondia is as full of song as the summer woods is of bird-warble at four o'clock in the morning; and in their pages almost every mood has voice except the sickly, the sagging, and the plaintive. Their contents range from landscape balladry and recursions of Arthurian romance to rollicking roundelays, the mischief-play of "The Sceptics," such froward reactions of a truant temper as the

growsome "Hearse-horse" and "Night-washers," and "A Grotesque" which makes us easily believe these poets when they say, "Our Gothic minds have gargoyle fancies."

No common vagrants these, but the Knights Templars of the rover-breed, claiming as brothers of their blood that gallant prince of valiant vagabonds, Louis Stevenson, wayfaring round the world from Saranac to Samoa, and, as well, the man who wrote *The Jungle Books*, *Captains Courageous*, and *The Seven Seas*, and who rummages America, Europe, Asia, and Africa to distil the juice of continents and report the gist of peoples. In "Hem and Haw" there is a strenuous irony which reminds one of the author of *The Day's Work*:

Hem and Haw were the sons of sin,  
Created to shally and shirk;  
Hem lay 'round and Haw looked on  
While God did all the work.

Hem was a foggy, and Haw was a prig,  
For both had the dull, dull mind;  
And whenever they had a thing to do  
They yammered and went it blind.

Hem was the father of bigots and bores;  
As the sands of the sea were they.  
And Haw was the father of all the tribe  
Who criticise to-day.

But God was an artist from the first,  
And knew what he was about;  
While over his shoulder sneered these two,  
And advised him to rub it out.

They prophesied ruin ere man was made:  
"Such folly must surely fall!"  
And when he was done, "Do you think, my Lord,  
He's better without a tail?"

And still in the honest working world,  
With posture, and hint, and smirk,  
These sons of the devil are standing by  
While Man does all the work.

They balk endeavor and baffle reform,  
In the sacred name of law;  
And over the quavering voice of Hem  
Is the droning voice of Haw.

These poets, like many others, demur to the creeds, yet most of the demurrers have a little private creed of their own which they wear secretly under their garments as a sort of support shaped and adjusted to the contour of their special abnormality.

They will not let anybody prescribe a body of thought or form of expression for them; they themselves are original thinkers and inventors of new forms. The vagabond announcement is that Truth is not a creed nor an ology, that priests and savants do not know what it is, that the artistic mind alone can tell what is Truth. So thinks the Artistic Mind, and proceeds to say sagely, comprehensively, enlighteningly, that Truth is not a part, but the beautiful, symmetric Whole. So now we all know, thanks to the Artistic Mind, and Pilate and the rest of us need not trouble the Master any more with the old question, "What is truth?" This glorification of the artistic mind is frequent in poets and their kin; not in all of them, however. Some have recognized and deferred to a more august and imperative Authority than the æsthetic sense or the artistic mind. One named Milton did, another known as Dante, one surnamed Shakespeare, and others called Browning and Tennyson. But if any particular creed does not fit a man he is not bound to wear it. Let none be excommunicated because he professes not to have exhaustively explored, analyzed, and tabulated all the contents of the universe, nor solved all the riddles of the mysterious and paradoxical human soul, which is as closed and deep and secret as a well, yet as open and exposed as a hilltop. When the adventuring vagabonds cry, "O for the trail, wherever it may lead, from small credulity to larger creed!" we say "Amen!" but we doubt if the artistic mind is the world's great and sufficient Teacher.\*

Although the songs of these strolling musicians are of the open road and not of the sanctuary, yet often they move to a lift of aspiration and a lilt of faith which seem not unregenerate. "At the End of the Day" has this brave manful shout:

Now shame on the craven truckler  
And the puling things that mope !  
We've a rapture for our buckler  
And a heart that swells with hope.  
Give a cheer !  
For the soul shall not give way.  
Here's to the greater to-morrow  
That is born of a great to-day !

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\* Phillips Brooks, in his Bohlen Lectures on *The Influence of Jesus*, wrote that one great impression of the life of Jesus must always be of "the subordinate importance of those things in which only the æsthetic nature finds its pleasure. There is no condemnation of these things in that wise, deep life. But the fact must ever remain that the wisest, deepest life that ever lived left them on one side, was satisfied without them."

Even on the open road a vagabond may trace the footprints of a Providence, as once two men footing it to Emmaus had a burning sense of a divine Presence walking with them. And a poet may come home from Vagabondia, the region of the disorderly, the haphazard, and the incalculable, settled in the conclusion that there is no such thing as accident:

Accident  
Itself unmasks the likeness of Intent,  
And ever in blind chance's darkest crypt  
The shrine lamp of God's purposing is found.

Two men shall be grinding together at the same poetic mill, and the one shall be taken and the other left. *Last Songs* has the pathos of finality, for last year Richard Hovey passed out of sight beyond earth's horizon, bound on the long trail of the insatiate heart and the great expectation. Now Bliss Carman's jubilant voice sinks to subdued and tender tones:

My great friend and I were happy and free,  
And I will remember his beautiful words and ways  
For the rest of my days.

How eager he was for truth !  
Yet never scorned the good things of his youth,  
The soul of gentleness and the soul of love !

The spirit of Hovey's life may be learned from his own words. He taught the wisdom of accepting each day on its own terms as a good gift from God:

Life as it is ! Accept it ; it is thine !  
The God that gave it gave it for thy good ;  
The God that made it had not been divine  
Could he have set thee poison for thy food.

How his soul shook with a sense of the Divine on the high places of the earth is told in his lines, "From the Cliff:"

I feel a mighty wind upon me blow  
Like God's breath kindling in my soul a birth  
Of turbulent music struggling to break girth.  
I pass with Dante through eternal woe,  
Quiver with Sappho's passion at my heart,  
See Pindar's chariots flashing past the goal,  
Triumph o'er splendors of unutterable light  
And know supremely this, O God,—Thou art,  
Feeling in all the tumult of my soul  
Grand kinship with the glory of thy might.

The decalogue which Hovey promised himself to live by has these commandments: "To love everybody a little and some

people a great deal ; to trust that the God who made us is good and will not forget us ; to obey them who have the right to hold themselves responsible for us ; to look on the bright side of things and keep a good heart up ; to dare to do whatever we think we ought to do ; to express our good, happy feelings and not the others ; to use our intelligence to avoid trouble : not to hate anyone, nor hurt them except for a greater good ; not to be mean, nor selfish, nor unjust ; not to tell lies, except when people ask what they have no right to know ; not to do anything dirty, or ugly, or intemperate." On the second page of the dark-brown oak-leaf book of *Songs* is Richard Hovey's greeting to death :

I did not fear thee, Death, nor then nor now.  
I girded up my loins and sought my kind,  
And did a man's work in a world of men,  
And looked upon my work and called it good.  
Now come! I give thee welcome!

Bliss Carman, left to tramp alone the ways of Vagabondia, may sing of his lost comrade, as once he sang of Gleeson White in "Non omnis Moriar: "

There is a part of me that knows,  
Beneath incertitude and fear,  
I shall not perish when I pass  
Beyond mortality's frontier.  
In patience, therefore, I await  
My friend's unchanged, benign regard,—  
Some April when I too shall be  
Spilt water from a broken shard.

No more than these two vagabonds are the most quiet and settled of mortals anything but pilgrims and strangers here ; for he

Whose furthest footsteps never strayed  
Beyond the village of his birth,  
Is but a lodger for the night  
In this old wayside inn of earth.

To-morrow he shall take his pack  
And set out for the ways beyond,  
On the old trail from star to star,  
An alien and a vagabond.

That is the forlorn and lonely *finale* for all of us, unless yonder, worlds away, in the heaven's height far and steep, the starry trail leads to the Father's house and the Beatific Vision and a life forever with the Lord, as He declared who brought immortality to light, and said, "Because I live, ye shall live also."

## THE ARENA.

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### THE PULPIT AND THE DOCTRINE OF ETERNAL PUNISHMENT.

IN this discussion I take for granted the reasonableness and scripturalness of the evangelical doctrine of hell, resting as it does on the two facts of (1) the decisive character and (2) everlasting issues of this life. My aim is entirely practical, even in the historical remarks which lead us into the heart of the question. I think it will not be denied that there is a difference between the thoughts of men and the teachings of the pulpit as to eternal punishment to-day and those teachings and thoughts fifty or even thirty years ago. And that difference is in the direction of amelioration; not so coarse, not so dogmatic, not so lurid, not so materialistic. (1) It is within the memory of men now living that frequently the declaration was heard from the pulpit that there were infants and children in hell. (2) The descriptions of hell were frightfully realistic; that is, realistic as judged from a literal interpretation of the Scripture. Vivid pictures of physical torment were frequent. (3) The impression was made that the vast majority of mankind—including all, or nearly all, the heathen world—were doomed to eternal destruction. (4) This doctrine formed a staple of preaching to an extent not known to-day. Then it was a frequent theme, now it is a rare theme in the pulpit.

If we inquire the causes which have led to this change of emphasis and attitude toward the doctrine of hell I think we may mention the following: (1) The growth of humanitarian sentiment. Thirty or fifty years ago there were severer ideas as to punishment in general, and a more calloused feeling in regard to suffering, than is the case to-day. Take the treatment of prisoners and the prevalence of capital punishment. Treatment that we would consider shockingly cruel, that would arouse a feeling of indignation in all minds, was then taken as a matter of course. It was so in regard to school discipline. I was in common school between 1865 and 1872. In years so recent as those I say distinctly that the punishments in vogue were cruel and barbarous. But they were never so considered then. The growth of love, the larger influence of the spirit of Christ on society, has made an entire change in the atmosphere in which we live. That change has silently made obsolete and of none effect the kind of preaching that once was powerful on the minds of men. (2) Theological developments have also had their influence. Methodism has made familiar the thought that God deals not only justly with all men, but mercifully as well, that there is an impartiality in his treatment of souls, that men must be given an equal chance of salvation, that no man will be condemned for rejecting a Christ he never heard of, or for sinning against light he never had.

The influence of Methodism in tempering the acidity and fierceness of the old theology has been invaluable. Then, the doctrine of the divine Fatherhood, which Christ taught, and which has been restored to the world by the Broad School of the Church of England, which was made prominent in the sermons of Maurice and Robertson and Kingsley, has had a wonderful influence over the present-day pulpit. I think that idea has been a fruitful one, and certainly if God is indeed the Father of all men, our conception of eternal punishment and of other doctrines related to it will be modified. Other theological developments have also had their influence. (3) The better understanding of Scripture also accounts in part for the change in the thought of hell. Our familiarity with the modes of speech in the East, the intense imagery, the word-painting, the use of parable, figure, simile, with which oriental tongues abound—all this has made us skeptical of the hard and matter-of-fact methods of our Western speech when it coarsely makes literal what the sacred writers left figurative. In other words we now understand that in that fresh, imaginative, childlike age the sacred writers necessarily spoke as Easterns, that the Holy Spirit had to use the only vehicle that was open to him, and that therefore we must seek to interpret in our Western tongue the truths that underlay the extravagant, tropical descriptions of the oriental writers. The growth of the science of biblical hermeneutics has had its share in modifying the old-fashioned ideas of hell.

Historical illustrations of the changed attitude of the Church toward the doctrine of Eternal Punishment would not be hard to find. In 1854 Frederick Denison Maurice had to give up his professorship in King's College, London, on account of his views on this doctrine. He held that to know God and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent is eternal life, and that not to know Christ by an experimental knowledge, that is, by having Christ a living power in the soul, is eternal death. He said that Christ lifted us above all mere arithmetical questions of duration, which were impertinent in view of his spiritual teaching. The life of God is eternity—out of all relation to time and space. He that hath that life need not stop to inquire whether he shall enjoy God for five years or five million years. So also with regard to the lost. Eternal death is soul-death—the soul existing in itself apart from God and Christ, which is hell. He would not dogmatize as to how long that should last, or whether the love of God might not reach the soul after death. He was not a Universalist, because he asserted the fearful possibility of the soul always loving itself more than Christ.\* Anyhow, for this and other views he had to leave King's College. Is it too much to say that similar views have long since been held entirely harmless in the Church of England? In fact, in 1864, by the decision of the supreme judges in the ecclesiastical affairs of England it was established in the case of *Pendall*

\* For a concise and clear statement of his views see his letter to Hort in the *Life and Letters of Frederick D. Maurice*, by his son, II, 15-23.

ea. Wilson that even the holding of Universalism was not an indictable offense in the Church of England. We all remember what a sensation was created by Dr. Frederick W. Farrar, then Canon and now Arch-deacon of Westminster, in preaching some sermons in Westminster Abbey in November and December, 1877, in which he strongly repudiated what he called the popular accretions to the Catholic doctrine of eternal punishment. But the sensation was caused not so much by what the preacher said, as by distorted reports of what he said, and by the fact that in that historic pulpit, where all the world could hear, a leading divine of the Church had eloquently and passionately disowned much of the popular preaching concerning hell. But notice; immediately the canon received from their authors various books and pamphlets which went beyond him in alleviating views.\* And there followed a discussion in the *Contemporary Review* from representatives of the various denominations, and in not one of these contributions did the old harsh, crude conceptions appear.† This shows that already, in 1877, at least among the more thoughtful, the popular doctrine was dying, if not dead. By the popular doctrine I mean the teaching that the vast majority of the human family are doomed to an eternity of torments in literal fire.

Before I answer directly the question, What should be the attitude of the pulpit as to hell? permit me to say that the passing of the popular doctrine is something to be devoutly thankful for. The former idea that the great majority of men are doomed to an eternity of awful torments in hell has worked harm in two directions: First, it has made sad the hearts of those whom God has not made sad. It has turned the hopes of thousands of devout believers into ashes, and filled the souls of God's children with tormenting doubts and dark forebodings as to their own salvation and the salvation of their friends. The brilliant and pious Henry Rogers expressed the despair which this doctrine wrought in him: "For my part I should not grieve if the whole race of mankind died in its fourth year. As far as I can see I do not know that it would be a thing much to be lamented."‡ Albert Barnes confesses to the same confusion of spirit: "In the distress and anguish of my own spirit I confess that I see no light whatever. I see not one ray to disclose to me the reason why sin came into the world, why the earth is strewn with the dying and the dead, and why man must suffer to all eternity."§ These two testimonials from eminent divines in England and America may be taken as representing thousands of similar

\* See Farrar, *Eternal Hope*, Lond. ed., p. xx, note.

† The *Contemporary Review* articles were collected and published under the title of *The Wider Hope*, Lond. and N. Y., 1890, with a preface by James Hogg, a reprint of a paper by Thomas de Quincey "On the Supposed Scriptural Expression of Eternity," and a valuable bibliographical appendix. I call attention to the above facts simply for the purpose of illustrating a change of attitude, and not as indicating my personal belief in any or all the views of the writers referred to.

‡ *Greyson's Letters*, i, 34.

§ *Practical Sermons*, p. 123.



questionings and thoughts of despair in those who have tried to realize the full meaning of the popular doctrine when it was a living thing. Second, the doctrine has worked havoc in turning those who otherwise might have been Christians into infidels. It was this which made an infidel of the elder Mill. "Compared with this," he says, "every other objection to Christianity sinks into insignificance." It helped make Theodore Parker a Unitarian. It gave an immense impetus to the spread of Universalism and Unitarianism, and afforded a ready fulcrum to the lever by which the preachers of these two sects lifted the people away from Christianity. It will be found that the preaching of hell in the fashion common some years ago works in an entirely opposite way from that which the preacher wishes; that is, it turns those away from Christ whom he desires to influence by a salutary fear, and those who are already Christians or on the way to Christ it fills with anguish, doubts, and despair.

What, then, should be the attitude of the pulpit toward the doctrine of eternal punishment?

1. The preacher should carefully study this doctrine in the light of the Bible and critical and impartial commentaries, and in the light of the best recent literature on the question. He should do this until he works out for himself a doctrine of hell which satisfies the Bible and his own reason and conscience. In my own theological seminary this doctrine was never reached—a whole term on the atonement, but comparatively nothing on this most difficult, most burning, of all theological questions.

2. He should preach this doctrine. The silence of the pulpit on this matter in recent years is as discreditable to the pulpit as it is dangerous to the hearers. He should not harp on it or make it a hobby, but he should at proper intervals preach a sermon on one of the many aspects of this subject.

3. He should bring this doctrine into vital relation to men. He must remember that he lives at the opening of the twentieth century and not in the fifteenth. The eternal truth remains, but men's mode of conceiving and of stating it changes. Read a sermon of Jeremy Taylor to a modern congregation, or even a sermon of Robert Hall. Would these sermons meet any response? None whatever. They were adapted to the generation that then was, but the environment of men has changed, and the intellectual atmosphere has changed, and if a minister does not recognize this fact he preaches as one who beats the air. He must take the everlasting truth of the Gospel, the same truth that Jeremy Taylor preached and Robert Hall preached, and restate it in terms of modern speech; and before he can do that he must rethink it, he must let the truth be born again in his own heart—born again in the travail of study, and meditation, and prayer, and association with men, in strenuous endeavors after God's will, and in ministries to the sick and the suffering; and he must do this as one who is the heir of all the ages, as one who

stands at the fountain of the twentieth century and who must speak to the men of the twentieth century. And not only so, the preacher distinguishing between the truth that never changes and the variations of each age in its statement of that truth, and being faithful to the essential truth in the dogma of hell, namely, that sin loved and persisted in separates the soul everlastingly from God, I say the preacher recognizing these things must state the truth in the terms of fact and reason and conscience. He must interpret hell psychologically, he must show that it is not an arbitrary infliction of an avenging deity, but that it grows out of our relations on this earth, that it has vital relations to our thinking and doing, that whatever a man soweth that shall he also reap, that the fuel of hell every man is laying up for himself who lives for himself and shuts out the heavens from his life. The preacher must take a lesson from the great dramatists and poets, who preach hell with great power because they preach it as the outgrowth of life, as having ethical and psychological relations. This is the reason why the message of the Bible, Shakespeare, and Dante never grows stale and unprofitable, but always has power over the human heart. Read Eph. v, 5; Phil. iii, 19; 1 Thess. ii, 15, 16; 2 Thess. i, 6-10; Heb. vi, 6-8; x, 26; Rev. xxi, 8. Even Dante, with all his mediævalism, always connects the punishments of hell with concrete instances of sin, perfidy, and crime. As Scartazzini well says: "Far more admirable is the keen psychologic and philosophic insight to which they [Dante's punishments] bear testimony. The punishments of Dante's hell are not merely the direct and immediate consequences of the different sins, but they are the sins themselves stripped of their false disguise. Thus Dante's hell answers not only the question, What are the punishments inflicted for sin in the other world? but also, and especially the other question, What is sin? To this question all the damned in the different regions of hell reply: Sin is the withdrawal from the Highest Good; it is unhappiness, misery, suffering in time and eternity. In the damned souls of Dante's hell, therefore, we have the revealed truth of the conscience in time, and the revealed truth of life in eternity."\* The doctrine of everlasting punishment can still be preached with overwhelming effect when the truth that is at the core of it—that sin is hell—is interpreted according to the laws of the soul. And it is the absence of this vital and ethical element in the ordinary preaching of hell which makes it powerless over men. It stirs no depths in the soul, it quickens no conscience, it meets no response—it is a repetition of platitudes and inherited beliefs, and the sinners go in and out of our churches as a door turns on its hinges, saying, if they say anything, "O, that is only preaching."

4. The minister must have a preparation of soul for the best handling of this doctrine. When the preacher's heart and life become the reflection of the holiness and purity of Christ, and not only of Christ's purity

\* *Dante Handbook*, pp. 298-9.

but of his pity, he will then enter into something of God's horror of sin, and declare the divine judgments against it with the authority of God, and with the yearning sorrow of him who through his tears looked upon Jerusalem and with a broken heart pronounced its desolations. The preacher needs a special preparation of the inner life for the effective preaching of hell. How can he wield this awful doctrine as a means of leading men to Christ until he has entered into Christ's mind? What sadder sight can there be than a preacher standing up before man, and in a cold, mechanical, heartless manner, and without understanding the ethical and spiritual meanings of the doctrine, dealing with these terrible realities? "Are you ready to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" The minister's mind must according to his measure reflect the errorless equity of God's righteousness, and the heart of him must be transfigured into the likeness of God's mercy. Then only, it seems to me, is the ambassador of Christ fitted to interpret to men the doctrine of eternal punishment.

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#### "THE RELIGION OF CHILDHOOD" RESTATED.

DR. GOODWIN's criticism of my article, "The Religion of Childhood," shows a misunderstanding of its trend as well as difference of scriptural interpretation. Dr. Chaffee's reply has perfectly covered the ground, but I will simply restate the substance of the article in such way as to show that while it may have emphasized the natural it was not antisupernatural. It was an Arminian plea for the true conditions of the Holy Spirit's work. In speaking of child mind as normal, I did not mean the utter absence of sinful tendencies, nor the denial of the need of the Holy Spirit, but the opposite of abnormalities which are wrought by years of sinful choice and habit. None of us makes unqualified application to the child mind of the scriptural terms for the hardened sinner, nor is this any denial of the child's need of the Holy Spirit. The history of the race, the experience of believers, and intelligent study of spiritual beginnings and growth show a natural law of conditions to be met before God can manifest himself. My emphasis of the value of kindergarten methods was simply a plea for discriminating study, psychological and experimental, of the conditions in which the child mind could best receive the things of the Spirit. The non-Christian kindergartner, if there be any such, sees only the natural to be developed; the Christian kindergartner sees the natural as needing the spiritual, created with reference to it, and seeks to make the whole life of childhood receptive of it. No amount of culture can make a conscience, nor any amount of training tell of spiritual things if the Spirit himself does not teach; but intelligent study can open the doors of the child mind to what God waits to give and develop a religious life which no pulpit

preaching, whether of punishment of sin or proclamations of grace, can ever accomplish.

The specialization demanded in every other field of modern work is greatly needed here. As well-meaning workers our clumsy hands often misshape the material, which needs definite impression with delicacy of touch. Few of us follow faithfully the words of Wesley in the painstaking training of the children. Hear him: "Instruct your children early, plainly, frequently, and patiently. Instruct them early from the hour that you perceive reason begins to dawn. Truth may then begin to shine upon the mind far earlier than we are apt to suppose. And whoever watches the first openings of the understanding may, little by little, supply fit matter for it to work upon, and may turn the eye of the soul toward good things as well as toward trifling ones. Whenever a child begins to speak, you may be assured reason begins to work. I know of no cause why a parent should not then begin to speak of the best things, the things of God. And from that time no opportunity should be lost of instilling all truths as they are capable of receiving." If we constantly concern ourselves with the training which is the true preparation for the Holy Spirit's work we need not be greatly concerned about the definite time of a spiritual change nor the specific name which we shall give to the conscious beginnings of a religious life. We all agree that we have inherited a nature which takes naturally to sin; and as Christians, whether holding to the old theology or to the new, we all agree that the grace of Christ is the only power which can save us from the dominance of our inherited tendency.

There is nothing in the whole range of modern thought to keep the Christian worker from believing in a spiritual environment; and whether we are studying race childhood, or individual childhood, we get our spiritual life from this eternal spiritual environment. Our chief disagreement is upon the best method of opening the doors of the soul to this environment. The writer believes that neglect of early and constant preparation for this incoming of spiritual influences is our prime and practical heresy as Christians. Waiting for the crisis type of conversion has kept parents from leading their children to Christ, and kept children from coming to their rightful assurance of acceptance and loving acquaintance with him. Awful warnings, searching questions to be "sure that they know what they are about," to show them that their hearts are "desperately wicked," and that they are "the children of wrath," have made the Christian life fearfully unreal to many children and kept them out of their privileges, if not turned them from Christ. The personal experience of the writer, analyzed in mature years, confirms him in these conclusions. Led by devout parents to love Christ in earliest years, there was kept before his mind the necessity of "conversion" which must somehow be experienced, before he could call himself a Christian. From the age of ten to the age of fourteen he distinctly withheld the step which could bring the desired expe-

rience. In a revival there came the conscious surrender of the life to Christ, conscious faith in a pardoning Saviour, and the sweet quiet peace of assurance that he was saved. But there might just as well have been definite devotion to service and consciousness of acceptance in the earlier years of childhood without the sense of alienation which came through the postponement of that crisis which both he and his parents thought necessary for the entrance upon a Christian life. We only plead in this article for the same earnestness in preparing the way for the Spirit which we use in preparing the way for God's blessing upon all the natural activities of body or mind; and for the same faith in God's accomplishment of his work in spiritual things that we have in the physical or mental realm; expecting that the effect of such work upon the child mind will be as simple, direct, and natural as the child's return of mother's love. Let us "have faith in God." Modern historical study of the child life of the race will deepen our faith in the directness of God's grace upon the prepared mind, and modern nature study by the spiritual mind will not hide God but reveal him. From the Eden gates of lost innocence to the gates of final redemption the path of man is never without the overshadowing God.

Springfield, O.

JOHN A. STORY.

#### "THE RELIGION OF CHILDHOOD"—A MOTHER'S COMMENT.

WE read very carefully in the *Review* for July-August, 1900, Dr. J. A. Story's article, entitled "The Religion of Childhood," the subject being one of deep personal interest to us. The criticism by W. R. Goodwin, which appears in a later number of the *Review*, is practically a protest against Dr. Story's theological premises. Otherwise Dr. Goodwin's objections are mostly forestalled in the article itself.

The facts cited by Dr. Story concerning child nature and child life can only be measured in importance by the issues growing out of them. The Christian worker, however, cannot afford to sacrifice the practical significance of these facts to their supposed theological significance. The real needs of the child heart should determine the interpretation of Scripture applicable to those needs. Jesus said, "Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." Consider the characteristics of childhood—humility, teachableness, faith, love of the beautiful (symbolic of good), a tender heart, susceptible to sorrow for wrongdoing. It would seem that the greatest need of the child is to be *kept* humble, teachable, trustful, penitent, sensitive to divine influences, that the impulses of the child nature may crystallize into the fixed habit of his mature religious character. The failure to preserve this sensitive religious nature, sometimes even through the years of childhood, is the fault of parents and teachers, quite as much as it is due to the development of self-will and other sinward leading tendencies. The mother, who, instead of making her child understand that punishment is a sign of her love that does not

fail him at the time of wrongdoing, tells him instead that she "doesn't love him when he's naughty," has thrust him out toward a chilling skepticism and despair, from which all her prayers and tears through many a revival season may not avail to call him back.

At no time of life is one more capable of sincere penitence than during the years of childhood. May not advantage be taken of this disposition as childish faults present themselves; the love and forgiveness of God becoming real to the child through the love and forgiveness of his parents? It seems to the writer false and cruel to forbid the children to come to Christ by imposing conditions which they cannot understand. The bewilderment and confusion which follow only occasion delay, during which the heart is becoming less responsive. Childhood's faith has a meaning but little appreciated. This capacity for the spiritual is the means by which the mind may be saved from the dangers of approaching truth from the intellectual side. The child heart may become so sure of the invisible, hold so fast "the substance of things hoped for," that, when he goes forth to encounter the Gradgrind statements of science, reason and judgment cannot lead him astray. The "truth revealed unto babes" will not be misunderstood or go unrecognized though found in unfamiliar guises and viewed from standpoints other than that of faith.

Thus it seems, not to a theologian, but to a mother.

*Bath, N. Y.*

WILHELMINE WILLSON.

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#### MODE OF BAPTISM STILL DISPUTED.

CONTRARY to an opinion expressed in the *Arena* some time ago, the mode of baptism is as much in dispute as ever. "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" makes little impression on immersionists who say that, though pouring water upon the person may have been allowed as an exception, it was by an error of the Church without warrant from Christ or the apostles. That Baptists are as strenuous as ever is shown by the sharp discipline inflicted on Dr. Whitsitt, for saying that Roger Williams and the Baptists baptized in England in 1642 were sprinkled and not immersed. The "Christian" preacher at Atwood, Kan., says baptism by immersion is essential to salvation, and that if this be not so there is no necessity for sending foreign missionaries or preaching the Gospel anywhere; and another "Christian" preacher says God never yet granted or heard the prayer of an unimmersed person, and to teach an unimmersed child to pray is a crime. The object and effect of baptism, as well as the mode, are also grievously misunderstood. The mode is unimportant, but a correct conception of the object of the rite is a prime necessity. When Methodists demand rebaptism by immersion as a condition of consenting to remain in our Church there is need to re-expound our doctrine of the nature, object, and effect of baptism.

W. W. HURLBUT.

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### THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

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#### THE HOMILETIC VALUE OF THE LATE REVISION OF THE SCRIPTURES.—ROM. v, 1.

"**THEREFORE** being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."—*King James Version.*

"Being therefore justified by faith, let us have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."—*Revised Version.*

This is one of the passages of Scripture interesting alike to the textual critic and to the expounder. For the textual critic it involves the question as to how far internal evidence, such as the apparent train of thought and the logical connection, overbalance the testimony of the most ancient manuscripts. Some of the most eminent critics, such as Meyer, De Wette, Cremer, Scrivener, and Alford, maintain that notwithstanding the predominance of external testimony, the internal evidence for King James rendering is so strong that the ordinary reading must be retained. On the other hand, the revisers insert "let us have peace" in the text, and have the support of Tischendorf in his last edition, Wescott, and Tregelles—all among the foremost textual critics of their age. When authorities are so equally divided it is difficult for the expounder to decide. It is to be noted that those who favor "let us have" on the authority of the manuscripts are preeminently text critics, while those who maintain "we have" are more authoritative as expounders than as textual critics, although they are also distinguished for critical acumen. The writer of this prefers to read as in the ordinary text, on the basis of what seems to him the requirements of the argument, and would retain "let us have" in the margin. It is to be noted, however, that the manuscript authority is in favor of the Revised Version, though it is not exclusively so, thus giving room for hesitancy even on the question of manuscript evidence.

In the previous part of this epistle the apostle has set forth the natural condition of man and his inability to save himself. He has likewise proclaimed Jesus Christ as the only Saviour, and has shown that through him only can the justification of man be secured. He reaches a conclusion that, having been justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. If the preacher were teaching of this text as it stands in our ordinary version, he would be able to speak, first, of the instrument by which justification is secured, namely, by faith; second, the blessedness which comes through faith, namely, peace with God; and, third, the personal cause through which this peace is secured, namely, our Lord Jesus Christ.

The apostle first calls our attention to the instrument, faith. The Greek is very expressive, "from faith;" that is, having been justified by

a justification which proceeds from faith. The Christian life in its fullness really begins when faith begins. Up to that time the soul is in a condition of unrest, having a deep consciousness of sin. The sinner has heard of a Saviour, and is convinced that through him salvation is attainable. He has been taught, also, that salvation comes through faith in Jesus Christ, and he exercises that faith and receives the peace which is its outcome. The nature of this peace is a matter of profound interest. It is here, as Liddon puts it, "the actual state of reconciliation with God as opposed to the state of enmity with him which precedes it." It assumes that men are opposed to God, and that there is a state of antagonism which must be overcome. It does not assume that God was at enmity with man, but that man by his transgressions had placed himself in opposition to God.

The tenth verse of the same chapter brings out this point with sufficient clearness, "For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life." This state of enmity is, therefore, done away with by faith, and a state of reconciliation has ensued; and this state of reconciliation is understood by the word "peace." The disharmony between man and his Maker has been removed, and the source of this removal is our Lord Jesus Christ. If, however, we assume that the Revised Version represents the true text here, we have a different conception of the result of the justification; namely, we are exhorted to preserve peace, or to "enjoy peace," because we have been justified. We must not again return to our previous condition of enmity through the renewal of the sinful life. We are thus to maintain our peace with the Lord Jesus Christ by proper courses of action and by reliance upon him. Justification in this sense simply is the door to the enjoyment and maintenance through faith of the peace which God imparts. The passage also may be rendered, "we may have peace;" that is, it is our privilege to have peace. If the latter rendering, then, be assumed, it is a question whether the peace here spoken of is internal peace, soul peace, in contradistinction from unrest of the unjustified soul. It seems to the writer that on either rendering of this passage the two interpretations of peace may be allowed. It is not necessary to restrict the meaning of the passage to one or to the other. Justification, in the very nature of things, implies a previous condition of antagonism—or, in Scripture language, enmity—to God on the part of man. It therefore necessarily involves a peace between man and God which is brought about through the Lord Jesus Christ. Professor Sanday seems to express the twofold conception of "peace." His language is, "The declaration of 'not guilty,' which the sinner comes under by a heartfelt embracing of Christianity, at once does away with the state in which he had stood to God, and substitutes for it a state of peace which he is only to realize." His paraphrase of this passage is in harmony with the exposition already given of the Revised Version, "We Christians, then, ought to enter upon our privileges.



By that strong and eager impulse with which we enroll ourselves as Christ's, we may be accepted as righteous in the sight of God, and it becomes our duty to enjoy to the full the new state of peace with him which we owe to our Lord Jesus Messiah."

For exegetical purposes we need not argue as to the mode by which Christ has effected the reconciliation and brought about peace between man and God. The text affirms the fact, and for an understanding of the method we must study other parts of this great epistle. A careful study, however, of the word peace in the dictionaries, or of its usage in the New Testament, will show that it is more than a state of reconciliation with God; it means that comfort of the soul, that rejoicing in God, that precious influence that comes upon man through the Holy Spirit, that wonderful transformation which is known as a Christian experience. It is a beautiful state of the soul in which God and man are in harmony through Jesus Christ, and in which our heavenly Father imparts to the human soul his own blessedness and comfort.

This passage, for the Christian minister, is of use in affording an exceptionally valuable study in what is termed the "lower criticism." The problem of how far external evidence of the manuscripts shall overcome what seems to be the requirements of the connection and of the argument, is one of the profound problems of critical study. Meyer's remark on the text of this verse is striking. Referring to the subjunctive reading, "let us have," he says, "But this reading, though very strongly attested, yields a sense (*let us maintain peace* with God) that is here utterly unsuitable; because the writer now enters on a new and important doctrinal topic, and an exhortation at the very outset especially regarding a subject not yet expressly spoken of would at this stage be out of place." The Revised Version retains "we have," as the alternative rendering, but assumes that "let us have" is the one justified by the best manuscript authority. This passage also affords room for an extended discussion of four cardinal points in our Christian faith: First, It opens up the whole question of justification, in what it consists, and the means by which it is to be secured. Second, It brings to our conception the relation of faith to the justification of believers. This is a profound theological problem, and is brought before us in an exhaustive discussion of this text. It calls our attention, further, to the nature of this peace, to which allusion has been already made. It also brings before our mind our Lord Jesus Christ as the cause by whom this peace is assured to man. Thus, for homiletical uses, the Revised Version opens to us aspects of our relation to God involving some of the fundamental problems of theology.

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#### EXEGETICAL STUDY AND PREACHING.

I USE the word exegesis as synonymous with interpretation. The chief business of the intellectual world is to interpret. Whether it be in science or in art, in literature or in religion, the chief function of the

teacher is to interpret to others the things which he himself has learned. God alone is original in thought and production, and man's highest function is reached when he can interpret his word and his works. The scientific scholar is most profound when he can see and unfold the facts and powers of the material universe; the artist produces his best work when he can portray with all the skill of his art the beautiful which he finds in nature and in the human form; the religious scholar and teacher is such only when he is able to fathom the deep meanings of the Sacred Word. The preacher is an exegete, not an originator of truth. An original preacher in the sense of one who is presenting thought of his own creation is no preacher at all. The very word preacher is derived from a word which means to herald, or to make proclamation. His sole business is to act as a herald of that which God has revealed in his word.

Exegesis for the preacher is the crown of all other studies. There are studies perhaps which have their center in themselves, which may and should be pursued for their own sake. Such are studies which are specially adapted to promote mental discipline. These are too often lost sight of in this utilitarian age; for example, the old classic languages, Greek and Latin. They are in disgrace in some quarters at the present time, but as classical studies, long forgotten, were revived contemporaneously with the Reformation, showing a close relation between the two, so there will ever be a close relation between such studies and religion and conduct which must never be lost sight of. Such studies have been truly designated as the humanities.

Nevertheless, it remains true that all studies are for exegesis. They are designed to prepare for interpretation. This is specially true of studies which are connected with the Bible. We study Greek and Hebrew, the languages in which the Scriptures were originally written, in order that we may better comprehend the meaning of the Word. As no translation can give the full sense of the original, so we study these languages in order to enter deeper into the meaning. Hence Greek and Hebrew, archæology, text criticism, literature, and philosophy are all subordinate to exegesis and have their chief results in making clear the Sacred Word. I repeat then, the highest function of all our studies as ambassadors for Christ is to enable us to comprehend and expound God's holy word.

If it be objected that God's word should be so clear that each one should be able to get the full and exact meaning without such auxiliary studies, I answer, such does not appear to be the divine method. God seems to have ordained that men should seek in order to find truth in all departments of inquiry. Surely, in the material world, God has hidden truths and facts which have only been unfolded through the investigations of scholars all through the ages, and we anticipate as great progress in the future. So in our investigations of the word of God, the treasures we have already found are but the beginnings of

researches which shall as the ages go by more and more vindicate the ways of God to man.

The two qualities of a sermon antecedent to its delivery are the substance and the form. The thought is fundamental, for in all high art the idea molds the form. The great thought of Plato was that the idea is the substance of all things. The Brooklyn Bridge was first conceived in the mind of the engineer. First, there was the thing to be done, access by bridge between the two cities, then the manner in which it was to be done. This determined the form of the structure; after that, grace and beauty of outline entered into the plans. The first thought of a preacher should be substance, not form; *what* he shall say, and not *how* he shall say it. The latter is essential but not fundamental, and is entirely subordinate to the former. The substance of the sermon is to be found in the Bible. What a man preaches must either be in the Word or properly deduced from it. So that we may say that all the material which the preacher is to put into sermonic shape is to be found in the word of God itself. We are thus brought to the necessity of the study of exposition and exegesis for the Gospel minister. By exegetical study we mean the careful study of the word of God not in detached texts only, but in its general scope and bearing. It is to take a book of the Holy Scripture and go through it word by word, clause by clause, and sentence by sentence, until the train of thought, the object of the writer, and the full force of each statement becomes clearly apparent. The amount of study required in each case differs in different books. A plain historical book will require less study than the profounder doctrinal ones. The words of Dean Alford in his Introduction to the Epistle to the Ephesians are a fitting expression of the method of exegesis, as well as of its results: "Whereas the difficulties lie altogether beneath the surface; are not discernible by the cursory reader, who finds all very straightforward and simple. All on the surface is smooth and flows on unquestioned by the untheological reader; but when we begin to inquire why thought succeeds to thought, and one cumbrous parenthesis to another, depths under depths discover themselves, wonderful systems of parallel allusion, frequent and complicated underplots; every word, the more we search, approves itself as set in its exact logical place; we see every phrase contributing by its own similar organization and articulation to the carrying out of the organic whole. . . . The student of the Epistle to the Ephesians must not expect to go over his ground rapidly; must not be disappointed if the week's end finds him still on the same paragraph, or even on the same verse, weighing and judging, penetrating gradually by the power of the mind of the Spirit, through one outer surface after another, gathering in hand one and another ramifying thread, till at last he grasps the main cord whence they all diverged and where they all unite, and stands rejoicing in his prize, deeper rooted in the faith and with a firmer hold on the truth as it is in Christ." (*Prolomena to Ephesians*, sec. v.)

## ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

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### DISCOVERIES IN SYRIA.

PROFESSOR HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, of Princeton, New Jersey, who, with four other gentlemen, made an extensive trip through portions of Central Syria, has written an elaborate account of this archæological expedition for the *American Journal of Archaeology*, which contains much valuable information regarding the territory adjoining ancient Israel. The country beyond Jordan and northeast of Lebanon is full of interest, but owing to the hostility of the Bedouin tribes inhabiting it, has remained to a great extent a sealed book.

This land, which at one time was able to support a dense population, is now very barren, made so perhaps by the wholesale cutting down of trees. It is only occasionally that, in some protected, well-watered corner, a grassy plot is found which furnishes rich pasture for the flocks of the sparsely populated region. The Hauran itself is more fertile and more densely populated, but its inhabitants are very ferocious and almost always at war with the Turkish government. Hence the difficulty of thorough work by European or American archæologists. These American gentlemen, impressed with the results of de Vogüé's journey, forty years ago, and with scanty reports of more recent travelers, were encouraged in the hope of greater discoveries, and their efforts were amply rewarded, for they not only corroborated the work of their predecessors, but obtained a more scientific knowledge of the same, and obtained a large number of new facts. True, they had the advantage of all other former researches, but they accomplished much more and discovered many monuments not previously known to Europeans.

Professor Butler tells us that the American expedition had three principal objects in view, namely, the study of: 1. The topography of the country through which they passed. 2. The epigraphy and the history of those regions. 3. The archæological objects as far as could be learned from the character of the architecture, sculpture, and other monuments. The work was begun October, 1899, in the northern part of Central Syria, or, to be more specific, in the mountain ranges of Il-A'la, Barisha, and Halakah. Many inscriptions were copied and photographs taken, not only of those monuments visited by de Vogüé, but also of new ones which he had failed to see, or at least to record, in his works. Indeed, no less than thirty new towns or villages are now mentioned for the first time. In all of these some new objects of interest were discovered. Inscriptions in eight different languages were found: Greek, Latin, Syriac, Hebrew, Palmyræan, Nabatæan, Sabaïtic, and Kuzic, or old Arabic. One might expect that Semitic inscriptions would prevail in this Semitic territory; not so, however, for the large majority, or no

less than three hundred and eighty-six are Greek. They also found fifteen in Latin, and some in both Latin and Greek. The Latin inscriptions for the most part were on slabs connected with the tombs of Roman soldiers. The Greek inscriptions in general are of a religious character, and the largest number were carved over the entrances of churches, baptisteries, and tombs. They were also found over the doors of private buildings, and even stables. They are either passages from the Septuagint, apparently quoted from memory, or, sometimes, mottoes made up in scriptural terms. The fact that they were found on other than ecclesiastical structures proves that they were intended as charms to ward off evil spirits, and avert misfortunes of all kinds. Not a few Syrian inscriptions were brought to light, which is a matter for congratulation, inasmuch as there is a great dearth of Syrian epigraphical monuments. Many of the towns visited were absolutely uninhabited, and yet, marvelous to say, the buildings were in a wonderful state of preservation. The majority of these monuments were of Christian origin of from the second to the seventh century, with here and there some fine specimens of pagan architecture, as, for instance, some temples of elegant classic style. There was a remarkable absence of structures not only of the mediæval period, but also of such as might be expected in a land so completely subjugated by Islam.

All the towns discovered by this expedition had the ruins of from one to three Christian churches erected between 400 and 600 A. D., and all modeled on the Roman basilical plan. Mr. Butler, in speaking of one of these churches, says: "It is one of the best preserved examples in Syria—every stone is in place, only the wooden doors and roofs are wanting to make it a practical house of worship. It is of the ordinary basilical plan with two rows of columns supporting arches with apse and side chapels, and with long lines of clerestory windows, all intact, a typical example showing the scheme upon which all the ruined churches of this type in this region may be restored." The presence of these silent ruins bears eloquent testimony to the great power once exerted by the Christian Church in these remote Syrian hills, and, indeed, sad to say, they are now about the only things remaining. So completely has the Crescent supplanted the Cross, that scarcely a vestige of Christianity can be traced. According to Mr. Butler, these deserted cities of Syria furnish an illustration of the domestic architecture of the ancients nowhere else preserved, unless, perhaps, in the Pompeiian remains. But the ground plans which they exhibit are totally different from those in Pompeii. These Syrian houses show at a glance not only the style of architecture in general, but furnish us with all the variety of the domestic structures of the period, from the imposing villa of the wealthy down through the houses of the middle classes to those of the very poor. Some of these homes are so well preserved as to exhibit every detail, and a number of them are dated—the only dated houses of antiquity known, if Mr. Butler's opinion on this point is to be relied upon.

## HAMMURABI

ONE of the most interesting characters in the fascinating story of ancient Babylonia is Hammurabi, the son of Sin-muballit. This mighty ruler, according to some excellent authorities, was the real founder of the Babylonian empire, and deserves a place along with the Alexanders, Cæsars, and Napoleons of historic fame. It is not strange, therefore, that a large number of cuneiform tablets containing records of his long reign have been brought to light during the past few years; and doubtless many more will be unearthed as new mounds are opened in the ruined cities of his once vast and flourishing dominions. The tablets already brought to light have been deposited in the British Museum, the Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, and in the Louvre. Our archaeological books, encyclopedias, magazines, and newspapers have often referred to the Hammurabi documents, and, in a more or less cursory way, have commented on their contents.

Now, however, after several years of study, Mr. L. W. King, of the British Museum, has published these documents and made known the results of his investigations in three small volumes, entitled *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*. The first two of these volumes contain exact copies or facsimiles of the tablets, and the third has transliterations and translations of the same. What makes these letters of especial value to us is the fact that they form, perhaps, the very oldest collection of state papers so far recovered; for, according to the most competent Assyriologists, Hammurabi flourished not far from the beginning of the twenty-third century before our era. That he was a most powerful ruler is evident from all the history at hand. He fully believed in extending his vast domains and in improving the welfare of his subjects, for he built not only temples and cities, but also canals and huge granaries for the purpose of storing corn or grain so as to provide against famine and want in case of dearth or failure of crops. The letters give an account of continuous activity for forty-three years, though, according to the *Lists of the Kings*, he ruled no less than fifty-five years. These documents for the most part are dispatches sent by the monarch to petty kings and generals in various parts of his empire. One of these was Sin-iddinam, viceroy or general of Mortu. The word "Mortu" was perhaps a general designation for the westernmost portion of Hammurabi's empire, and probably was applied in particular to Syria and Palestine.

Mr. King calls attention to one important difference between these letters and the tablets found at Tel-el-Amarna. While the latter are wordy and repetitious, the former are characterized by abruptness and almost offensive curtness. This he accounts for by the fact that the Hammurabi letters are from a monarch to a subject. Being of such undoubted antiquity they are interesting to the Bible student as showing clearly, though written at the least calculation as early as the time of Abraham, or several centuries before the Exodus, a very high degree of civilization.

We incidentally learn that there were, even then, post roads, commercial highways, and navigable routes between the various cities of the realm and the camp or palaces of the king. There were also courts of justice, an elaborate code of laws, and a well-defined system of taxation carried on with perhaps as much justice, if not more, than to-day in the same places under Turkish rule.

The following is very suggestive, and gives us a side glance at lawyers and courts in gray antiquity. A prisoner was fined four hundred ounces of gold, but the fine was graciously remitted by order of the king. We might think that the prisoner was highly elated at this royal beneficence, but read, further on in the tablet, that they retained three hundred and ninety-eight for legal expenses and for servants' expected fees. That bribery is not a modern practice only, and that efforts were made even in those early times to bring offenders to justice for tampering with the public conscience is shown by the following, quoted in the *Athenæum*: "Unto Sin-iddinam say, Thus saith Hammurabi; Suman-la-ilu hath reported unto me, saying, Bribery hath taken place in Durgurgurri [the town of the metal workers], and the man who took the bribe and the witness who hath knowledge of these matters are here. In this wise hath he reported. Now this same Suman-la-ilu . . . I am dispatching unto thee. When thou shalt behold this tablet, thou shalt examine the matter, and, if bribery hath taken place, set a seal upon the money or whatsoever was offered as a bribe and cause it to be brought unto me. And the men who took the bribe and the witness who had knowledge of these matters, whom Suman-la-ilu will point out unto thee, shalt thou send to me."

The story of the capture of the Ark of the Covenant and its return to Judah by the terror-stricken Philistines is illustrated by a similar incident in the time of Hammurabi. One of his generals while at war with Elam conquered this people and plundered some of their temples. He sent some of the images as a trophy to his ruler. Hammurabi, "probably on account of some misfortune which his priest-prophets explained as due to the anger" of the captive goddesses, commands their return in the following words: "From Hammurabi to Sin-iddinam. The goddesses of Elam which are assigned to thee the troops under the command of Inukhsamar will bring to thee in safety. When they reach thee, with the troops that are in thy hand, destroy the people, and the goddesses to their dwelling let them bring in safety."

Most Assyriologists agree that Hammurabi is to be identified with the Amraphel of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. This is the view held by Hammel, Sayce, Scheil, Pinches, and many others. Mr. King, however, has little or nothing to say on the subject in his last volume. Mr. Pinches goes further, for he thinks that he has discovered on a tablet of the same period the names of Arioch, Tidal, and Chedorlaomer. Unfortunately, however, the tablet in question is much mutilated and partly illegible.

## MISSIONARY REVIEW.

## MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

THE term "forward movement" does not accurately describe all that is taking place in India. In a restricted sense it may be accepted, inasmuch as all movement in India is a change from the stagnation of a thousand years. An eminent authority in India declares that among the educated classes in that land two contrary tendencies exist with which "Christian missions will have to reckon, and by which their success among these classes will in the future be greatly influenced." The first tendency is toward higher ethical standards and a more definite monotheism; the second is toward agnosticism and a lax system of morality. Both of these, he affirms, are products of Christianity. They are superinduced by Western Christianity and foreign contact, and are indicative of a transition stage. "Loftier ideas of God and loftier ideals of living are," the professor continues, "the priceless but often indirect result of the influence of Christian missions in India. This result is to be aimed at, to be welcomed, and to be reckoned at its full value, although it add nothing at present to the statistical reports of the number of baptisms or of admissions to the different churches. But the growth of agnosticism and irreligion should be recognized as the common enemy of Christianity."

While this is certainly true it may be affirmed that the growth of agnosticism and irreligion is "movement," and may indicate the primary loosening of the bonds of a traditional faith. The mind unmoored from ancestral faith may not swing to positive acceptance of some other formulated system of belief without resting for a time in non-faith; but such an experience will inevitably beget a spirit of unrest and disquietude and a desire for something more satisfying. Professor Ladd's declaration should be emphasized, that the criterion of success, "in a land where caste is supreme," is not the numerical registry of converts, but the power over the great system of Hinduism and the daily life of the people, which the Christian religion is exerting. The ratio of increase by birth of the Hindu population does not by any means imply an increase of Hinduism; indeed, despite the fact that there are more Hindus, it may be quite true that there is less Hinduism. The *Record of Work Among the Educated Classes, and of Current Hindu Thought*, by Mr. Slater, of Bangalore, contains the following letter from an educated Hindu:

"I have given the subject of social reform my very best thought and attention these twelve years. My conviction is that the liberal education of women and the consequent happiness of the home is possible only in the Christian community. It is Christianity that permits the



postponement of the marriage of girls. It is Christianity that allows widows to remarry. It is Christianity that allows fallen women a chance of reclaiming themselves from evil ways. It is Christianity that allows foreign travel. It is Christianity that teaches the dignity of labor. It is Christianity that allows you all facilities for getting rich, wise, and philanthropic. It is Christianity that gives free scope for women to receive complete education. It is Christianity that gives you salvation without laborious and multifarious ceremonies. If ever the Hindus are to rise in the scale of nations, it must be by Christianity and by Christianity only. Some of my Hindu brethren may say that agnosticism or atheism may produce these results; but I do not believe in that. Man cannot do without religion."

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#### SOME AINU ILLUSTRATIONS OF MISSIONARY PERPLEXITIES.

PRIMITIVE races afford some grounds for study not found among those of more highly civilized heathen peoples. The Ainu of Japan are not wholly free from a mixture of Japanese, or even Chinese civilization, but there remain sufficient of the underlying original characteristics to interest us in the study of primitive human society, and likewise to suggest an investigation of what has been termed "the scientific use of the imagination."

The civilized man finds analogies which lead him to attribute to the aboriginal concept something of which it was entirely destitute. Even missionaries find these analogies useful as stepping-stones from lower to higher conditions; they moreover assist them in their endeavor to harmonize the universal thought processes of mankind.

An illustration of this overlaying process is found in the case of the Bear festival of the Ainu, said to be their highest religious concept. Here, for example, a writer starting with the theory that there is some germ of truth in every religion, finds the rudiments of the lofty spiritual norm of communion with God. The bear is sacrificed, slain, and eaten, that those who sacrificed it may have a carnal communication of the god to themselves. Now to liken this to the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation is scarcely to make a "scientific" use of the imagination, but a very poetic and liberal use of it. Suppose it turns out that this expresses no higher superstition than the not uncommon one among races of the lower level, that one takes on the qualities of the wolf, or fox, or other animal by eating of their flesh. A toastmaster in New York, introducing Dr. Martin, alluding to the fare he shared with others in the siege of Peking, said he had "fed on horsemeat till he had developed a five-hundred horse power on the platform." This pleasantry illustrates the tendency of the human mind to find similitudes, which in the ruder man become the base of superstitions. The "scientific" student of comparative religions is prone to see the rudiments of a higher catechism in these cases than is justified. The missionary, on the other hand, without assuming that this is a "germ" of truth, may enter this kindergarten, and

following the law of suggestion, may rightfully seek to attach a higher meaning to the superstitious naturalism, and it may with care prove a successful method of ingrafting on the lower form the higher, or even the highest truth. The foremost missionary of Japan says he has found this process efficient with many Ainus. He does not attempt to disguise the fact that the Bear festival is an "ugly insinuating growth by means of which Satan has been sapping the very life from the heart of the people for years untold." But it is a long way to change this doctrine of bestial assimilation to the most holy concept of the highest truth, that of communion with God.

Mr. Batchelor, the missionary, referred to above, emphasizes the danger of misconception of these ruder races, on many lines. His first impulse on observing the Ainu say "grace" before meals was to think this a rudimentary form of acknowledging God, but this was rudely shocked by finding that it was a form of rudimentary pantheism rather than of Christian gratitude. They were worshiping the food itself. At first he thought he had another grand truth to build on. But he renders the formula as he afterward learned it, thus: "O thou cereal deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year and the flavor will be sweet. . . . O thou god: O thou divine cereal, do thou nourish the people. I now partake of thee. I worship thee, and give thee thanks." There is nothing in this "grace" more elevated than the Hindu worship of the plow before beginning the season's tilling.

The Ainu calls himself a sinner, but he has no possible perception of holiness. He speaks of separate acts as offenses against society, and has no perception of the relation of his acts to God or to a divine law. With him to say, "Be ye holy, for I am holy," would mean nothing but "Mind ye the taboos, for I mind the taboos."

There are persons who think of the difficulties of the missionary in conveying truth to philosophical Hindus or literary Chinamen, who fancy that the missionary to the "submerged" races has a simple task. A study of Mr. Batchelor's *The Ainus of Japan*, or the reading of the able paper he presented at the recent general conference of missionaries in Japan, will quickly disabuse them of this view.

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#### WHAT TO DO WITH THE NATIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

THE two white races of South Africa will find a workable political assimilation in the near future. The problem of the Black *versus* White races is, however, one that will not be solved so readily. The reason for this is found primarily in the numerical disparity between the two races. The Blacks south of the Zambezi outnumber the Whites in the ratio of ten to one. Furthermore, they are far more prolific. During the first seventy years of the last century the Hottentots increased fivefold. Should the Bantu tribes be brought into better peace conditions by a dominant European government they would propagate still more rapidly.

As a possible offset to this, however, their decimation by the adoption of two of the white man's vices, firearms and rum, is a factor to be considered. Still, the ratio of numerical disparity is hardly likely to diminish. These Bantu tribes are dissimilar to the Afro-American of thirty years ago, in that they are trained to military solidarity under leaders who have developed on the line of the "survival of the fittest."

The "white man's burden" implies government stronger than tribal governments. It includes the imposition of a civilization of industry; and the taskmaster of the mines, the mills, and veldt farms must be the white man. The slave, or at least the serf, must be the Bantu, using the word Bantu in this connection as the generic term for Kaffirs, Bechuanas, and Fingoes. It should not be forgotten, however, that these native races have a wise political instinct and marked ability to present a united front against all aggressors. If it shall come to pass that their system of land tenure is violently disturbed; if they are to be taxed exorbitantly to defray the expenses of the Boer war; if their traditional usages are to be ruthlessly set aside by new parliamentary legislation, these things will engender strife and trouble a hundredfold more serious than the political suppression of the Boers has occasioned.

Besides these delicate phases of the situation the religious conditions must not be ignored. These Bantu tribes, as a whole, have resisted the Christianity which has been presented to them. Their superstitions obstruct and prevent assimilation. Christianity alone can save them, however, from being in the long run "civilized off the face of the earth." It has been demonstrated that every one of these tribes may be reached by the Gospel. Through the labors of the London Missionary Society, with headquarters at Johannesburg prior to the Boer war, the rite of baptism was administered to three hundred and forty-five thousand Africans, while five hundred thousand became adherents of the Christian faith. That these races have not rivaled the South Sea Islanders in their acceptance of the Christian religion is accounted for, in part, by the fact that the Dutch despise them, while in Zululand the English churches in numerous instances refuse to allow them to even enter their places of worship. Thus the natives of South Africa have been repelled from Christianity by the superciliousness and race prejudice of the Europeans. This preparation for the growth and intensification of race hatred, and social conflict by unjust treatment of the Blacks in Church and State, if persisted in, will entail a harvest of disaster and ruin compared with which the Sepoy mutiny in India and the Boxer uprising in China will pale into insignificance. Let the Christians of America and Europe, recognizing the fact that Christianity alone can accomplish the redemption of South Africa, address themselves to the task that confronts them. The crisis is imminent, the obligation pressing. The tide must be taken at its flood. The work of the American Baptists and the European Congregationalists carefully considered will afford ground for large hopefulness of the regeneration of the South African races, if the difficulties are promptly met.

## FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

## SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

**Wilhelm Karl.** He is a good specimen of a German pastor of scholarly tastes, and deserves mention here for the excellent work he has done in a couple of recent books on Paul and John, entitled respectively *Beiträge zum Verständniss der soteriologischen Erfahrungen und Speculationen des Apostels Paulus* (Contributions to the Understanding of the Experiences and Soteriological Speculations of the Apostle Paul) and *Johannische Studien: Der erste Johannesbrief* (Johannine Studies; The First Epistle of John). He strongly emphasizes the similarity, if not identity of the religious ideas of Paul and John, the principal points of which are the real indwelling of Christ and the Holy Spirit in the believer; that this divine indwelling produces in believers both ethical perfection and the recognition of the Messiahship of Jesus as well as religious ecstasy; and the doctrine that by this same divine indwelling eternal life is guaranteed. The emphasis of these phases of Johannine and Pauline teaching is particularly valuable in our day when they are so much in danger of being overlooked in the interest of mere literary analysis, or of the dogmatic position of the apostles. To Karl's mind the Christ is a living, present spiritual being. If the similarity or identity of the religious views of Paul and John were fully established, New Testament theology could take on a wider and freer range. It would then be no longer necessary to interpret Paul and John each in the light of himself, but the two could be interpreted in the light of one another. It can scarcely be doubted that this would be a great gain; for, while the ideas are the same the forms of expression are diverse as the point of view and way of approach are different. Thus we have the same thought developed in two different ways. There is still another distinct advantage arising from the recognition of the essential similarity of Paul's and John's religious teachings. When this fact is admitted we are no longer in doubt as to the early date of the Johannine writings, or rather of the early date of the origin of their contents. Much that is in John's gospel has been rejected as in advance of the earliest teachings of the apostles; but gradually it is coming to be seen that there is nothing essential in John's gospel which is not found in the writings of Paul, and in fact that Paul's theology, though so much earlier composed, is in some respects far more full of speculations than are the later writings of John. Karl makes much of the ecstatic element in primitive Christianity. Indeed, he overestimates it. For in John there is but little evidence of its presence, while Paul guards against it even to the point of seeming to forbid its manifestation. Still, even here we must commend rather than condemn Karl. For the tendency in our day is unquestionably in the direc-

tion of the entire expulsion of the mystical and emotional element from the religious life and contentment with the so-called rational forms of Christianity. It is right to be rational, but it is wholly unnecessary to check the feelings natural to genuine religious experience.

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**Ludwig Lemme.** As would naturally be supposed, the theologians of Europe as those of America have their opinions concerning the endlessness of the punishment of the wicked, though it is not often that one of them takes up that theme for special study. In his *Endlosigkeit der Verdammnis und allgemeine Wiederbringung* (Everlasting Punishment and Universal Restoration), Gross-Lichterfelde-Berlin, E. Runge, 1900, Lemme gives us an interesting glimpse into this important phase of eschatology as it exists in Germany. Lemme does not believe that the doctrine of endless punishment is taught in the Scriptures, nor that it is demanded by the interests of the Christian faith. The Scriptures speak often of the punishment of the finally impenitent as "eternal," but the word translated eternal or everlasting does not signify endless, rather does it signify that which does not belong to this present material world, and positively that which belongs to the transcendental world beyond the grave. Besides, the Scriptures employ highly figurative language in relation to this subject, and upon such language no dogma can be founded. But while Lemme is sure that the truth is not founded in the doctrine of endless punishment he is equally sure that the doctrine of universal restoration is false. It has no foundation in the Scriptures; on the other hand, many clear passages of Scripture contradict and exclude it. "The endlessness of punishment in hell is not a divinely revealed mystery, but an invention of dogmatic theology in the course of its historical development. The doctrine of restoration seeks a solution; and this is its one merit that it points out the difficulties of the other position and invites us to seek a true solution. But the doctrine itself is destructive of Christianity, and is therefore on a level with modern rationalistic attempts to resolve the peculiarities and absolutives of Christianity into a natural process of religious history. As a rule it is observed that those who believe in the doctrine of restoration lose the earnestness and firmness of Christianity." This is probably a just criticism of restorationism; but he is in error when he attributes to adherents of that doctrine the idea that the wicked, regardless of the depth of their depravity, and in spite of their will, are to be saved. What they really hold is that in the world to come they will still have opportunity of repentance and faith, and that some time they will choose, not merely to escape punishment, but to follow the ways of righteousness. As a third alternative Lemme holds that the finally impenitent will be annihilated; and this he holds on the basis of certain Scripture passages which he interprets to mean that the dualism between wickedness and righteousness is sometime to end. This could

not be if the wicked lived on forever in endless torment, and, since he rejects restorationism, the only thing left is annihilation. But there is less scriptural basis for annihilation than for endless punishment.

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#### RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

**Das Haus und Grab der heiligen Jungfrau Maria** (The Residence and Burial Place of the Holy Virgin Mary). By Joseph Nirschl. Mainz, F. Kirchheim, 1900. Few Protestants, probably, have ever seriously considered the question as to the place where the Virgin Mary spent her last days and was finally buried. This is in part due to the fact that to the Protestant mind such questions are unprofitable in themselves, in part because it is clear that we have no authentic information relative to it, and in part because the Virgin Mary is not an object of Protestant worship. To Roman Catholics, however, who are given to Mariolatry, there is an incentive to such an inquiry; and besides the Romanist tendency to elevate unimportant matters to the level of essentials, the Romanist believes in means of obtaining knowledge which, to Protestants, appear worthless. Hence it is not to be wondered at that Romanists are willing to devote much time and energy to the determination of questions which Protestants regard with comparative indifference. Among Roman Catholics there are two principal opinions as to the final residence and last resting place of the Virgin. According to one of these Mary went with the apostle John to Ephesus, where she died and was buried. Anna Katherine Emmerich, a sister of the Augustinian Order at Dülmen, near Düsseldorf, some time prior to 1824, had visions according to which Mary did not live and die in Ephesus, nor was she buried in the Church of Mary in Ephesus, but on a mountain some three hours south of Ephesus. The correctness of these visions was supposed to be confirmed in 1881 by a French priest by the name of Jean Gouyet, who discovered a locality corresponding to the description given by the nun, and again in 1891, when a great expedition organized for the purpose of investigating the subject, confirmed the discoveries of Gouyet. The Ephesian theory, together with its modification mentioned above, is opposed by that which makes Mary die in her own house in Jerusalem. According to this very widely accepted view she was buried by the apostles in Gethsemane, from whence her body was carried to heaven after three days. This tradition is based upon an apocryphal document on the *Dormitio* or the *Transitus beatæ Mariæ Virginis*. Nirschl defended this tradition in 1896, and was about to do the same again in 1898 when Emperor William II, during his visit to Palestine, gave the piece of ground on Mount Zion which bears the name *Dormitio beatæ Mariæ Virginis* to the German Society of the Holy Land. According to Nirschl the gift of the emperor and the apostolic letter of acceptance of Pope Leo XIII settled the controversy in favor of Zion and Gethsemane; and it is the task of the investigator to justify this deed, to show that Ephe-

sus cannot rightfully claim to be the residence or the burial place of the Virgin, that her house stood on Mount Zion and that her grave was in Gethsemane. To the Protestant it appears that Ephesus is favored by the visions of the nun and Jerusalem by the word of the pope—that is all.

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**Das Alte Testament für das christliche Haus ausgewählt und übersetzt** (Selections from the Old Testament Translated for Home Use). By Richard Pfeiffer. Erlangen, K. Pfeiffer, 1901. The author has made these selections from the Old Testament, and translated them, under the impression that the Bible is not read as much as it ought to be among the Germans, and in the hope that his work will contribute to a renewal of interest in the old book, especially in view of the fact that he has constantly kept in mind the assured results of modern biblical investigation. He has omitted some portions of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, especially such as take the form of special legislation, for example, concerning leprosy; also the books of the Chronicles and Esther and all those Psalms which shock our Christian feeling by the expression of the desire for revenge and the like. But eighty-seven Psalms are included in the book, and they are classified as Psalms of instruction, prophecy, prayer, repentance, comfort, thanksgiving, and praise. The proverbs which are retained are also classified. Ecclesiastes is given almost in full. The Song of Solomon the author regards as having no connection with the thought of the relation of the divine to the human; but as describing solely the relation of man and woman. But since this purely human relation is treated with such sacred earnestness and exalts love by describing it as strong as death and as a flame from God, he thinks the principal portions of the conversations of the lovers should be retained. The purpose of the author has been to give only such portions of the Old Testament as minister directly to the knowledge of God and his will concerning us and his dealings with his people. Whether he has succeeded or will succeed in making a Bible-book more attractive than the Bible itself it is impossible to determine. He gives no interpretations except such as serve to render allusions to obscure customs clear, and wisely refrains from any but the briefest possible comments. There can be no question but that the Bible is to-day a neglected book even in the homes of Christians. It is at the same time true that the Bible never was so widely and profoundly studied as at present. Unfortunately the use of the Bible has been largely relegated to the Sunday school simply because the Sunday school has undertaken to teach it systematically. But the vast majority of the children and youth in the Sunday schools do not even so much as read over the portions of Scripture assigned for the coming Sunday's lesson. The interest is not in the Bible but in the school. Thus the Sunday school is the innocent occasion for the neglect of the Bible. The more conscientious Sunday school

teachers, and Bible scholars generally are, of course, diligent students of the Word of God. It is to be hoped that such books as this by Pfeiffer, and others, intended to restore waning interest, will aid in overcoming the influences which in recent years have combined to drive the Bible from our schools and our homes.

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#### RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

**The Religious Situation in Belgium.** The movement away from Rome which is progressing so powerfully in Austria and parts of France is felt in Belgium also, though in less degree. The press has lately shown, in some quarters, a distinct sympathy with Protestantism. Nevertheless, the anticlerical leaders are opposed rather to all forms of religion than to Romanism alone, and this will have a tendency to hinder much positive advantage to the Protestant cause. The Belgium freethinkers even go so far as to deny that there ever was such a person as Jesus Christ, thereby stamping themselves as either extremely ignorant or else as willing to falsify the facts of history for their purposes. Meantime Protestantism gains slowly, though showing many signs of increasing activity and hold upon the masses of the people. Still the tendency away from Rome is stronger than that toward Protestantism. Rome is hated for her constant interference with the rights of the people, especially in the schools, where the priests, since 1895, have had the right of inspection and religious instruction. So general is the dislike of this privilege in Brussels that sixty-five per cent of the parents have exercised their legal right of excusing their children from priestly instruction. Doubtless many more are opposed to these privileges of the priests who still tolerate their exercise.

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**Some Roman Catholic Statistics.** *La Gerarchia Cattolica* recently published some interesting facts relative to the Roman hierarchy, showing that it consists of 1,225 members, 56 of whom are cardinals, 11 patriarchs, 725 real archbishops and bishops who observe the Roman ritual, 49 who observe the oriental ritual, 374 titular archbishops, and 10 prelates without dioceses. The *Kölnische Volkszeitung* of February 5, 1901, gives the whole number of Roman Catholics in Europe, including Tunis and Algiers, as 180,017,283, divided into 118 archbishoprics and 518 bishoprics. There are 248,199 secular and regular priests, 6,050 institutions of male orders and congregations (not counting Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and Russia) with 21,689 priests (not counting France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Russia, and the Balkan peninsula) and 146,507 members. There are also 25,048 institutions of female orders and congregations (exclusive of Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and Russia) with 317,206 members (exclusive of those in Portugal, Belgium, and Switzerland). It will be seen that, large as these figures are, some of them are incomplete.



**SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.**

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PROFESSOR WOODROW WILSON, who shares with John Fiske the labor and honor of rewriting our early national history, continues "Colonies and Nation, A Short History of the People of the United States," in the June number of *Harper's Monthly Magazine*. On the first page of Part VI is the portrait of John Wesley, to whose stay in Georgia a brief reference is made farther on. It is shown that the settling of Georgia was part of the English endeavor to prevent the New World from being appropriated and controlled by the French and Spanish. The settlement was located on the southern coast between Carolina and the Florida settlements, as a barrier and a menace to both French and Spanish. This colony, sanctioned and aided by King and Parliament, had the advantage of the leadership of James Oglethorpe, a soldier, a high-bred gentleman, and a decisive man of action. The high quality of this colony, which settled in the winter of 1772-78 on Yamacraw Bluff within the broad stream of the Savannah, is described by Professor Wilson, and the Puritanic spirit of the people is manifest in laws which prohibited the bringing of liquor into the settlement and forbade negro slavery. In fact, a part of Oglethorpe's purpose in choosing this location on the coast was to close the Carolina border to the passage of slaves. After speaking of Oglethorpe as a born ruler of men, whose presence insured respect for law and obedience to a somewhat military government, Professor Wilson writes: "Oglethorpe had not chosen very wisely, however, when he brought Charles and John Wesley out as his spiritual advisers and the pastors of his colony. They were men as inapt at yielding and as strenuous at following their own way of action as he was. They stayed but three or four uneasy years in America, and then returned to do their great work of setting up a new dissenting Church in England. George Whitefield followed them (1738) in their missionary labors under Oglethorpe, and preached there for a little acceptably enough; but he, too, was very soon back in England again. The very year Oglethorpe brought Charles Wesley to Georgia (1734) a great wave of religious feeling swept over New England again—not sober, self-contained, deep-currented, like the steady fervor of the old days, but passionate, full of deep excitement, agitated, too like a frenzy. Enthusiasts who saw it rise and run its course were wont to speak of it afterward as 'The Great Awakening,' but the graver sort were deeply disturbed by it. It did not spend its force till quite fifteen years had come and gone. Mr. Whitefield returned to America in 1739, to add to it the impulse of his impassioned preaching—going once more to Georgia also. Again and again he came upon the same errand, stirring many a colony with his sin-

gular eloquence; but Georgia was busy with other things and heeded him less than the rest."

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IN *The North American Review* (New York) for June is a valuable paper by Dr. Washington Gladden, on "The Outlook for Christianity," which inquires whether our religion gives promise of retaining its hold upon the human race and extending its influence over the thought and life of men. The article furnishes figures showing Christianity's expansion as a world power, in contradiction of the alleged decadence of the Christian religion which Christians have heard asserted from the days of Celsus down to Bolingbroke and Diderot and Voltaire and the deniers of to-day. "For the early Christian periods we have only estimates; but, approximately, there were in the world, at the end of the first century, about five millions of Christians; at the end of the tenth century, ten millions; at the end of the fifteenth, one hundred millions; at the end of the eighteenth, two hundred millions; at the end of the nineteenth, five hundred millions. The last century has added to the adherents of Christianity almost three times as many as were added during the first fifteen centuries. The rate of progress now is far more rapid than at any other period during the Christian era. The growth of the world's population is estimated thus: Whereas, in 1786 the dwellers on this planet numbered 954,000,000, in 1886 they were 1,488,000,000, an increase of fifty-four per cent. But the number of Christians increased during the same period more than one hundred per cent. The political strength of Christendom is not, however, represented by these figures. In 1786 a little more than one third of the people of the world were under the government of Christian nations, and a little less than two thirds were under non-Christian nations; in 1886 fifty-five per cent of the larger population were under Christian rule, and only forty-five per cent under non-Christian. The geographers put it this way: In 1600 the inhabited surface of the earth measured about 48,798,600 square miles; of these, Christians occupied about 8,480,900, and non-Christians 40,317,700. In 1894 the number of square miles inhabited is reckoned at 58,401,400, of which Christians are holding 45,619,100 and non-Christians 8,782,300. Nearly 500,000,000, or more than a third of the world's population, now bear the Christian name, and accept, in some more or less intelligent way, Christian theories and ideals. These facts do not indicate that Christianity is disappearing from the face of the earth, but rather, so far as they go, give reason for believing that it will take full possession of the earth at no distant day." A hopeful token for the future of Christianity is in a theological progress due to a purified ethical judgment. "The old theology emphasized the sovereignty of God in such a way as to make it appear that what was central in him was will—his determination to have his own way. 'His mere good pleasure' was the decisive element in his action. This theology was the apotheosis of will. The later conceptions emphasize the righteousness

of God more than his power. The assumption, nowadays, always is that of Abraham—that the Judge of all the earth will do right—will do what will commend itself as right to the unperverted moral sense of his children. Theology has been ethicized; that is the sum of it. To-day it is a moral science; one hundred years ago it was not. This is a tremendous change; none more revolutionary has taken place in any of the sciences. To be rid of theories which required the damnation of nonelect infants and of all the heathen; which imputed the guilt of our progenitors to their offspring; and which proclaimed an eternal kingdom of darkness, ruled by an evil potentate, whose ubiquity was little short of omnipresence, whose resources pressed hard upon omnipotence, and whose access to human souls implied omniscience—is a great deliverance. That these horrible doctrines are obsolete is manifest from the fact that the great Scotch Presbyterian Churches have explained them away, and that their American brethren are making haste to free themselves from the same.” The Church’s growing purpose and increased equipment for work is noticed: “The Church of to-day is a far more efficient instrument for promoting the kingdom of God than was the Church of a century ago. At that date the Sunday school was just beginning; the Church did little but to hold two services on Sunday, and sometimes a week-night service. In fact the Church did nothing at all; all the religious work was done by the minister. The idea that the Church is a working body, organized for the service of the community, had hardly entered the mind of minister or members. And the larger work, outside of its immediate fold, was not contemplated. In 1800 there was no Foreign Missionary Society in existence on this continent, and no Bible Society; a few feeble Home Missionary Societies had just been formed. There was no religious newspaper in the world. The vast outreaching work of Christian education and Christian publication was scarcely dreamed of by the Churches. Such efficient arms of service as Young Men’s and Young Women’s Christian Associations, Epworth Leagues, Christian Endeavor Societies, and the Salvation Army are of recent origin.” Another hopeful suggestion offered is as follows: “The doctrine of the divine immanence, when once its deeper implications are understood, must have important results in Christian experience. The God in whom we live and move and have our being will not need to be certified by documents, symbolized by sacraments, or demonstrated by logic; our knowledge of him will be immediate and certain. If he is, indeed, the Life of all life; if he is ‘more present to all things he made than anything unto itself can be;’ if he is ‘closer to us than breathing, nearer than hands and feet;’ if he is really ‘working in us to will and to do of his good pleasure;’ then life possesses a sacredness and a significance which few have yet conceived. This truth glorifies the whole of life, and if the Christian pulpit can but grasp it and realize it, we shall have such a revival of religion as the world has never seen.”

*The Presbyterian Quarterly* (Charlotte, N. C.) is the most resolute and thoroughgoing champion of uncompromising Calvinism that comes to our notice. Its vigor and positiveness are refreshing. It is edited with strong feeling as well as with intellectual definiteness. For these qualities the issue for January, 1901, was notable. The first article, "Three Maligned Theologians," defends John Calvin, Dr. William Twisse (prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly), and Jonathan Edwards against the censures of Dr. Henry Van Dyke and others. Another article of similar defensive purpose is "The Hard Doctrines," by Dr. James R. Howerton, who says: "Atheism and Calvinism are like two great armies between whose lines there can be no neutrality. Sooner or later all must betake themselves for refuge to one or the other and abide the issue of the battle. Calvinism may be compared to the citadel within the walls. When all other systems have surrendered to the batteries of atheism, to these impregnable walls the defenders of the faith may betake themselves and defy the assaults of unbelief." How experts differ may be seen by putting alongside this opinion the recently published statement of Dr. George A. Gordon, Pastor of Old South Church, Boston: "Calvinism has had much to do with the production of unbelief. For the race as a whole, and for the thinker who judges schemes of thought from their bearing upon the interests of mankind, there is indeed little to choose between Calvinism and atheism. The soul of man has had a sad time under all forms of that nightmare. It has become incredible either as an interpretation of the Gospel or as an exposition of theism. To Melancthon Calvinism appeared as a revival of Stoicism. With this penetrating insight before them the praises that learned historians have bestowed upon Calvinism are inexplicable. Calvinism has done some good; it has asserted the priority of God, but the kind of priority asserted, and the incompetence of man to pass judgment upon it, have been an incalculable damage to the conscience of Christendom. Against the protests of the moral reason it has elaborated systems of opinion, trusting for victory over its invincible enemy to bad exegesis of Scripture, poor views of history, and the inequalities of human life on earth." This vigorous number of *The Presbyterian Quarterly* ends with an editorial, entitled "The Calvinistic Century," which claims that the old theology is to be the theology of the twentieth century, and that "the triumph of Calvinism in the century that has dawned upon us is as certain as anything future can be. The blue banner waves over the front rank and Calvinism goes westward with the course of empire. . . . It is to be the real force in the establishment of Christ's kingdom in the near future." To us, on the contrary, nothing seems clearer than that the old (Calvinistic) theology has already gone. Its most interested and spirited foes are of its own household who for their own relief are bound to be rid of it altogether. The Arminian forces feel now a friendly but rather languid interest in what is going on because, as they see it, their battle is over and their victory won. The editorial

just referred to says that "the Methodist Church is the only conspicuous example of aggressive Arminianism in history," and that "it was the truth of its evangelism that caused its triumphs." This is high but merited praise, and puts the credit of the overthrow of the old Calvinistic theology where it belongs. The statement is correct also as to the triumphant truth of Methodist evangelism, which was a new evangelism of free grace and dying love, offered, not to an elect few, but to all mankind in the name of Him who "tasted death for every man." The most vehement and insistent repudiations of traditional Calvinism heard or seen in these years come from non-Methodist pens and pulpits—from such men as Dr. Behrends, Dr. Parkhurst, Dr. Van Dyke, Dr. Hillis, and others equally eminent whom we could name with certainty. Dr. Gray, the brilliant veteran editor of *The Interior* (Presbyterian), of Chicago, recently wrote: "We notice that the editor of this paper is roundly denounced as an Arminian. Well, that is a gentle impeachment. We always have a good time with the Methodists, and hope to have forever. We take delight in going around to them, from time to time, to get a good 'warming up.' One needs to 'take something' spiritually to brace his faith in God and in man while he is dealing with hyper-Calvinists." Dr. Gordon, of Boston, says that the Arminian and Wesleyan protests against Calvinism have prevailed because they were primarily protests of life; noting also that the plea which life makes for itself has large utterance in Browning, and that Louis Stevenson's religion is tradition purified by life and attested by life. Dr. Henry A. Stimson writes that Calvinism without doubt overemphasized the sovereignty of God, and the type of character it produced was strenuous and hard. It was a stern system and made stern men. "But its theology was incomplete, and there has been the inevitable reaction. We have now been living for some time under the influence of a theology which has delighted to call itself Christocentric. It has violently repudiated not only the extreme doctrines of Calvinism, but also the conception of sovereignty as central in a theological system, and has substituted for this love. . . . The close of the nineteenth century would give less evidence of the oncoming of the kingdom of Christ, and would show far less of cheerfulness and of courage, if it were not for this Gospel which makes so much of the divine love." We do not dispute the statement of James Russell Lowell that "Calvinism has produced some of the noblest characters the world has ever seen, the very fiber and substance of which enduring commonwealths are made." Rufus Choate once said: "I ascribe to that five years in Geneva, when many flocked to be taught by John Calvin, an influence which has changed the history of the world; I seem to myself to trace to it the great civil war of England, the republican constitution framed in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, the divinity of Jonathan Edwards, the battle of Bunker Hill, the Independence of America." Renan declared that "Calvin is but the shadow cast by St. Paul."

## BOOK NOTICES.

## RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

*Principles of Religious Education.* The Christian Knowledge Course of Lectures on the Principles of Religious Instruction. 12mo, pp. 292. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

The object of these lectures is the improvement of Sunday schools. Each of the ten is by a specialist who treats the subject from his own point of view, but all converge upon the one object. Bishop Potter correctly remarks that the withdrawal of all religious instruction from the public schools lifts the Sunday school into preeminent importance, and lays upon the Church the urgent duty of recognizing its responsibilities and improving its opportunities as a teacher of the young. To the discussion of this great subject a wide range of experience and matter is here made tributary. The lecturers are Professor Nicholas Murray Butler, Bishop Doane of Albany, Professor Charles DeGarmo, Dean Hodges of Cambridge, Rev. Pascal Harrower, Dr. W. L. Hervey, President G. Stanley Hall, Professor F. M. McMurtry, Professor Charles F. Kent, and Professor R. G. Moulton. Their subjects are "Religious Instruction and its Relation to Education," "The Educational Work of the Christian Church," "Religious Instruction in England, France, Germany, and the United States," "The Content of Religious Instruction," "The Sunday School and its Course of Study," "The Preparation of the Sunday School Teacher," "The Religious Content of the Child Mind," "The Use of Biography in Religious Instruction," "The Use of Geography in Religious Instruction," and "The Study of the Bible as Literature." Ministers, intelligent Sunday school workers, and church officers may get hints from these lectures which from many points of view are enlightening and suggestive, and are, as a whole, not unworthy of the momentous subject which they treat. Concerning the universal essentialness of religion to the nature and life of man, that wise scientific authority, Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, is quoted: "The religiosity of man is a part of his psychical being. In the nature and laws of the human mind, in its intellect, sympathies, emotions, and passions, lie the wellsprings of all religions, modern or ancient, Christian or heathen. To these we must refer, by these we must explain, whatever errors, falsehood, bigotry, or cruelty have stained man's creeds or cults; to them we must credit whatever truth, beauty, piety, and love have glorified and hallowed his long search for the perfect and the eternal. The fact is that there has not been a single tribe, no matter how rude, known in history or visited by travelers, which has been shown to be destitute of religion under some form." Religious training is therefore an integral part of human education, and the Sunday school is a necessary part of the whole educational machinery of our time. To improve and perfect the Sunday school is the aim of some of the wisest,

noblest, and best educated men and women in the Church, who dedicate time, labor, and money to this grand object through a lifetime. No communion has more of such men and women than the Methodist, and the number of well-organized schools increases among us continually. The model Sunday schools like that at Wilkesbarre, Pa. (superintended for thirty years by Mr. George S. Bennett), have been widely patterned after. The impulse to this widespread improvement must be credited in large degree to John Heyl Vincent, "whose name," says a Protestant Episcopal writer in the book before us, "commands the reverence of all who would serve the childhood of the Church." A Methodist Sunday school within rifle shot of where these words are written is so perfectly organized for the nurture and religious education of the young that it begins with a "Cradle Roll" which contains a list of all infants over whom it can keep watch, with some one made responsible for watching them and seeing that when old enough they are entered in the Primary Department (or Infant Class), and then passed on and up by examination from grade to grade until in the course of years they reach the Normal Department, where they are trained to be Sunday school teachers. The multiplication of such schools is the directest and surest way to solve many of the church problems over which pastors and officials are groaning. Multiply all over the Church Sunday schools like our best organized and best managed ones, and use in them our own literature (which is unsurpassed), and in a few years you will have well-trained teachers in place of the incompetent, you will have congregations with plenty of men in them, you will have the pews full of men and women grounded from infancy in the Truth, with minds and hearts in intelligent sympathy with the wide-branching work of the Church, and well-established habits of giving to the furtherance of Christ's great enterprise of world salvation. Only a blind or stupid Church can fail to see that nothing pays like a well-organized, well-managed Sunday school. In that work the Church influences human life at its root and fountain. One of the writers in this book is Bishop Doane of Albany, who says truly that philosophy, science, historical or literary criticism have not displaced or disparaged any of the great essentials of our Christian faith; they are here undiscredited, to be transmitted by us to our children, who, on their side, are entitled to receive those truths by intelligible and persuasive presentation. "The great verities of the Christian faith, dreamed of from the first ages of man's conscious thought, and brought to light by the teaching of Jesus Christ, are facts that center in and gather about, and grow out of the one great Fact and the one great Personality of human history, namely, the Incarnate Son of God. They are not in opposition to, or in antagonism with, any achievement of science, any attainment of reason, any conclusion of philosophy. They are in the upper air, the higher realm of belief. They are to-day, as they have been all through the centuries, the consolation and the inspiration of the human

race." Bishop Doane refers with characteristic vigor to the queer notion of "that curious creation, W. H. Mallock, who poses and poises on a seesaw of sophisms between apparent agnosticism and concealed Roman Catholicism," the notion that "the security of the Bible depends now upon the Church of Rome, which locked it away from the people in an unknown tongue for ages, and which fills her lectionary, not with Holy Scripture, but with legends of her innumerable and often questionable saints." The bishop thinks the idea of an undogmatic religion is as absurd as the idea of an invertebrate mammal, a man without a backbone; and that one of the most pitiful and painful features of modern religionism is the column in Saturday newspapers giving the subjects of so-called sermons for the next day. Dean Hodges of Cambridge thinks that after teaching the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, with hymns and Golden Text, the best material for awakening interest and stirring the imagination in the younger children is found in the Bible stories. Take the story of Gideon and the battle of lamps and trumpets, for example; the children will stand as breathless spectators of that strange, splendid fight. "They will look out through the dark and see the dim outlines of the tents of the Midianites. They will watch the men of Gideon as they hide behind the trees to light their lanterns. They will see them creeping silently over toward the sleeping camp, every man a sharp sword in his belt, in his left hand a lantern hidden in a pitcher, in his right a trumpet. Suddenly the word is given, crash go three hundred stout trumpets against three hundred breaking pitchers, and the lights shine out, and the trumpets sound a mighty blast, and every brave Israelite shouts with all his might, 'The sword of the Lord, and of Gideon!' And then the wild panic, and the flight, with Gideon hot after them." For captivating and instructing even the younger children, the Bible is full of stories as available as this, and as capable of vivid rendering in language level to their understanding. The teacher should see that the story is made to convey the right lesson. One day a class had the story of how Abraham delivered Lot from the four kings. A boy, being asked to tell what Abraham did, answered slowly, "He helped Lot in his time of need." "Well, what do we learn from that?" asked the teacher. And the boy, after much cogitation, answered, "That my neighbors ought to help me in my time of need." At this point in our notice the following sentences from the Talmud meet our eyes: "The world is only saved by the breath of school children;" "Jerusalem was destroyed because the instruction of the young was neglected;" "He who instructs a child is as if he created it;" "To what may he be compared who teaches a child? To one who writes on clean paper. To what may he be compared who teaches an old man? To one who writes on blotted paper." The last of these ten lectures is by Professor R. G. Moulton, on "The Literary Study of the Bible," and shows the wondrous matchlessness of the masterpieces contained in Holy Scripture. The Book of Deuteron-



omy is the oldest, grandest oratory. Its title might be "Deuteronomy; or, The Orations and Songs of Moses." Considered simply as oratory there is nothing in Greek or English to surpass it. It is oratory growing gradually into drama, for it is a series of orations, presenting one of the most terribly pathetic of all situations. This book, neglected by the ordinary Christian, fought over by the historical critics, is truly called one of the masterpieces of language, magnificent oratory mounting to sublime dramatic climax. A masterpiece among the lyrics of Scripture is Deborah's Song. It appears in the plain prose form in the fifth chapter of Judges. But presented in its true literary form it is an antiphonal chorus—the chorus of women being led by Deborah, and the chorus of men by Barak, these choruses answering one another and then uniting. "Now these choruses clash with one another, then they unite in an apostrophe to Heaven. The chorus of men describe the miserable condition of Israel, and the chorus of women break in with 'I, Deborah, arose, a mother in Israel.' The chorus of men appeal to the men that ride upon white asses and sit in judgment, and the chorus of women cry to the assemblies of women in the places of drawing water. Then you have the gathering of the tribes. You have the chorus representing the tribes that came to the battle, and those that refused, and those that changed their minds. The men sing, 'By the waters of Reuben there were great resolves.' The women sarcastically reply, 'Why, then, staid ye by the sheepfolds, to hear the pipings for the flocks?' And the men answer, 'By the water courses of Reuben there were great searchings of heart.' The men describe the kings coming to fight; the women chime in, 'The stars in their courses fought against Sisera.' The men shout, 'Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord.' The men describe the strange ending of Sisera—how Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite, received him:

She put her hand to the nail,  
Her right hand to the workmen's hammer;  
And with the hammer she smote Sisera, she smote through his head,  
Yea, she struck and pierced through his temples.  
At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay:  
At her feet he bowed, he fell:  
Where he bowed, there he fell down dead.

The women, with delicate imagery, picture the mother of Sisera looking through the lattice, and saying: 'Why is his chariot so long in coming? Why tarry the wheels of his chariot?' They represent the mother and her wise ladies questioning among themselves, while waiting for the spoil. And then all together join in the final cry to Heaven, 'So perish all thine enemies; but let those that love the Lord rejoice as the sun when he goeth forth in his might.' Professor Moulton urges that the bringing out in their true literary form of the grand masterpieces of Scripture may be used to interest the older classes in the Sunday school and to make the Bible vivid and impressive.

*With Christ at Sea.* A Personal Record of Religious Experiences on Shipboard for Fifteen Years. By FRANK T. BULLEN, Author of *The Cruise of the Cachalot*, *Men of the Merchant Service*, *Idylls of the Sea*, *Log of a Sea Wolf*, etc. 12mo, pp. 325. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

Some difference would seem to be indicated in the several communities by the fact that the book most called for during last April at the public libraries in Brooklyn and New York, in Worcester and Springfield, Mass., and in Bridgeport, Conn., was *The Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks*; in Salt Lake City, Utah, and in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn., it was *The Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley*; in Kansas City, Mo., and in San Francisco and Los Angeles, Cal., it was Haeckel's *The Riddle of the Universe*; in Chicago it was Mark Twain's works; while in Toronto, Canada, in striking contrast, it was the book now before us, Bullen's *With Christ at Sea*. The large demand for this last book would seem to certify the prevalently religious taste of the intelligent classes in Toronto, and also to indicate that the book we are now noticing has value and attractiveness. The library reports as a whole indicate that the ministers of the West have a harder fight in their efforts to spiritualize human life and to dislodge materialism, skepticism, secularism, and lawless thinking from the minds of men. "Admiration for his common sense Christianity" causes Mr. Bullen's book to be dedicated to the Marquis of Northampton. Our times are flooded with a deluge of religious fiction, much of it wishy-washy, confusing, unsettling, or otherwise pernicious. Here is a writer who tries to give a plain, real picture of religious life at sea, an autobiographic narrative of his own experiences, without posing, insincerity, or striving for sensational effect. Viewed from any standpoint it is a most interesting human document. It has been called "The Pilgrim's Progress Afloat," and is little less vivid and picturesque than Bunyan's immortal story. The author first went to sea, a friendless boy, so small and puny that the mate's wife, seeing the ship sail, pitied the little fellow, and, as she went ashore, stooped and kissed him, saying, "God bless ye, ma paur chiel." The boy grew up among wild, rough, brutal sailors, men of all nationalities, and the fore-castle, with its hideous blasphemies, its obscenity, its cruelty, its stench, its indescribable squalor, was his school. But one night, in a warehouse at Port Chalmers in New Zealand, the sailor lad of twenty got hold of something, or something got hold of him, that made a new being of him, ennobled the desires of his heart, and purified his after life. The reality of this experience is tolerably well proven by the fact that amid ridicule and insult from his shipmates the lad was not afraid nor ashamed to declare himself a friend of Jesus Christ and a believer in the efficacy of prayer. The boy who dares to make a profession of religion in the dirty and hostile hell of such a fore-castle, and who patiently endures the persecution which thenceforth pursues him, is probably a Christian in very truth. And here is the story of his battle for his soul, simply and honestly told, with its defeats as well as its victories; and stories also of the struggles of other fine natures, like "Jem," the huge Norwegian, and

Ballantyne, the Scotchman, to play the man and live the true Christian life, among the hard-used and reckless sailor men who go down to the sea in ships and do business in the great waters. Indeed the book is alive with strongly marked characters, genuine and racy in their viciousness, or their virtuousness; it teems with life and intense meaning. One thing which fascinated the sailor lad at the meeting in the Port Chalmers sail loft was the clear way in which the leader read the Scripture lesson, the first chapter of Isaiah—read it as if it were a living message to living men. Truly does the author say that no book has been so much abused as the Bible in the meaningless way it is read aloud. Men of high scholarly attainments sometimes read the Scriptures vilely, abominably. A schoolboy would be sharply reprimanded for reading the commonest prose or poetry so carelessly, stupidly, disgracefully. Later on, the sailor bought at a secondhand bookstall a paragraph Bible, in which the arbitrary divisions into chapters and verses were done away, and the metrical parts were arranged metrically. This made the Bible seem like another book to him. It was full of sweet and stately music, and the reading of Job or Isaiah suggested the cadences of a great organ or the chanting of a white-robed choir. The Gospel's transforming power over rough and wicked sailors of various nations, together with their testimonies and prayers, gives to Mr. Bullen's book its chief interest. Of the time when his ship was in port at New Zealand, he writes: "Every night we went ashore and eagerly drank in the lessons we heard from whoever happened to be telling out the grand ideas of the Gospel, for we had not yet grown critical and it all sounded good. O, but it was a golden time, that babyhood of the soul, when everybody and everything were seen through a tremulous, tender haze of light, the Light which, coming into the world, lights every man who does not willingly remain blind." What these meetings in the sail loft did for Rasmus Rasmussen, the fierce Norwegian, feared and hated by all the ship's company because of his great size and strength and untamed ferocity, is told by Bullen and by himself. Bullen says: "His body was covered with scars gotten in many a savage brawl, and his huge hands were knotted like tree roots. But the Master had spoken to him through the alien tongue of an Englishman, whereof he understood only the commonest expressions: and now he was become like a little child who had been reared in an atmosphere of love. I have seen many 'Miracles of grace,' but this common sailor towered above them all." But the big Norwegian ruffian's own account is best. Here is a part of it: "Dear Vrients. I vas a devil. If dere was anything bad I could do, I haf do it. I haf hate de dear Vater Gott, an' all his peoples. I nefer haf no pleasure 'cept I ket tronk unt fight. Den I com to Port Chalmers unt I go into de meeting, unt I hear a man say dat de Lort Jesus is come to tell me vat Gott is; dat Gott ton't hate me, an' not vant me to die unt go to hell; dat hell ain'd vaiting for me, but Gott vaits allvus, unt dat he ben sorry I vas not happy. He dell me dere is von man can send me to hell, unt dat is myselluf, unt dat if I

come an' get into his hants nopody, not efen Satan hisselluf, can pull me away agen. Unt vile I lissen, I hear a vort in here [striking his breast] delliu' me, 'Yes, you ben de man all dis is for.' Unt I pelief it. I say, 'Yes, Lort Jesus, I ben de man you die for; unt now I ben goin' to gif myselluf all oop for you. Unt if any man say to me, 'How you know all dis?' I say to him, 'How I know? Vat you tink id is keep me from swearin', from keddin' dronk, from hatin' myselluf unt eferypody ellas? You ton't know? Vell, I do. Id ben de Lort Gott Almighty. Nopody ellas can do it? Unt now I vas yoost like von leedle shild. I have lose de taste for de bad unt find id for de goot, t'ank Gott.'" And Bullen says, "These broken, halting words gripped the hearts of all who heard, so that many wept, and I, who dread intensely all spasmodic emotional religion, was so moved that I was glad to get away into a corner and simmer down." From what he has heard of United States army and navy officers and others speaking in meetings in foreign ports, the author thinks there must be something in the American climate that favors the development of oratorical gifts. The following is part of a poor Scotch sailor's penitent prayer: "Lord Jesus Christ, ah am's bad 's ah can be, a drucken, swearin', feckless loun; there isna onythin' tae be said fur me 'at's guid. But ah ken fine 'at ye love me fur all ahm sae bad. Here ah am, tak' me, an' make somethin' oot o' me' fur ah 've made an awfu' mess o' myself. Amen." A most interesting part of this book is the author's account of a marvelous outbreak of Christian enthusiasm among British seamen in the port of Calcutta, caused by the efforts of American missionaries laboring at the Rahda Bazaar Seaman's Rest in that city. At night after the meetings large bodies of sailors were seen returning to their respective vessels, singing with all their hearts along the broad thoroughfares—not bacchanalian songs but Christian hymns—sober, earnest, and full of the spirit of devotion. The keepers of all sorts of vile dens on the water front were in despair, for their trade was fast disappearing. Captains of ships consulted together over the mystery of what most of them called "this psalm-singing fever." But however they commented on the strange epidemic, none of the officers could deny, that the effect of it on the men was entirely beneficial—they worked better, were in better health, were more orderly, never came on board drunk, made no trouble, and were undoubtedly happier than before. "Let those sneer at Christian effort who will," says Mr. Bullen, "there is no such effective agent for the elevation of body and soul. Other agencies lop off decayed branches, or poisonous suckers; Christianity strikes at the giant taproot, and this alone can meet the necessities of the case." This is a book calculated to impress the reality and power of religion, and to awaken a wider interest in the great work of various Christian societies on behalf of sailors. It is fit for the home, the Sunday school library, and the Christian association. It is manly, realistic, without cant or weak sentimentality; moreover, it is as captivating as it is wholesome for all classes of readers.

*The Highest Life.* A Story of Shortcomings and a Goal. By E. H. JOHNSON, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Crozer Theological Seminary. 12mo, pp. 183. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, \$1.

It is what the author has to offer concerning the Keswick movement which will attract the most attention from the general public. He terms his analysis of this movement a "friendly" one, and so it is. Nevertheless, we feel that at some points he has not fully grasped its true significance. He puts his finger skillfully on a few weak places in it, and admirably points out its dangers, but he does not prove quite so competent in comprehending its special merits. His charges against it are in the main three, namely, that by its excessive emphasis on a certain mystic infilling with the Spirit, Christ is disparaged and the Spirit is made the main object of trust and desire instead of the Lord Jesus; that "power" (in the pulpit over audiences and in prayer with God) is ascribed too exclusively to the highest spirituality, and sufficient allowance is not made for birth differences not to be wholly annulled by God's grace; and that the type of life taught at Keswick, instead of being positive and active, is predominantly negative and passive. In regard to this latter possibly the Keswick writers are not so much at fault as their critic imagines, and they would freely grant, indeed would maintain as stoutly as he does, that "the individual has a part with the Holy Spirit in his own sanctification." We note that one of Dr. Johnson's chief objections to the Keswick scheme is the elaborateness of its preparation for the infilling, which he deems "entirely unwarranted by the Bible." He may be right in protesting against some of the minute details, if those details are to be regarded as a hard-and-fast code or a cut-and-dried system to be followed unvaryingly by everybody without exception—which we do not think is the idea of the Keswick teachers—but he surely admits the main point of contention when he says, "It is quite within the biblical teaching that a carnally-minded man repels the influence of the Holy Spirit." What the Keswick men evidently teach, and doubtless mainly mean, by their specified conditions—abandonment of sin, surrender to Christ, submission unto God, and so forth—is evidently the completest possible putting away of this carnal mind which repels the influence of the Spirit, in order that such influence may be fully received. As to the other matters mentioned, we are disposed to agree largely with Dr. Johnson. God's grace does not annul diversities of temperament; no special blessing will change a dull, phlegmatic man into a charming and magnetic speaker, nor can precisely the same measures that prove helpful to some be laid down as essential to all. It is undoubtedly true that the freedom from known sin cannot be accepted as a correct account of the highest life, that duty is to be measured not by one's own moral obtuseness and easy self-satisfaction, but by the ideal constitution of man and the all-perfect nature of God. He who is mainly busy in seeking his own peace and joy and power will be decidedly inferior to the man who seeks to do

right because God requires it and who trusts Christ because he deserves it. To live for objects outside ourselves is the highest life, and self-forgetful activity for others is one of the main means of reaching it. The author does exceedingly well in emphasizing these points, which the Keswick men have probably too much neglected. He thinks that "the Churches are deficient in spiritual power, while the Keswick leaders are eminent for spiritual-mindedness and spiritual helpfulness." They have conspicuously met, he says, "the two scriptural conditions of spiritual gains, faith and fidelity." They have also rightly emphasized what is, for most people at least, real necessity, the definite laying hold (by an active faith, after full surrender) of God's provision for his people; which laying hold forms a notable crisis in Christian experience, the lack of which is chiefly at the root of the lamentable weakness of the Church. The Keswick movement would amount to little did it not actually help people into a new life, a life which is nothing more nor less than the only genuine Christian life in the largest sense of that term, after the New Testament pattern, a life of which only a small portion of the Church seems to have a real experience, or even a clear conception. This is an excellent book, on the whole, with a strong grasp of the shortcomings of various schemes for reaching the highest life, which, the author says, have passed into the background, leaving at the front the Keswick plan, which he thinks gives the most promise, as the others have contributed to it and it is able to avoid the mistakes which they made.

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#### PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

*The New Humanism.* By EDWARD HOWARD GRIGGS. 12mo, pp. 239. Philadelphia, 111 South 15th Street: Professor E. H. Griggs. Price, cloth, \$1.60.

This volume of studies in personal and social development is by a young college professor who has attained popularity in the public lecture field as well as success in the class room. The subjects treated are: "The Scientific Study of the Higher Human Life," "The Evolution of Personality," "The Dynamic Character of Personal Ideals," "The Content of the Ideal of Life," "Positive and Negative Ideals," "Greek and Christian Ideals in Modern Civilization," "The Modern Change in Ideals of Womanhood," "The Ethics of Social Reconstruction," "The New Social Ideal," and "The Religion of Humanity." The book is without preface, appendix, or index. This is its third edition. It says such things as these: "The dilemma of freedom and determinism is no more enigmatical than the problem of the divisibility of matter, and the conception of God is no more paradoxical to the human intellect than the conception of an atom. In all lines of investigation we are proceeding on the basis of hypotheses and assumptions which involve unsolved enigmas." "Anything that can be studied at all can be studied scientifically. For the method of science is simply rationalized common sense; it consists in seeking quietly the ascertainable facts, and then soberly

one class of people whom he could afford to neglect—the insincere. All others, no matter how eccentric or mistaken, had something to teach him. “Earnestness,” said Buddha, “is the path of immortality: those who are in earnest do not die.” Speaking of the mistaken notion that human life can be best developed and fulfilled by negating and avoiding great ranges of its activity, our author writes, “The lives of mediæval saint, and celibate, and monk, and hermit are a record of the futile effort to make life noble by wasting its opportunities and thwarting its normal tendencies; an effort which strangles many of the capacities for joy, and wisdom, and love, and action that make us men.” The author thinks that the best we have to-day as the outcome of the ages of study and experiment is “the Greek ideal transfigured by the teaching of Christ; the ideal of rounded, harmonious self-development, and high culture, crowned by the noblest spiritual purity, the largest love, and a capacity for self-abnegation when that is the path of life.” In the essay on the modern change in ideals of womanhood, is the following: “The peculiar greatness of women lies in the power to know the truth instinctively in the world of personal relations, and to live it with unflinching fidelity. This quality of the ‘eternal womanly’ makes the splendid heroines of literature and life everywhere. Heloise and Desdemona, Helena in ‘All’s Well that Ends Well,’ and Margaret in ‘The Cloister and the Hearth’ never fail to know the best and to affirm it unquestioningly. What man can be placed beside them? Browning’s Caponsacchi is a noteworthy exception; but Abelard and Othello, Gerard and Philip in ‘The Manxman,’ as compared with Kate, all fall sadly short of the ideal. . . . Men try to intellectualize all their experiences, while the best things of personal life cannot be translated into terms of the understanding; they rarely can give up the smaller calculations of prudence, so essential in all ordinary circumstances and so distorting to the higher calls of the spirit; they give way to lower influences, allow insignificant elements to replace the most sacred things of life, and loosely accept a promiscuous adjustment.” Writing of the religion of the new humanism, it is said that the new prophet whom the world awaits, must find the ideal by transfiguring the commonplace; he must see and teach the divinity of common things; he must live in the world and yet maintain perfect consecration to simplicity, spirituality, and personal helpfulness; he must call men away from the senseless rush for luxury, fashion, and wealth, to the things of the spirit. “It is not a new gospel that is needed,” says the author, “*but the Gospel anew.*” Whether the humanists think so or not, it is the Gospel, working like leaven in our modern world, which is teaching art to transfigure the humblest life with the divine significance that dwells at the heart of humanity. How modern is this development of the Christian spirit is seen in the fact that even Dante arrogantly ignored the untutored mass of mankind and felt too little interest in their destiny to treat of them either in his heaven or his hell. But now, as the author says, art finds the deep and inf-

nite meaning of common life, and the sailor at the pumps on a sinking vessel, the fisher's wife moaning alone in the gray dawn, the physician beside the bed of the child whose agonized parents stand beseechingly in the background—these furnish the most touching subjects for effective painting. Three such paintings the author describes in the modern gallery of the Academy at Florence. One represents the dying Raphael. At his feet kneels the woman he loved, tears streaming from her eyes; at his side sits the old cardinal, anxious if possible to soothe the dying man's last moments. There is nothing unusual in the scene; it is only the common human tragedy; but it is modern; no such subject was found in the paintings of the Renaissance. The second represents the painter, Fra Lippo Lippi, making love to a nun. In the woman's face is depicted the awakened struggle between the old ideal she had cherished and the life of renunciation to which she had consecrated herself, and the new desires now surging up in her consciousness and the different life which beckons her. That conflict in the soul is grasped and fixed upon her face, but it is only a story of common humanity's temptations and struggles. The third picture is a poor unfortunate group of wandering musicians lost in the snow, with the bitter and pitiless winter night darkening down. Their neglected and useless instruments lie heaped on the ground. The man is half kneeling in an attitude of abject despair. His little lad clings to him in terror, while rigid on the pathless snow lies the figure of a girlish woman just frozen to death. Only a common tragedy of common people, yet the picture wrings our heartstrings with the pathos of its appeal. Whatever it was in Jesus that made the common people hear him gladly is more and more permeating modern arts and laws and institutions. It is not manifest that the author of *The New Humanism* fully perceives how much the aspiration and progress in which he rejoices are due to the living presence of Christ among men, establishing his spiritual kingdom of love and service.

*On Life's Stairway.* A Book of Poems. By FREDERIC LAWRENCE KNOWLES. 16mo, pp. 126. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

The very cover of this daintily bound little volume, with the long-stemmed water lilies floating their cups at the top, is a sort of poem in white and gold; and its felicitous title is poetic with expansive and elevating suggestion. "On Life's Stairway" is a picture title, spacious and airy, hinting of upper chambers accessible and inviting in the mansion of man's existence. The inspiring title hints also that life offers to human feet not a flat hopeless level nor an impossible perpendicular steep, but a practicable midway, upward slope. And the wise title further hints at the arduousness of man's ascent from the lowly earth to the lofty skies, an ascent which is on feet not on wings, by stairway—mounting step by step and not by sudden flight. The last twenty-two poems of this book are under the general heading, "Steps toward Faith." This poet's stairs, like Tennyson's, slope up to God, but through light



more than through darkness; though an optimistic faith is here which, like Mrs. Browning's in the windy and echoing hall of life, can "stand in the dark on the lowest stair," listening upward, and "affirming of God he is certainly there." Richard Henry Stoddard announces Frederick Lawrence Knowles as "a new American poet," who gives in this volume something more than mere poetic promise. Nothing but merit can explain the cordial welcome this book has met. It is characterized by John Burroughs as most fresh and original; by Richard Burton as the real thing, genuine poetry, with art, heart, thought, and imagination; by Joaquin Miller as filled with many delicious surprises; by Clinton Scollard as fascinating by its manifest sincerity, happy turns, original phrasing, and alternate seriousness and blithesomeness; and by others as noticeable for virility and for proud, intelligent Americanism. None of this is surprising in view of Mr. Knowles's fortunate heredity and education. A Harvard student and a Wesleyan University graduate, his volume of verse is "gratefully inscribed to Professor C. T. Winchester." He is not a protégé of Richard Watson Gilder, but if he were we fancy Mr. Gilder would have much pleasure and pride in him; indeed, we more than surmise he has, without any such relationship. No reader can suspect Mr. Knowles of imitation, but if we had found this brief bit, "Grief and Joy," afloat without sign of authorship, we should have attributed it to the quaint, curt, poignant genius of Emily Dickinson:

It takes two for a kiss,  
Only one for a sigh;  
Twain by twain we marry,  
One by one we die.

Joy is a partnership,  
Grief weeps alone;  
Many guests had Cana,  
Gethsemane had one.

This new young singer believes in the unsurpassed glory of the age in which he lives, and calls a poet who lives in the past "an echo-gatherer, who with servile breath sucks the lost music from the lips of death," and tells the dotard, doting on by-gones, that, though the glory which was Greece is gone:

Still, proud as Athens, stand the factory-fed  
New England towns where toil and learning wed.

The author's own conception of poetry at its highest may be read in the verses which tell us that when the great, supreme poet comes we shall see him thus:

Then upon the heights of dawn,  
With God's beauty clothed upon,  
Arm as firm as limbs of Thor,  
Lips to Music's heart the door,

Heeding neither laugh nor frown,  
 Shrill disfavor of the Town,  
 Jestings in the market place,  
 Hatred's fist or Flattery's face,  
 He shall stand—with brow of flame,  
 As the Hebrew prophets came;  
 Shouting, as he smites the string,  
 "In Jehovah's name I sing."

Mr. Knowles has the true poet's insight into Nature's meanings, catching "the alphabet of bee and bird," and sensitiveness to Nature's movements, feeling in his veins "the sweet carousal of the springs that flow through all the Primal Things." His clearness of conception, lucid expression, and ear for melody insure limpid musical verse. His work has "refinement, a quality which, like spirituality," Aubrey De Vere said, "tends more to hinder than to promote popularity." We would not wonder if a careful judgment of the book would finally say that Joaquin Miller's intuition went straight to one of its most perfect achievements when he put his admiring finger on those pathetic and lofty verses, "The Moon and the Girl." Seldom indeed has a subject of this sort been touched, one might almost say hallowed, with such pure and tender delicacy. We have to think of One from Nazareth who once stooped and wrote on the ground—the only writing from his hand of which we have any record. From many things quotable we turn to the verses, "To America," as showing virile, vigor, and patriotism:

Ofttimes, Democracy, thou seem'st to me  
 Not what the poets paint—a virgin fair,  
 With soft limbs, and pale cheeks of purity  
 Framed in the splendid noonday of her hair;  
 Nay, but some Western Titan, bare of breast,  
 Huge-legged, low-browed, and bearded as of old,  
 A man of mountain muscle, and a chest  
 Whose lungs indifferent drink the heat, the cold.  
 Thy laugh shakes empires to their fall; thy curse  
 Makes buried tyrannies tremble in their graves—  
 The Erie cataract has no thunders worse,  
 Nor hoarse-mouth'd Hatteras harvesting her waves.  
 Yet, coarse, colossal—thou art tender, too;  
 Though crouching nations hasten at thy beck  
 To pay thee homage, weakness finds thee true,  
 The face of childhood nestles on thy neck.  
 O, pioneer of all the years to be,  
 Bearing the ax that fells the trees of Time,  
 Thy monstrous beauty meaneth more to me  
 Than all the goddesses of youth and rhyme.

*Lucid Intervals.* By EDWARD SANDFORD MARTIN. 12mo, pp. 264. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

This is a clever volume of light, lively, genial, easy essays on such topics as "Children," "Swains and Damsels," "Husbands and Wives," "Education," "Riches," "Some Human Cravings," "Energy and Its Consequences," "Some Theologies," "Times and Seasons," and "Some New York Types." It is sympathetically illustrated with oddly suggestive little designs. In "Times and Seasons" the author cheers his fellow Americans in this fashion: "Let us perk up a little. Blind optimism is stupid, and consequently bad for us; but there is no harm in our looking around for grounds of courage. After all, the Turks are less civilized than we are, and their government in Europe is probably nearer its end than ours here. Russia has an enormous future, but meanwhile her people are semibarbarous, and her government a despotism. Germany has a rather stifling government, and an emperor who is amusing when he is four thousand miles off. Our Germans love their fatherland—and keep out of it. The French are dying of thrift, so they themselves say—dying probably of other worse diseases; the Italians are poor, the Spanish proud, and neither of them prosperous just now. As for the English, Mr. Labouchere berates them as cordially as Mr. Godkin does the Americans. . . . We are sinners, to be sure, but let us take some comfort in the hope that we have found ourselves out, and more comfort in the suspicion that our deficiencies are more glaring when contrasted with our ideals than when compared with the defects of our neighbors. A state of self-conscious conspicuous virtue is almost certain to breed pride, and pride paves the way for collapse and disaster; but to be under the conviction of sin, and eager for amendment is one of the hopefulest conditions known. Come, brethren! Come! Let us renew our hopes and resolve afresh to live up to our duty and our chances!" In the free talk about "Education" is the following: "There is much uneasiness for fear somebody will get too much education; rarely a complaint from any person that he himself has learned too much; but complaints that some one else has been or may be educated out of his proper station. Andrew Carnegie fears that too much time is wasted on polite and academical learning that ought to be invested in knowledge that is practical. Collis P. Huntington feared that too many lads were too long at school, wasting in college years which they could not spare. Dr. Donald, of Boston, disparages colleges for girls, and avers that college-bred girls are apt to be out of harmony with their environment and indisposed to turn their hands to ordinary duties. So from the South comes complaint that too many negroes are getting the wrong kind of education; that they learn to read, but do not learn to be good; that educated black men go idle for lack of employment befitting their education. So it goes; and all the while the schoolmaster is everywhere, working long hours for small wages, and making trouble by disordering the economics of the universe. We are all, it seems, being

educated out of our proper spheres. Mr. Carnegie ought now to be hammering out horseshoe nails on the anvil; Mr. Huntington should have kept a general store in a country village; Dr. Donald ought to be preaching for \$400 a year instead of being rector of Trinity Church; all the college-taught girls in New England ought to be making beds and pies and shirts, and saying 'Sir' to the minister; and the negroes in the South ought to be thoughtless and contented contrabands, industrious and docile, but unlettered. It is too bad; but it is too late to turn back. In this country education spreads and catches like the measles; in Great Britain it is almost as bad, and rather worse in Germany. The means of education are not only abundant, to a great extent they are free, and misguided persons are giving millions every year to make them freer. The outlook is undoubtedly serious. A great lot of other people are becoming as well educated as we are, or better; and what will become of the human race? It is simply appalling to think of it!"

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#### HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

*History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850.* By JAMES FORD RHODES. Vol. IV. 1862-1864. 8vo, pp. 557. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, \$2.50.

A most interesting volume of a careful and trustworthy history. The period covered is intense, tumultuous, and bloody—the stormy center of the years of civil war, the greatest military conflict of modern times. To Americans the story of that terrific national crisis can never lose its tragic fascination. The accounts of battles, campaigns, and sieges are thrilling; but perhaps, after all, the most impressive feature of the tremendous history is the development of great and commanding characters, the growth of such men as Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Lee. Of Lee it must be said that his character shows to high advantage in almost every view of him, so that one cannot be surprised that his name is tableted to-day in the Hall of Fame on University Heights overlooking the Hudson. Mr. Rhodes, speaking of General Johnston's bitterness at being superseded by Lee, says: "But no one could quarrel with Lee, who in his magnanimity and his deference to his fellow-workers resembled Lincoln. Between the courtly Virginia gentleman, proud of his lineage, and the Illinois backwoodsman the likeness, in this respect, is as true as it is striking." An English officer who witnessed the three days' fight at Gettysburg, says that Lee's face, when he found his army overwhelmed with hopeless defeat, did not show signs of the slightest disappointment, care, or annoyance, and he was addressing the soldiers whom he met with words of encouragement. He said, "This has been a sad day for us—a sad day; but we can't expect always to gain victories." To an angry Confederate officer he reached his hand, saying cheerfully, "Never mind, general, *all this has been my fault*—it is I that have lost

this fight, and you must help me out of it the best way you can." The growth of Lincoln's military sagacity is interesting to watch. From ignorance at the beginning he came to a shrewd knowledge of generalship; so much so that in May, 1863, after the disaster at Chancellorsville the *Chicago Tribune* seriously suggested that Lincoln take the field as actual commander of the Army of the Potomac, saying, "We sincerely believe that Old Abe can lead our armies to victory; if he does not, who will?" This suggestion does not seem entirely absurd when we find Lincoln writing in reply to a letter from Hooker, then in command, on June 5, 1863: "I have but one idea which I think worth suggesting, and that is, that in case you find Lee coming to the north of the Rappahannock I would by no means cross to the south of it. If he should leave a rear force at Fredericksburg, tempting you to fall upon it, it would fight in intrenchments and have you at a disadvantage, and so worst you at that point, while his main force would in some way be getting an advantage of you northward. In one word, I would not take any risk of being entangled upon the river, like an ox jumped half over a fence, and liable to be torn by dogs in front and rear, without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other." Ten days later he writes again to Hooker with similar quaint sagacity: "If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg [north of Winchester] and the tail of it on the plank road between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be very slim somewhere. Could you not break him?" For picturesque and homely, as for lofty, speech Lincoln stands as a master. When F. P. Blair, Jr., had stirred up an angry disturbance by a speech in the House of Representatives, charging Secretary of the Treasury Chase with sacrificing vast public interests to advance his political ambition, Mr. Lincoln, much annoyed, said, "I knew another beehive had been kicked over." A specimen of Lincoln's lofty style is on the monument to Robert Gould Shaw on Boston Common, "And then there will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue and clenched teeth and steady eye and well-poised bayonet they have helped mankind on to this great consummation;" the consummation referred to being to prove "that among free men there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and to pay the cost." When Chicago clergymen, in September, 1862, told Mr. Lincoln that they and those for whom they spoke believed the disasters which our armies had suffered were tokens of divine displeasure, calling for new and advanced action by the President in behalf of the country, such as would indicate national repentance for the sin of oppression, he replied with a tinge of sarcasm: "I hope it will not be irreverent for me to say that if it is probable that God would reveal his will to others on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed that he would reveal it to me; for, unless I am deceived in myself, it is my earnest desire to know the will of Providence in this matter. And if I can learn what it

North had shouted, "No, I won't. I will beat your brains out first!" About the same time Tennyson, rejoicing over the prospect of the abolition of slavery, was pacing his room and singing joyfully the John Brown hymn, "Glory, glory, hallelujah; his soul is marching on!" In 1870, when it was thought that Carlyle might visit this country, Emerson wrote him an overgracious letter, of which the following, found on the last page of this fourth volume of Mr. Rhodes's admirable history, is a part: "Every reading person in America holds you in exceptional regard, and will rejoice in your arrival [at Boston]. They have forgotten your scarlet sins before or during our war. I have long ceased to apologize for or explain your savage sayings about America or other republics or publicas, and am willing that anointed men, bearing with them authentic charters, shall be laws to themselves, as Plato willed. Genius is but a large infusion of Deity, and so brings a prerogative all its own. It has a right and a duty to affront and amaze men by carrying out its perceptions defiantly, knowing well that time and fate will verify or explain what time and fate have through them said. We must not suggest to Michael Angelo, or Machiavel, or Rabelais, or Voltaire, or John Brown of Osawatomie (a great man), or Carlyle, how they shall suppress their paradoxes and check their huge gait to keep accurate step with the procession on the street sidewalk. They are privileged persons, and may have their own swing for me." So wrote Emerson what seems to us a dangerous and repugnant doctrine, which democracy and the kingdom of God must alike spurn. The idea of a privileged class of geniuses or nobles, kings or princes, not accountable for their utterances and actions to the same authority and under the same law as the lowliest and the poorest, is an offense and an abomination.

*George H. C. Macgregor, M.A. A Biography. With Portrait. By the Rev. DUNCAN CAMPBELL MACGREGOR, M.A., Wimbleton. Crown 8vo, pp. 289. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$1.50.*

The subject of this biography had not reached the age when distinguished pulpit ability and effective pastoral ministrations would naturally have won him fame on this side of the Atlantic. He was, on the contrary, not yet thirty-six when he ceased his labors, and his pastorates had been but two—one at Aberdeen, Scotland, and the other at Notting-Hill Presbyterian Church, in London. His presence at Mr. Moody's summer meetings, in Northfield, and his stirring addresses there, had, however, brought him to the notice of many Western auditors, with the result of a sudden and enviable American reputation; and now that he has gone to his rest there are many devout believers who will give his biography a place among their treasured volumes. In a simple but impressive manner the author tells the story of Mr. Macgregor's birth and childhood, his educational training, his call to the Christian ministry, and his manifold activities as a shepherd of the flock of Christ. To reproduce even the prominent incidents in his busy and useful life is forbidden in this brief notice. The popularity of his service is, how-

*A Woman's Life for Kashmir.* Irene Petrie. A Biography. By Mrs. ASHLEY CARUS-WILSON, B.A. With an Introduction by Robert E. Speer. With portraits, maps, and illustrations. 8vo, pp. 343. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

This volume is both a conveyer of missionary information and a life story of surpassing charm. Taking its place with the many publications that during the past century have opened the heathen world in successive glimpses to the Christian student, its importance is easily evident. Missionary literature is in fact permanently enriched by its vivid portrayal of Eastern life in the region of Asia, adjacent to the Punjab and Tibet, commonly known as Kashmir. What was perhaps a vague section of the Asiatic continent now assumes a concrete location. Its social, commercial, and religious life is sufficiently outlined in the biography to awaken a keen appreciation, as well as that entrancing beauty and rich fertility described which formerly made the land "the prey of ruthless conquerors," and "serves to bring thither an ever-growing number of tourists and holiday-makers to-day." The reader comes to understand how it is that "the poet and the historian, the traveler and the sportsman have sung its praises again and again;" and in his acute realization of the whiteness of the harvest which there awaits the Gospel reaper he feels his zeal strangely kindled in its behalf. The Gospel alone can meet its indescribable spiritual destitution, but the Gospel is sufficient for this. The words of Miss Petrie herself, now that she has ceased from her labors, seem full of encouragement for the ultimate result: "The progress of Christianity has as yet been slow; perhaps, however, in no way slower than it was in our own Britain, where for centuries one generation after another of Christian missionaries patiently confronted the hostile fanaticism and repelling indifference of pagans there." But the volume, besides the store of information which it contains, is also strangely attractive because of the personality of the heroine whom it describes. She was no ordinary worker who, in a spirit of Christian consecration, had gone out from England to missionary service. Favored in intellectual endowments, rarely gifted in music and as an artist, brilliant as a linguist, born in high social position among the stately homes of England, and dowered with that subtle sweetness of character which draws humanity to its possessor, she laid all her abilities and her acquisitions as a glad sacrifice upon the altar of foreign service. And the fact that her brief day of toil, before the summons came to call her home, was spent under conditions particularly lonely, primitive, and repelling emphasizes in the mind of the reader that sacrifice which she made for the kingdom of her Lord. She was one of those choice spirits, of whom there are too few in the world, whose untimely passing brings a permanent sense of loss to those that survive. The expressions of affection with which the concluding chapter of the biography abounds show how deep a place she filled in the hearts of those who knew her. "The news reached friends in Canada, the United States, New Zealand, Japan, and in each place the sound of lamentation was taken up." A

speaks as "the most amazing record of human exertion ever penned or endured . . . a book full of plots, and plays, and novels, which quivers with life, and is crammed full of character. If you want to get into the last century, to feel its pulses throb beneath your finger, be content sometimes to leave the letters of Horace Walpole unturned, . . . nay, even deny yourself your annual reading of Boswell or your biennial retreat with Sterne, and ride up and down the country with the greatest force of the eighteenth century in England." An attractive and profitable feature of this volume is the frequent pithy footnotes, which are admirably chosen and placed. A well-made index completes the adaptation of the book for usefulness. We commend it for a large sale and wide reading as the most satisfactory volume of its kind.

*Synopsis of Harman's Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures.* By the Rev. C. M. HEARD, D.D., Editor of the *Conference Examiner*, etc. 12mo, pp. 73. Minneapolis: The Conference Examiner Publishing Company. Price, cloth, 40 cents.

*Synopsis of Miley's Systematic Theology*, Vols. I and II. By the Rev. C. M. HEARD, D.D., Editor of the *Conference Examiner*, etc. 12mo, pp. 118. Minneapolis: The Conference Examiner Publishing Company. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

These handbooks belong to that class of publications of which the world takes far too little notice, but which are nevertheless necessary to the student as helps to accuracy and the saving of time. What Dr. McClintock did, a half century since, for Watson's *Theological Institutes* has, in other words, been done for the above-mentioned works of Harman and Miley which are now included in the Conference Course of Study. Upon their preparation Dr. Heard must inevitably have expended great labor, and in their finished form they seem, so far as a necessarily brief examination can reveal, at once exhaustive and luminous. For the successive undergraduate students in our Conferences these excellent compendiums will undoubtedly serve, in the coming years, as valuable interpreters of the larger text-books which they outline.

*John the Baptist.* By F. B. MEYER, B.A., Author of *Paul, A Servant of Jesus Christ*, etc. 12mo, pp. 252. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$1.

Volumes of religious teaching fall easily from the pen of Mr. Meyer, and seldom more helpfully than in the present instance. Confessing for himself—and for many others besides, it may well be said—that in the life and character of John the Baptist he has always found a great fascination, he here reviews in seventeen chapters the career of the great prophet. To all of the recorded incidents in that ascetic and noble life he gives the fullest amplification which is well possible, confirming thereby in the mind of every reader the verdict he is led to pass upon John: "As the clasp between the Old Testament and the New—the close of the one and the beginning of the other; as among the greatest born of women; as the porter who opened the door to the true Shepherd; as the fearless rebuker of royal and shameless sin—the Baptist must ever compel the homage and admiration of mankind."



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# METHODIST REVIEW.

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SEPTEMBER, 1901.

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## ART. I.—THE CLASS MEETING IN METHODISM.

DURING the month of October, 1900, the Methodist Episcopal churches of Europe held a series of "conversations" which were called the "October Conventions." The Germans called them "conferences." They were really formal "conversations" designed to stir up the laity as well as the ministry to think and to talk on matters affecting Church life, doctrine, and polity. It is impossible for the Church to make advance unless its members are interested in the various questions and "causes" for the discussion and promotion of which the Church stands. Great conventions are impracticable; in fact, impossible. All the people who have wise thoughts on great subjects are not able to come together. Distances are too great, time too limited, expense too heavy, other engagements too exacting, the difficulty of entertainment insurmountable. Then it is true that many people with the wisest heads would not say a word in public even if they were present. As we could not take all the people to one convention it was decided to take a convention to all the people. It is easy enough to find or to form groups of two, five, ten, or more people who will talk together freely. The Christian Church has high authority for such little gatherings. It was the Master himself who said, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. xviii, 20). Such centers of Church power may be developed on the street, at the table, in shop or parlor, anywhere, everywhere, at any time. In pursuance of this thought the experiment was made. And the "October Conventions," from Norway to the Black Sea and from Sicily to St. Petersburg, were really very successful. More than a thousand were held. Many thousands

of the laity took part in them. Reports were made by the preachers in charge to their presiding elders, and by them to the resident bishop. Several presiding elders, after completing the regular business of the Quarterly Conference, at once organized an "October Conference" and discussed one or more of the four appointed topics. Pastors brought class leaders together for a "conference." "Conversations" were conducted at Sunday school teachers' meetings, at Epworth League gatherings, in afternoon women's meetings, etc. Pastors preached on the four topics. Editorials and articles appeared in all the Church papers. Casual conversations were turned into formal and official conventions for the canvassing of the four great questions of the month.\*

The four topics selected for the European October Conversations were, "Class Meetings," "Local Preachers," "The Twentieth Century Fund," and "The Greatest Needs of Methodism." All these topics were carefully and most thoroughly canvassed. The conversations became a seminar of highest value, eliciting the experiences and opinions of men and women of all classes and of all degrees of culture, from mechanics to university professors. The writer of these pages became deeply interested and studied all these subjects *de novo*, inspired to the task by the enthusiasm of his brethren, and aided greatly by the practical suggestions from brethren in the pastorate and by brethren and sisters in the laity.

The present article offers to the readers of the *Review* the results of the month-long seminar on that important subject, "The Class Meeting"—an institution which there is reason to

\* From a large budget of correspondence from pastors and presiding elders the following expressions are taken at random: "Good results everywhere." . . . "One hundred and seventeen 'conversations' held on my district." . . . "Class meetings have been organized and are flourishing." . . . "We had from ten to twenty 'conversations' in every church." . . . "Held on every circuit. Subjects treated in addresses, discussions, and in the prayer meetings." . . . "The October Conventions should become a permanent institution. They have already improved our class meetings." . . . "Since the October Conventions our classes have been better attended." . . . A pastor in Switzerland reports: "Thirty-six conventions. I preached four sermons on the subject and wrote four articles for the Church paper." . . . From Sweden: "The October Conventions have been held in all places on my district and have been a great blessing to our people." . . . "The October Conversations proved a good preparation for protracted meetings." . . . In Bulgaria on one district "twenty-six private and four public conversations held." . . . In Norway on one district "nearly two hundred 'conventions.'" . . . In Finland "one hundred and eight conventions and fourteen hundred and sixty-two persons present."

fear, if not effete, is at least the exceptional form of Church activity in American Methodism. One is glad to know that in Continental Methodism it is still a most important factor, and that in English Methodism, thanks very largely to the wisdom and breadth and vigor of ex-president Hugh Price Hughes and *The Methodist Times*, it is experiencing a genuine and, we trust, a permanent revival; for we may be assured that Methodism of the true and enduring type goes up or down with the growth or deterioration of the "class meeting."

But to our task of summarizing the results of the October seminar.

The class meeting is a device employed especially in the Methodist branches of the Holy Catholic Church: 1. To aid the pastor in the supervision and care of individual members; 2. To promote in these individuals vital, healthful, progressive, fruitful religious experience; 3. To encourage a higher, richer social life through the habit of frank and judicious conversation among Christians on religious and practical subjects, and especially on subjective spiritual experience; 4. To secure intelligent and steady cooperation in financial, eleemosynary, and other practical forms of Church life.

Let us look at some of the advantages of the class meeting system:

1. It gives the pastor a knowledge of his church through his more perfect knowledge of the units that constitute it. It is true of the Church as John Stuart Mill says of the State, "The worth of the State is the worth of the individuals composing it." Jean Paul Richter says, "Individuality is everywhere to be spared and respected as the root of everything good." The church must "live in its individuality." Our Discipline recognizes this in its definition of the class meeting as "a system of pastoral oversight that shall effectively reach every member of the church." By this system a pastor may know all of his people, give each one something to do—knowing in advance what each one can do best—and giving to each one through pulpit ministrations what he most needs.

2. The class promotes in the individual a vital, personal, spiritual experience. "The only faith that wears well," says

Mr. Lowell, "and holds its color in all weathers is that which is woven of conviction and set with the sharp mordant of experience." Methodism believes in personal experience, without which "profession" is empty and "doctrine" dead. The believer may "know." He may know that he has passed from death to life. He may know the power of grace and the blessedness of the peace within. And, knowing, it is well to tell. And the right telling always helps others. Sir Edwin Arnold says, "The experience of any one honestly stated has a value." So say all the scientists. The psychologists believe the same. And so do the saints. The class meeting is the Christian man's opportunity to help his brother by telling how God has helped him. Conversation is a school. It makes people think. It spreads knowledge. It develops strength. The best school recitation takes the form of an earnest conversation. What an exercise for the school of Christ! Watch old travelers as they compare notes. Study a group of enthusiastic reformers, politicians, fellow-students. See what a class meeting may be! Conversation may be professional, didactic, controversial, experimental. This last is the form that prevails in the ideal class meeting. What a power it was! What a stimulus it may again become!

3. The class meeting may protect the inner life of our people against self-deception, superficiality, undue dependence upon local and temporary conditions (the personal influence of this evangelist or that pastor). It protects against mere emotionalism, discouragement, and apostasy; against the new "fads"—modern adventism, faith-healing pietistic "science," Saturdayism, æsthetic sacerdotalism, and all that ilk. It applies to individual cases the pulpit discussions of great doctrines, and it suggests to the preacher the special needs of the hour. The class meeting thus proves how essential it is under our itinerancy to guarantee at least a permanent subpastorate.

4. The class meeting cultivates the social spirit and life, bringing people of different social types into friendly communion on the basis of divine relationships and experiences. It is a social leveler. It expands the horizons in which busy and unintellectual people live. It develops conversation in a natural tone on high and holy themes.

look at the things that are above; at great doctrines, at great promises, at Christ himself, our great Saviour.

2. The leader must see that the exercises of the class are varied and interesting as well as instructive. Prayer, Bible readings, Bible study (let every member have a Bible); conversation as in a room at home; religious testimony—frank, modest, simple, as in the sight of the heart-searching Christ himself; the study of hymns, the old hymns, the doctrines in hymns, the soul's experience in hymns, the grace and tenderness and promises and power of Christ in hymns; questions, oral or in writing; readings from the Discipline, especially ¶¶ 26-33, 50-57, and much besides. As for the use of the Bible in class we may quote from the life of Father Reeves, "He was never satisfied until every member could for himself prove from Scripture every doctrine he professed and quote from Scripture the warrant for each promise on the fulfillment of which he relied." In class meeting we may now and then sit in reverent silence for a few minutes like good Quakers—thinking, praying, longing for the felt presence of God—thus "waiting" upon him.

3. There are many topics for conversation in class meeting and for thinking about in advance, and through the whole week as a preparation for class: "The trial of faith," "The treatment of temptations," "What is selfishness—self-indulgence—self-denial?" "The real value of self-denial," "How may we help self-depreciating, sensitive, morbid, discouraged people?" "How may we carry our religion into home life?" "How should we feel toward and speak of other denominations?" "What may the humblest, the least gifted, the poorest people do to help on the work of the church?" "How may we win our own children to Christ and to the church?" The class meeting may canvass the questions of "Sabbath observance," "The true use of the holy sacrament," "The cultivation of an intelligent and sensitive conscience," "The financial claims of the church and of the benevolent causes," "Giving as a means of grace," "Covetousness and pride among poor people," etc. If the leader will encourage the members to bring written questions on any subject he will accumulate a real treasure of suggestions for the profit of his members.



in earnest. Be simple-hearted, natural, gentle, real. Be willing that your own wife, children, and business associates should hear every word that you speak in class. Make use of the Bible a great deal in private, but don't be tiresome with it in class as some leaders are. Comfort the downcast. Never scold. Be hopeful and joyful yourself. Encourage everybody to take part in class. Repeat Dr. Chalmers's prayer, "Lord, save me from denying thee by my own silence." Have high ideals of Christian manhood and womanhood, and of the Church as designed to make such ideals real. Live a large life. Sing and encourage your class members to sing:

My narrow workroom seems vast and high;  
Its dingy ceiling a rainbow dome.

Discourage pessimism and fault-finding. Repress with gentleness and firmness that cheap religious fervor that attempts humor, that tries to be funny in talking about religious experience, and that indulges in empty "Hallelujahs" and "Amens" and other meaningless exclamations! Be always in earnest, serious, reverent, faithful. Give your class a name and a motto. Cultivate the *esprit de corps*. Use the printing press. Circulate "Forest Leaves" \* and "leaves of the tree of life." Go to your pastor often to help him and to be helped by him. And go to God every day. Walk with God. As a good mother once said to her son as he left home, "Live near to God."

How shall class leaders be prepared for their work? Without preparation one can no more exercise the teaching and pastoral functions of a class leader than can the minister, without preparation, preach, the teacher teach, the lawyer counsel, the judge decide, or the physician practice. The fundamentals with the minister, the lawyer, the teacher, the judge, and the physician are character and tact. The same qualities are needed in the class leader. But after native endowment is recognized a work of preparation is necessary. The pastor's estimate of the work to be done will largely determine the qualities of the leaders he selects and trains.

1. The pastor must believe in the class meeting—its mission,

\* The name of a new series of useful readings.

its possibilities, and the secret of its efficiency. He must accept the teachings of the Discipline, ¶¶ 28-33, 50-55, 101, 193, and Appendix 64. And if he does not have this measure of faith in the class he should seek a place in the ministry outside of Methodism. Our success imperatively demands the acceptance and appreciation of the Methodist theory on the subject of class meetings.

2. He should select women as well as men of age and experience as class leaders.

3. He should organize a company of young people with wise heads and loving hearts and put them into training for class leadership in the future.

4. He should put honor upon the office, teaching all church members to appreciate its importance, its aims, and the methods by which its original effectiveness may be restored, and thus a new career of power and success be opened before the Church. He should recognize his class leaders as in a sense associate pastors.

5. He should hold conferences with and give systematic instruction to the class leaders, expounding the Discipline, and lecturing to them on such subjects as the following: "The Care of Souls," "The Use of the Bible in Spiritual Guidance," "The Ways of the Spirit in the Inner Life," "The Danger of Self-deception," "The Peculiar Perils of our Age," "The Class Meeting Work of Early Methodism in England and America," etc.

6. He should select a special library of tracts and small books for leaders and other Christians, and incite the whole Church to read more devotional and other religious literature. From the list of books announced in the Appendix to the Discipline he should begin his selection.

7. The pastor should cultivate a class enthusiasm, visiting each class occasionally, inviting them to his own house, administering to each class at least once a year the holy sacrament and using that opportunity for exhorting them to a more perfect consecration of themselves, their children, and their property to the service of God. All this would strengthen the hands and increase the power of the leaders.

8. As already suggested, the pastor should at every meeting

of the Official Board call over the entire list of church members and probationers. In the largest church this would require but a few minutes; and the names would soon become familiar to the whole board, cases requiring attention would be referred to committees, and many lost and neglected sheep be saved to the Church.

9. Certain Sunday school teachers and their classes should be bodily transferred to the immediate recognition and care of the Official Board as regular classes of the church. We have scores of Sunday school teachers who are already doing the work of class leaders. Their recognition would give added power to them, connect the school more closely with the church, and set before the school a model of what all Sunday school classes ought to be.

It is not a gracious thing to find fault with an institution which is on the whole useful. It is well to treat the positive side of a cause and put emphasis on that, leaving the evils to correct themselves. But the deterioration may be so advanced as to require—after the strongest possible putting of advantages and duties—that there be added a suggestion of warning, that the good may be free from limitation and hindrance. The October Conferences, I am sorry to say, universally presented in very forcible way the “difficulties” and the “hindrances.” In this paper I make a condensation of these reports:

1. The first embarrassment and hindrance is in the incompetence of leaders who lack consecration and training. Too many leaders “do not seem to take the appointment seriously.” They have little “sense of responsibility.” They do not read and study for the work; lack enthusiasm, adaptation, and ideas; “do not visit pastorally;” are irregular in the holding of meetings;” in class are “formal,” “tedious,” and “apathetic.”

2. Too many things are going on in the Church—new devices which “are excellent, but they crowd out something better.” The Sunday schools, the Epworth League, the secret orders, the “clubs”—literary, political, reformatory, social—the Young Men’s Christian Association, the parlor life, modern recreation and entertainments—all these things hurt the class meeting. Better sacrifice something else and retain the class.

And finally let us put in the hands of leaders and people and pastors the books that will prepare them most thoroughly for this delicate and most important work of edifying the Church of God.

Of course the best book is the "Book of books," in which we find the invitation to the class (Psa. lxvi, 16-20), the ideal of the class (Philem. 6), the counsels concerning the class (1 Thess. v, 11; Heb. iii, 12, 13; James v, 16). The Bible is the class leader's and the class member's manual with its wealth of biography, its revelations of the inner life, its laws of righteousness, its Gospel of grace, its "exceeding great and precious promises," its teachings concerning the Father, the Saviour, Jesus Christ, the abiding Comforter, the Holy Ghost, and its prospects of eternal fellowship in the heaven. The class meeting is the best possible Bible class, its narrated experiences become the most practical and useful commentary, and the inward experience of its truths the best demonstration of its dignity.

The next best class book is the hymn book, in which are embalmed in rhythm and rhyme the deepest, sweetest, richest thoughts that the soul can grasp. Herbert says:

The fineness which a hymn or psalm affords  
Is when the soul unto the lines accords.

The class meeting tends to bring soul and truth into such perfect accord. The whole experience of grace, from the first sharp pangs of sin to the highest raptures of the love of God shed abroad in the heart, are to be found in the hymn book of the Church. A rich list of books might here be reported, some in our own, and some in foreign tongues. To but four I call the attention of pastors and thoughtful class leaders: *The Evidence of Christian Experience*, by Lewis Frank Stearns; *The Spiritual Life*, by George A. Coe; *Christian Life and Theology*, by Frank Hugh Foster; *The Spring of Character*, by A. T. Schofield, M.D.

The following list will be most useful:

The Biographies of Wesley, Fletcher, Hester Ann Rogers, Carvosso, James Sinetham, Father Reeves, John Woolman.

Books on Class Meetings: *Seed Thoughts*, by George C.

## ART. II.—LINCOLN'S POWER OF EXPRESSION.

WHEN the letters and speeches of Lincoln were appearing in the papers as part of the news of the day, I wonder how many of us who were then living appreciated them from the literary point of view. I remember that at a certain period, some time after the war, I seemed for the first time to awake fully to the attraction of Lincoln's style. Beginning with the famous and familiar speech at Gettysburg, I reread many of his writings, and felt everywhere his genius for expression.

Of style, in the ordinary use of the word, Lincoln may be said to have had little. He certainly did not strive for an artistic method of expression through such imitation of the masters, for instance, as Robert Louis Stevenson's. There was nothing ambitiously elaborate or self-consciously simple in Lincoln's way of writing. He had not the scholar's range of words. He was not always grammatically accurate. He would doubtless have been very much surprised if anyone had told him that he had a "style" at all. And yet, because he was determined to be understood, because he was honest, because he had a warm heart and a true, because he had read good books eagerly and not coldly, and because there was in him a native good taste, as well as a strain of imagination, he achieved a singularly clear and forcible style, which took color from his own noble character, and became a thing individual and distinguished.

He was, indeed, extremely modest about his accomplishments. His great desire was to convince those whom he addressed, and if he could do this—if he could make his views clear to them, still more if he could make them appear reasonable—he was satisfied. In one of his speeches in the great debate with Douglas he said: "Gentlemen, Judge Douglas informed you that this speech of mine was probably carefully prepared. I admit that it was. I am not a master of language; I have not a fine education. I am not capable of entering into a disquisition upon dialectics, as I believe you call it; but I do not believe the language I employed bears any such construction as Judge Douglas puts upon it. But I don't care

about a quibble in regard to words. I know what I meant, and I will not leave this crowd in doubt, if I can explain it to them, what I really meant in the use of that paragraph."

Who are, to Americans at least, the two most interesting men of action of the nineteenth century? Why not Napoleon and Lincoln? No two men could have been more radically different in many ways; but they were both great rulers, one according to the "good old plan" of might, the other by the good new plan of right: autocrat—democrat. They were alike in this—that both were intensely interesting personalities; both were moved by imagination, and both acquired remarkable power of expression. One used this power to carry out his own sometimes wise, sometimes selfish, purposes; to dominate and to deceive; the other for the expression of truth and the persuasion of his fellow-men.

Napoleon's literary art was the making of phrases which pierced like a Corsican knife or tingled the blood like the call of a trumpet. His words went to their mark quick as a stroke of lightning. When he speaks it is as if an earthquake had passed under one's feet.

Lincoln's style is very different; heroic, appealing, gracious or humorous, it does not so much startle as melt the heart. These men were alike in this—that they learned to express themselves by dint of long practice, and both in youth wrote much nonsense. Napoleon in his young days wrote romance and history; Lincoln wrote verse and composed speeches. Napoleon failed as a literary man; Lincoln certainly did not make any great success as a lyceum lecturer; in fact, his style was at its best only when his whole heart was enlisted.

Lincoln's style, at its best, is characterized by great simplicity and directness, which in themselves are artistic qualities. In addition there is an agreeable cadence, not overdone except in one curious instance—a passage of the Second Inaugural—where it deflects into actual rhythm and rhyme:

Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—  
That this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away.

This does not spoil, but it somewhat injures, one of the most memorable of his writings.

Then there is in Lincoln a quaintness, a homeliness, and humor of illustration, along with a most engaging frankness and intellectual honesty. The reader has both an intellectual and moral satisfaction in the clearness and fairness of the statement. All this affects agreeably the literary form, and helps to give Lincoln's style at times the charm of imaginative utterance; for imagination in literature is, essentially, the faculty of seeing clearly and the art of stating clearly the actual reality. There was nothing of invention in Lincoln's imagination; his was the imagination that is implied in a strong realization of the truth of things in the mind of the writer or speaker.

Where and how did Lincoln gain his mastery of expression? He said of himself:

The aggregate of all his schooling did not amount to one year. He was never in a college or academy as a student. . . . What he has in the way of education he has picked up. After he was twenty-three and had separated from his father, he studied English grammar—imperfectly, of course, but so as to speak and write as well as he now does. He studied and nearly mastered the six books of Euclid since he was a member of Congress. He regrets his want of education and does what he can to supply the want.

As a boy at home we are told that he would write, and do sums in arithmetic, on the wooden shovel by the fireside, shaving off the used surface and beginning again. At nineteen it is recorded that he "had read every book he could find, and could spell down the whole country." He read early the Bible, *Æsop's Fables*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, a history of the United States, Weems's *Life of Washington*, Franklin's *Autobiography*; later, the life of Clay and the works of Burns and Shakespeare. Not a bad list of books if taken seriously and not mixed with trash; for, of course, culture has to do not so much with the extent of the information as with the depth of the impression.

The youthful Lincoln pondered also over the Revised Statutes of Indiana; and "he would sit in the twilight and read a dictionary as long as he could see." John Hanks said, "When Abe and I returned to the house from work he would go to the cupboard, snatch a piece of cornbread, take down a book, sit down, cock his legs up as high as his head, and read."

this sort of immorality, but still more the speaker, for with the latter the reward of applause is prompt and seductive. It is amazing to look over Lincoln's record and find how seldom he went beyond bounds, how fair and just he was, how responsible and conscientious his utterances long before these utterances became of national importance. Yet it was largely because of this very quality that they assumed national importance. And then both his imagination and his sympathy helped him here, for while he saw and keenly felt his own side of the argument, he could see as clearly, and he could sympathetically understand, the side of his opponent.

Lincoln was barely twenty-three when, as a candidate for the Legislature, he issued a formal address to the people of Sangamon County. It is the first paper preserved by Nicolay and Hay in their collection of his addresses and letters. Nicolay well says that "as a literary production no ordinary college graduate would need to be ashamed of it."

In this address we already find that honest purpose, that "sweet reasonableness" and persuasiveness of speech, which is characteristic of his later and more celebrated utterances. In his gathered writings and addresses we find, indeed, touches of the true Lincoln genius here and there from the age of twenty-three on. In the literary record of about his thirty-third year occur some of the most surprising proofs of the delicacy of his nature—of that culture of the soul which had taken place in him in the midst of such harsh and unpromising environment. Reference is made to the letters written to his young friend Joshua F. Speed, a member of the Kentucky family associated by marriage with the family of the poet Keats.

In Lincoln's early serious verse the feeling is right, though the art is lacking; but the verses are interesting in that they show a good ear. Note has been made of a pleasing cadence in Lincoln's prose; and it is not strange that he should show a rhythmical sense in his verse. He showed a good deal of common sense in not going on with this sort of thing, and in confining the publication of his inadequate rhymes to the sacred privacy of indulgent and sympathetic friendship.

We come now to Lincoln the accomplished orator. His



speech in Congress on the 28th of January, 1848, on the Mexican War, strikes the note of solemn verity and of noble indignation which a little later rang through the country and, with other voices, aroused it to a sense of impending danger.

It was in 1851 that he wrote some family letters that not only show him in a charming light as the true and wise friend of his shiftless stepbrother, but the affectionate guardian of his stepmother, who had been such a good mother to him. There is something Greek in the clear phrase and pure reason of these epistles.

DEAR BROTHER: When I came into Charleston day before yesterday, I learned that you are anxious to sell the land where you live, and move to Missouri. I have been thinking of this ever since, and cannot but think such a notion is utterly foolish. What can you do in Missouri better than here? Is the land any richer? Can you there, any more than here, raise corn and wheat and oats without work? Will anybody there, any more than here, do your work for you? If you intend to go to work, there is no better place than right where you are; if you do not intend to go to work, you cannot get along anywhere. Squirming and crawling about from place to place can do no good. You have raised no crop this year; and what you really want is to sell the land, get the money, and spend it. Part with the land you have, and, my life upon it, you will never after own a spot big enough to bury you in.

We find in his Peoria speech of 1854 a statement of his long contention against the extension of slavery, and a proof of his ability to cope intellectually with the ablest speakers of the West. His Peoria speech was in answer to Judge Douglas, with whom four years afterward he held the senatorial debate. Lincoln was now forty-five years old, and his oratory contains that moral impetus which was to give it greater and greater power.

In 1856 occurred the Fremont and Dayton campaign, which came not so very far from being the Fremont and Lincoln campaign. In a speech in this campaign he used a memorable phrase: "All this talk about the dissolution of the Union is humbug, nothing but folly. *We do not want to dissolve the Union; you shall not.*" In his famous speech delivered at Springfield, Ill., at the close of the Republican State Convention of 1858—in which he had been named as candidate for United States senator—the skillful and serious orator rises

not merely to the broad level of nationality, but to the plane of universal humanity. As events thicken and threaten, his style becomes more solemn. So telling at last his power of phrase that it would hardly seem to be an exaggeration to declare that the war itself was partly induced by the fact that Abraham Lincoln was able to express his pregnant thoughts with the art of a master. How familiar now these words of prophecy:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided.

The cadence of Lincoln's prose with its burden of high hope, touched with that heroism which is so near to pathos, reminds one of the *Leitmotif*, the "leading motive" in symphony and music-drama, of which musicians make use, and which is especially characteristic of the manner of Wagner:

Two years ago the Republicans of the nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong. We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger, with every external circumstance against us. Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud, and pampered enemy. Did we brave all then to falter now—now, when that same enemy is wavering, dissevered and belligerent? The result is not doubtful. *We shall not fail—if we stand firm, we shall not fail. Wise counsels may accelerate or mistakes delay it, but, sooner or later, the victory is sure to come.*

We have arrived now at the period of the joint debate between Lincoln and Douglas. In Lincoln we have the able and practiced attorney, with one side of his nature open to the eternal; in Douglas the skillful lawyer, adroit and ambitious, not easily moved by the moral appeals which so quickly took hold upon Lincoln, but a man capable of right and patriotic action when the depths of his nature were stirred.

One of the most characteristic qualities of Lincoln's expression is its morality, its insight, its prophecy; and in the now famous debate he reached well-nigh the fullness of his power to put great thoughts into fitting language. Straight his words went into the minds and hearts of eagerly listening

The humor of which we learn so much from those who heard him tell his quaint and often Rabelaisian stories came out sharply and roughly in one of his congressional speeches, in which he referred with grim sarcasm to General Cass's military record as used for political ammunition. Here are some later touches of his wit: "The plainest print cannot be read through a gold eagle." "If you think you can slander a woman into loving you, or a man into voting for you, try it till you are satisfied." Again: "Has Douglas the exclusive right in this country to be on all sides of all questions?" Again: "In his numerous speeches now being made in Illinois, Senator Douglas regularly argues against the doctrine of the equality of men; and while he does not draw the conclusion that the superiors ought to enslave the inferiors, he evidently wishes his hearers to draw that conclusion. He shirks the responsibility of pulling the house down, but he digs under it that it may fall of its own weight."

"The enemy would fight," said the President once, in a letter to General Hooker, "in intrenchments, and have you at a disadvantage, and so, man for man, worst you at that point, while his main force would in some way be getting an advantage of you northward. In one word, I would not take any risk of being entangled upon the river like an ox jumped half over a fence and liable to be torn by dogs front and rear without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other." It was also to Hooker that he wrote: "Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship."

In a letter written in 1859 to a Boston committee he said, in describing a change in party standards: "I remember being once much amused at seeing two partially intoxicated men engaged in a fight with their greatcoats on, which fight, after a long and rather harmless contest, ended in each having fought himself out of his own coat and into that of the other. If the two leading parties of this day are really identical with the two in the days of Jefferson and Adams, they have performed the same feat as the two drunken men." And this is from his very last public address: "Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only to what it should be as the

affection too hardly, they must not, I am sure they will not, be broken. The mystic chords which, proceeding from so many battlefields and so many patriot graves, pass through all the hearts and all hearths in this broad continent of ours, will yet again harmonize in their ancient music when breathed upon by the guardian angel of the nation.

And this is Lincoln's :

I am loath to close. We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

There is in this last something that suggests music ; again we hear the strain of the *Leitmotif*. Strangely enough, in 1858 Lincoln himself had used a figure not the same as, but suggestive of, this very one now given by Seward. He was speaking of the moral sentiment, the sentiment of equality, in the Declaration of Independence. "*That*," he said, "is the electric chord in that Declaration, that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men together, that will link those patriotic hearts as long as the love of freedom exists in the minds of men throughout the world."

In the final paragraph of the Second Inaugural we find again the haunting music with which the First Inaugural closed. On the heart of what American—North or South—are not the words imprinted ?

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

As the great musician brings somewhere to its highest expression the motive which has been entwined from first to last in his music-drama, so did the expression of Lincoln's passion for his country reach its culmination in the tender and majestic phrases of the Gettysburg Address :

In a larger sense we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who

## ART. III.—OUR MISSIONARY POLITY.

It is very often a thankless task to call attention to possible improvements in either the general polity or practical workings of organizations of a charitable or religious character. To many minds every attempt of this kind seems like opposition to a good cause, or perhaps like an attempt to lay hostile hands upon a sacred ark, and a well-meant criticism is too often repelled as an attack by an enemy instead of being welcomed as the counsel of a friend. It is quite possible that the great missionary enterprise has suffered in some measure in this way. It has survived many hostile attacks and is still strongly defended, but it is thought by not a few that it would have fared better if its merits had been more freely discussed by its friends, and possible improvements in its methods not only sought after but freely adopted when there seemed good reason for doing so. The Methodists of the present generation are rapidly extending their missions, and it would be strange if a comparison of their lines of policy at home and their methods abroad should not bring to light the fact that in all the great divisions of the English-speaking world they have much to learn and some things to unlearn before they will be prepared to play a part worthy of their illustrious ancestry, to say nothing of their transcendent opportunities.

A glance at the missionary statistics of three leading divisions of the great Methodist family brings to light some striking contrasts. The Wesleyan Methodists of England, for instance, maintain a missionary society in the interest of foreign missions exclusively. They also have a society devoted to the home field and a foreign society under control of the women of the Church. In addition to these agencies they have great "forward movements" in London, Manchester, and other cities, which are prosecuted with great vigor and at great expense, but no report of their cost has been published.

The Methodist Church of Canada maintains a missionary society, but extends its sphere of action both to the home field and to foreign lands. It also has a woman's missionary society. Not a little of the work of the Canadian Methodists which is

reckoned as belonging to the home field is practically foreign, as it is carried on among remote Indian tribes more difficult to reach than if living on the shores of India, China, or Japan.

Turning next to the Methodist Episcopal Church, we find a general missionary society for home and foreign work, with two societies under the control of women, one for the foreign, and one for the home field. A society for city evangelization is also in operation, and other agencies are employed with some freedom within the bounds of Annual Conferences.

If now we glance at the statistics of the three leading societies of these three Methodist Churches our attention is at once arrested by what seems to be an extraordinary discrepancy. The Wesleyan Methodists are reported as giving for the foreign work at the rate of one dollar and thirty-seven cents per member; for both home and foreign one dollar and seventy-three cents per member. The Canadian Methodists give at the rate of eighty-one cents per member, for both home and foreign missions, while the Episcopal Methodists give at the rate of but forty-five cents per member, for home and foreign missions, of which twenty-five and a half cents are sent abroad and nineteen and a half expended in the United States. It thus appears that the leading branch of British Methodism gives more than five times as much, in proportion to numbers, for foreign missions as does the Methodist Episcopal Church, while the Canadian Methodists give for both home and foreign nearly twice as much. This is certainly a surprising discovery and will probably appear incredible to many readers, but the disagreeable figures stare us in the face and cannot be explained away.

It can hardly be said that American Methodists are less able to give than their English or Canadian brethren. It is very true that the large colored membership in the Southern States is made up chiefly of very poor people, but, unfortunately, the showing is hardly better if a comparison is made between our foreign brethren and a select portion of the Northern States. Take, for instance, the rich and prosperous States of Ohio and Indiana. The Methodist membership in these two States is nearly equal to that of British Methodism, and the average ability of the people is probably equal to that

of any English-speaking people on the globe. The people of Ohio are certainly not less prosperous than their Canadian neighbors, and yet, they give, per member, less than half as much for the great missionary cause. Taking Ohio and Indiana together, the average annual missionary contribution of our membership amounts to the pitiful sum of thirty-three and a half cents. Explanations may be offered, no doubt, but it will be found that our brethren in England and Canada are as well provided with exceptions as we are, and that, while a correction may be made here and there, in the main, when estimated by the same rule, those who ought to be first are last. And, to make the matter worse, our people are not mending their ways, but are receding rather than advancing so far as the ratio of personal giving is concerned.

How can this unexpected, and indeed extraordinary, state of things be accounted for? The membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church is not perfect, and yet in point of devotion it is probably not inferior to that of the other Churches in question. Our people are not wanting in missionary spirit, and volunteers for service at the front are found as readily among them as anywhere in the world. The explanation must be found in our policy or methods. Do we adopt the same methods as the Canadian and English Methodists, or do we persistently adhere to plans of our own, in the face of monotonous failure, and insist that we are succeeding while so manifestly failing?

It will be found on investigation that we are somewhat peculiar both in the policy which we have adopted and in the methods which we employ in carrying it into effect. One little paragraph in our Discipline touches the root of the matter: "The support of missions is committed to the churches, congregations, and societies as such." The whole Church is regarded as one great missionary society, and each society is made, so far as finance is concerned, an auxiliary. This may do well enough in theory, in practice it has virtually reduced the local missionary organization to a shadow. Though here and there a missionary committee may be found, more commonly the whole burden of responsibility is thrust upon the presiding elder and pastor. A "Missionary Committee" is provided for,

but seldom appointed, and when appointed rarely acts. In short, the so-called "Missionary Society" is little more than a skeleton organization, having no constituency of its own, and representing only the departmental operations of the Church in home and foreign missions. In each Annual Conference a skeleton society, having a president and secretary, is expected to exist, but the functions of these societies are usually limited to the holding of a public meeting once a year. A secretary is provided for by the Discipline in each presiding elder's district, but the office is often left vacant and its duties are nominal. Each presiding elder and pastor is made responsible for a missionary collection, and many of these brethren wince under the pressure which is put upon them, and do not find their love for the missionary cause increased by the procedure.

In both England and Canada the course pursued is different. Collectors are not only appointed, they are drilled and superintended in their work. No pastor is left to bear the burden alone, and no source of income is despised or rejected because to business men it may seem trivial. It is not enough that the pastor must "raise" a specified sum; the *people* accept the duty of giving, and do give, whether the pastor is faithful or not. The illusive value of "collections" does not deceive the Methodists abroad as it does in the United States. A public collection taken once a year, and subject to the fluctuations caused by stormy weather, counter attractions, bad management, and other incidental contingencies, is a most uncertain source of revenue for any enterprise, and yet, year after year this is the plan adopted generally in our churches, so far as our adult membership is concerned, for replenishing our missionary treasury. The result is a slowly receding ratio of giving and a complete failure to reach a large proportion of our people.

When the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society was organized the good sisters who had the work in hand were required to forego the right to take public collections, and this restriction was regarded by them as a great hardship. As a matter of fact, it proved the very life of the society. These energetic women proceeded to enroll a constituency of permanent givers and at the same time put in motion agencies of various



kinds which were intrusted to persons who had convictions on the missionary question, and whose efforts were not contingent upon either weather or incidental events. The result has been a long series of successful years, and steady, and at times rapid, increase of revenue. Indeed, so marked and so uniform has the advance of this society been, that its very success has been esteemed a fault by some who evidently failed to perceive the secret of its prosperity.

We shall never secure a sound financial basis for our missionary work until we adopt a plan for securing permanent annual subscriptions from the whole membership of the Church. Nor can we ever hope to secure a healthy and intelligent interest in the missionary enterprise until we learn to place the cause upon the hearts and in the hands of the people. Thousands of pastors are made to feel that their ministerial standing depends upon their success in reporting a good collection; but, as for the rank and file of the membership, a very large proportion are indifferent to the cause of missions. The *people*, the individual members, must be reached before a material change for the better can be expected, and this can only be done by making the Missionary Society in fact, what it is in name, an organized, effective, self-directing agency for bringing the whole world to Christ.

The unit of organization in such a society should be a local society in each congregation. Next, there should be a district society in each presiding elder's district. In the next place the Conference missionary society should be lifted into actual existence and clothed with functions which will give it a prominent place in the Church. Its anniversaries should not be held at the session of the Annual Conference, and its membership should be composed of ministerial and lay members and of both sexes. In each General Conference District a branch society should be organized, to which delegates should be sent at annual meetings. Lastly, a working majority of the General Committee should be composed of delegates chosen by these branch societies and the corresponding secretaries should be elected by the General Committee.

The mere statement of this outline will probably condemn it, at first sight, in the mind of the average reader, and yet it

is certain that it points in the direction to which both opinion and events are tending. Our present machinery is both outworn and outgrown. Locally, one man bears almost the whole responsibility. In the district the presiding elder is expected to bear the burden, while in the Conference the very names of the president and secretary of the Conference society are unknown. As for the General Committee it has never been a representative body in any broad sense of the word. It is no longer able to perform its chief duty, which is the task of distributing the annual revenue of the society. It is an able body, much given to debate, and by no means wanting in statesmanship; but as a business organization it is badly managed, and its work is not always well executed.

A visitor to the annual meeting of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society will find eleven district secretaries seated around a large table with the estimates from the foreign fields before them. These estimates are read out, item by item, canvassed in a conversational way, and subjected to careful scrutiny. In the General Committee, on the other hand, there is a rigid enforcement of parliamentary rules; a procedure which sometimes adds dignity to the proceedings, but at other times strikes a casual visitor as little short of ludicrous. The estimates are supposed to have been examined before presentation, but, if so, those who do the debating and the voting have no personal knowledge of the fact. To say that a committee of over fifty persons cannot act otherwise is only another way of saying that the business in hand has outgrown the organization which is expected to manage it.

The proposal to have the corresponding secretaries elected by the General Committee will strike some readers as little short of revolutionary, but it is perhaps the most important suggestion contained in this paper. Those who observe carefully the trend of thought in our Church are aware that there is dissatisfaction with the policy of electing all manner of Church officers by ballot in the General Conference. Such elections are more or less demoralizing to the best interests of an ecclesiastical assembly, and they certainly do not increase the confidence of the Church in the General Conference. Nor do they tend to put men in places best adapted to them.

Sometimes a secretary is chosen because he is thought to be the best man for the post, but quite as often he falls heir to the appointment because of failure to get another place, or perhaps because the secretaryship is used as a stepping-stone on the way to supposed promotion. A missionary secretary should be chosen because of his known faith in the missionary enterprise, his fitness for the work to be done, his leadership among the people, and his previous achievements in promoting the work of missions among the churches. Such a man would be much more readily found by a General Committee, brought together from all sections of the Church, than by a General Conference in which a series of spectacular elections thrusts all manner of aspiring men to the front, and in which the methods inevitably called into action much resemble those observed by politicians of this world.

It would be impracticable to give a detailed outline of the kind of organization needed by such a society as the one proposed, but one possible error should be avoided. While it has become popular in our Church to advocate a reduction of elective officers to the lowest possible point, this policy may easily be carried too far. An increased revenue of a million dollars a year is needed by our work abroad and at home in the immediate future, and all past experience ought to convince us that a million dollars cannot be gathered by a series of public appeals, nor can it be secured by two or three popular orators. It can only be realized by an organized leadership, as every business man in the world will instinctively understand, and in such a plan as that proposed there should be provision for the appointment of a field secretary for every branch society. This secretary in many cases might be a young man, lay or clerical, and need not be an expensive addition to the working force of the Church. Though superfluous officials are always to be avoided, needed workers should not be dispensed with simply because a prejudice exists against office seekers as a class, and one hundred true-hearted young men could be profitable employed in this kind of work for at least the next five years.

For more than half a century past the question of dividing the Missionary Society, creating one organization for missionary

something to hope for in one of the great societies of the Church.

The failure of the present plan is pitifully evident when the "city problem" is brought before the General Committee. The utmost that can be expected is a petty appropriation of two or three thousand dollars when ten times that sum would not suffice for any really effective work. Eloquent appeals are heard, setting forth the startling condition of the millions who are fast gaining control of our cities, and, through them, of the nation, but year after year such appeals are absolutely wasted. The Missionary Society as at present constituted never has been, and never will be, able to grapple with such a problem. Small appropriations are given to aid a few missions to foreigners in our cities, but the real problem—the greatest problem now confronting our Christian civilization—is left untouched. What is a home missionary society for if it cannot look such a problem in the face? Better, a thousand times better, confess to a failure, and provide an organization which will be adapted to such an emergency. We shall be met at this point by the objection that legal obstacles stand in the way of any consolidation of societies. But legal resources will be found abundantly able to cope with legal obstacles, and no serious doubt need be entertained on that score.

Six objects are set before the Church as "official benevolences." Two of these receive annually about three fourths of a cent for each member of the Church, and with the exception of the Missionary Society no one of the Boards named receive so much as five cents a member. For the credit of the Methodist name, this spectacle should be removed from view.

One important question beset with peculiar difficulties remains. Two woman's missionary societies have come into existence in recent years, one for the foreign and one for the home field. Both are well organized, vigorous, and successful. The former stands second in point of income to the Missionary Society among all the "benevolent" societies of the Church. The latter has an income almost equal to that of the Church Extension and Freedmen's Aid Societies combined. These figures ought to startle the Church. The two societies are subordinate to the Missionary Society, but ought to be

## ART. IV.—THE MOTHER IN THE CHURCH.

IN a phrase of striking beauty and suggestiveness Paul calls the Church "the household of faith." We may well study the comparison. Like the family the Church has its adult members and its little children, its strong and its weak, its robust and its ailing ones. The pastor, set apart officially to minister in doctrine and discipline, stands for the father. The laity, with its numerous auxiliary organizations composed of men and women, may well correspond to the older brothers and sisters. But—where is the mother? The Roman Catholic Church has felt so deeply the need of the feminine element in its organization that for nearly a thousand years it has denied its pastors the right of literal fatherhood that they may ideally be both father and mother to the flock. The gift to the Roman Church of the Virgin Mary herself, deified increasingly in these later centuries, has been in farsighted response to the same ever-recurring demand. But Protestants understand how worse than useless are these unnatural make-shifts. Our ideal, were we forced to give enough thought to the subject to formulate an ideal, is that the perfect pastor, unrestrained in the social and family relations which go to make up perfect manhood, unites in himself the qualities of an entire humanity—feminine as well as masculine. But there are two reasons why this ideal can never be realized. The first is found in the very constitution of a man, by which he is unadapted, mentally and spiritually, for much of the work of "the household of faith;" and the second appears in the artificial limitations placed upon every pastor—the social restrictions that bind him, and, above all, the unwritten law which, with rare exceptions, places only one man at the head of a parish, no matter if that parish numbers tens of thousands.\* Nor can it be successfully maintained that woman's helpful but necessarily limited activity in unofficial lines supplies the need of the mother in the Church, even though this activity is a matter of grateful comment the world over. For, if so,

\* The school census of 1896 shows a population of ninety thousand people within a radius of eight blocks from Halsted Street Methodist Episcopal Church, in Chicago.

then the converse would hold, that because of the assistance of our stewards, trustees, class leaders, and Sunday school superintendents, who are usually men, we do not need the pastor.

There are two chief sources from which we may hope to know God's will touching the fundamental needs of mankind—the Scriptures and that other great book, the human heart as it is revealed in the social conditions about us. What, first, has the Bible to tell us of the work of woman in the early Church? The record is fragmentary, but it is suggestive. The first hint of formal Church organization, aside from the apostolic college, was the appointment of the seven deacons. The occasion was the murmuring of the Grecian Jews "because their widows were neglected in the daily ministrations." These "widows" are popularly supposed to have been pensioners on the Church, and we frankly concede that the weight of authority is in favor of this view. But no less a scholar than Dean J. S. Howson, the well-known co-author with Conybeare of the standard *Life of St. Paul*, contends earnestly that such an understanding is not in accord with the spirit of the Church at that time.\* He maintains that we have here rather the first germs of that organization of almsgiving widows, or deaconesses, so well known in the later Church; and that these women received the bounty of the Church, not to expend it upon themselves, but to bestow it upon the poor about them; that even at this early time there began to flow through woman's hands those streams of beneficence which were so marked a characteristic of the early Church.† And, in proof of this, we notice Paul's direction concerning "widows" in 1 Tim. v, 9, 10, "Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old, . . . well reported of for good works; if she have brought up children, if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have dili-

\* Dean Howson says, in *Evidential Value of the Acts of the Apostles*: "For my part I am inclined to think that 'the widows' were . . . enrolled, not for the receiving of relief, but for the administration of relief. It is remarkable that the first organization of the deacons, the earliest named part of the establishment of a Christian ministry, arose out of questions of practical charity. If the suggestion I have ventured to make is a sound one, the very earliest ministry in the Church of Christ, under the apostles, was a ministry of women for the exercise of sympathetic help."

† See Uhlhorn's *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*.

gently followed every good work." These widows are commonly credited with having all been alms receivers, but the authorities are not few who believe that many among them were deaconesses.\* In incidental confirmation of this theory we have the fact that the deaconesses of the early Church were at first always chosen from among the "widows" and were always over threescore years of age. It is worth while to notice, also, in this connection that it is now generally agreed that the *γυναῖκες* of 1 Tim. iii, 11, does not mean "wives." Chrysostom says of this passage that it means, not women in general, but deaconesses. Jerome, looking back to the deacons just preceding, translates it "*mulieres similiter*." And following many modern authorities also there is good ground for believing that Paul had in mind here, not the women in general of the Church, but the women of the Church who corresponded to the deacons of the verses preceding.

But, dismissing these "widows"—and we speak of them not so much argumentatively as suggestively—the Phœbe of Rom. xvi, 1, has a strong claim to recognition as a deaconess. Ancient scholarship accorded her the office unhesitatingly, and modern scholarship has struggled with its conservatism until she has at last been named a "deaconess" outright in the margin of the Revised Version. And it cannot be denied that in the Church of the second,† third, and fourth centuries deaconesses, or helping widows, were very numerous and very active. They occupied an official position,‡ and

\*The word *καταλεγεσθαι* (1 Tim. v, 9) means not loosely "taken into the number," as in the Authorized Version, but "enrolled," as in the Revised Version. There may have been a more careful enrollment from the list of the widows. Notice the reading preferred by the American revisers for the verses following, wherein the younger widows are refused because they may reject their first pledge. Some widows doubtless were alms receivers, but how unlikely that the women of this "number" who had houses and lands for the exercise of a wide hospitality and other good works, with children now grown who would surely, according to apostolic direction, support them—how unlikely that such women, a whole class of them, should become pensioners on the Church. How much more likely that they were women who, by these very characteristics and this very training, were now recognized as qualified to become the almoners to others of the bounty of the Church.

A curious variation of the Arabic Version is to the point here. That version says boldly, "If a widow be chosen a deacon."

† Pliny in a letter to Trajan, about A. D. 108, asks about the "*dux ancillæ*" that are called "*ministreæ*." The class was evidently known as such, since Pliny gives it the technical explanatory designation.

‡ In the Oriental Churches the deaconess undoubtedly belonged to the clergy.—Uhlhorn's *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*.

of human society in whose significant undertone we hear his voice speaking to his Church and saying: "In these needs also find your call to service. Let the empty mouths and the half-clad bodies of the poor, let the starving souls of the rich whom you never reach with your preached Gospel, let the moans of the uncared-for sick and dying, and the needs of friendless children be as the voice of the Son of man pleading with you for relief." In the light of such a call can we not see how pitiable is our inadequacy? The question resolves itself into simply this: Can the Church as at present organized—excluding the deaconess movement, which is hardly yet an appreciable force in our midst—meet all the demands of society that it ought to meet? Let it be distinctly understood that the efficiency of the Gospel message is not questioned here, but only the present sufficiency and adaptability of the means for conveying that message. And it is contended that there is an urgent need, not only of the administrative and teaching ministry of men, supplemented by such social and physical ministry as they may be able to give, but also of the characteristic ministry of women.

We may look, for instance, at the need among children. The eminent French philanthropist, M. Georges Bonjean, made the astounding assertion some years ago that according to careful calculation there were in France one hundred thousand children, between the ages of twelve and sixteen, who were outcast or youthful criminals\* ("*abandonnés ou coupables*"). It makes the brain reel and the heart swell to bursting to think of what underlies this condition, of the vast mass of slum-born suffering babyhood that makes possible this great army of a hundred thousand outcast youth. The better moral and industrial conditions of America prevent our statistics from rising to such frightful heights, but every thoughtful student of the situation knows that there are hundreds and thousands of outcast or abandoned children in the United States. They are in our poorhouses, or absolutely unsheltered and unmothered on our city streets. And has the Church of God no responsibility concerning these little ones? Has it

\* Quoted in leaflet by the late Pastor Hocart calling attention to the work of his daughter's "*Maison des Enfants*," 31 Rue de Cornelle, Levallois-Perret, près Paris.



the most common form of religion in that country, has put into its public schools an excellent text-book on ethics; but there is no required ethical teaching in the United States. Multitudes of children in our public schools are never found in any place of religious teaching. They never hear a prayer, and are in such ignorance of the bare historical facts of Christianity that it is easy to cite case after case where even the names of God have been known only as convenient bywords—blasphemy itself condoned by ignorance.

Moreover, what as to the industrial and social future of these children? Occasionally an exceptionally advanced public school touches the border of "manual training"—teaches a boy to drive a nail and a girl to sew a seam—but not one gives them a trade. Our Trades Unions make the old-fashioned apprenticeship next to impossible. Our few manual training schools are far too expensive for the many, not to speak of the further complicating fact that the almost exclusive division of labor into "piece work" is greatly lessening the possibility that even the boy who has a trade will be able to earn a living by it. How are these children of the slums going to learn how to earn a respectable livelihood when the time comes that they must shift for themselves? Has the Church of God no responsibility in this matter? Has it no golden opportunity? What if it has not yet fully thought through the problem, shall it withhold a present, practical help, even if partial, because it cannot make a theory of perfect eventual relief? Shall it hesitate as to its own plain duty while speculating as to what the State ought to do? What if teaching the industries and feeding the hungry is not the highest function of the Church. Jesus Christ fed the hungry in emergencies. The apostolic Church fed the hungry in emergencies. Perhaps the profoundest impression upon society made by the early Church was because of its feeding the hungry and clothing the naked.\* And is there not an emergency now? Let it be conceded that it is the State that should be charged with the duty of giving

\* Julian the Apostate, speaking of the "Galileans," tells us that by their charity to the poor they "brought the greatest admiration for their religion in the minds of men." He even urged systematic efforts among heathen for the relief of poverty, declaring, "It is disgraceful, when there is not a beggar found among the Jews and when the godless Galileans support our poor as their own, that our people should be without our help."—*Sozomen, Ec. Hist.*, v, 16.

God-given opportunity for religious influence. When flesh and heart grow weak and hands are stretched out for help in mortal agony, when dear ones are passing into the vast unknown and solemn thoughts of the life hereafter are forced upon the mind, or when long days of convalescence come and there is "nothing to do but think," then words concerning Jesus, and sin, and heaven are seed falling into good ground. Do we not owe it to the world that wherever trembling hands are stretched out, groping in the dark, some agent of the Church be there, some representative of Jesus Christ, with comfort and help? If we were wise to see and seize these opportunities, if we had trained, tactful servants of the Church ready to take advantage of them, we might in the first decade of the century just dawning win half the world for Christ. Yet the Church can never seriously undertake to care for the sick without the help of the official women. None other will have at her command uninterrupted time for such service, and none other will have the requisite skill, for this helper must be technically trained.

With the thought of the modern world's great need in mind we may well turn again for a moment to the history of woman's diaconate. It never lapsed entirely; the organized authorized work of women was too vital to the well-being of the Church to permit the loss of the idea. Underneath the perverted forms of the Roman Catholic Church we find it still struggling for existence. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it broke out in a most interesting and curious movement—little companies of pious women, the *Béguines*, lightly bound by rules, devoting themselves to works of mercy, the care of children, and the sick. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the corruption and decay of these *Béguines*, but the rise of the "Sisters of Common Life," whose work was also largely objective. But in the seventeenth century, in the founding by Vincent de Paul of the order of the "Sisters of Charity," the Roman Church most nearly approached the diaconate of the early times. Vincent de Paul was its *Flüedner*. To him that Church is very largely indebted for practical methods of organizing women, not for the cloister but for objective benevolent work.

dread in Protestantism of the convent system as illustrated in the Roman Church, that all that was done for centuries to reinstate the diaconate of women was some feeble attempt here and there to appoint a congregational deaconess, notably in the congregations of the Puritans and in the Reformed Church of Germany. It remained for the good Lutheran pastor, Theodore Fliedner, to bring about in Germany, in the first half of the nineteenth century the true renaissance of the office of deaconess. He saw, as did no other of his times, the possibilities of the organized work of Christian women. The social status of women in Germany sixty years ago, the conservatism of our Teutonic cousins, and the lower moral plane of the Lutheran Church in Germany—which, for instance, even to this date permits the Kaiserswerth work to be aided by great lotteries carried on under the “mother house” roof—made it inevitable that the work of the Fliedner deaconesses, judged by American standards, should be limited. Even at the present time, though their number has increased amazingly and their influence in philanthropy has been immense, yet we find Lutheran deaconesses mostly as nurses and as caretakers in orphanages and reformatories. But it is to be gratefully noted not only that Fliedner brought into the modern world a workable plan for a Protestant sisterhood, but that our present splendid system of nurses’ training schools, the civilized world over, originated directly in his effort to train Christian women to care for the sick. For Florence Nightingale and Agnes Jones drew not only their skill, but to a large extent their inspiration, from Kaiserswerth.

But the deaconess movement in American Methodism is strikingly spontaneous. It is not a growth from the German root. Its workers bear the same name as those in Germany, and do in some respects a similar work, but it originated independently and on a far broader and more evangelistic basis. About the time Fliedner was founding his deaconess “mother

“It were well, if we had the right kind of people to begin it, that the city be divided into four or five parts, and each part be assigned a pastor and several deacons, who would supply that district with preaching and almsgiving, visiting the sick, etc.” Here the entire province of the diaconate, as a personal office for rendering bodily and spiritual aid, is placed beside that of the ministry. Had such an arrangement been practicable, Christian women would have undoubtedly found their place in it.”  
—*Emil Wacker, in The Deaconess Calling.*

the preparation and oncoming of companies of women, and the increasingly loud call from the great city in the midst of which the school was located, the result was inevitable. Here was the need, here was the means to meet the need; they could not fail to come together. It was as if God had opened a door and thrust one through it. Not till months afterward did the founders of the work in America learn that the effort in the United States was closely akin to the work of the Lutheran deaconesses across the water and that there was in existence in that country a little nucleus of Methodist deaconesses. For those German Methodist deaconesses, while intensely evangelical, were very naturally patterning closely after the Lutheran sisters in organization and work, and they had not then become an appreciable force in Methodism.

The first deaconess institution in American Methodism\* was the Chicago Deaconess Home established in the building of the Chicago Training School in June, 1887. It received the recognition of the Rock River Annual Conference, in which Chicago is located, a few months later. It attracted much attention. After nearly a year of successful operation a memorial concerning it went up to the General Conference of 1888. It fell into the hands of Dr.—now Bishop—Thoburn, who for years had been planning for some kind of a sisterhood to reinforce mission work among women in India, and now he came bringing also a memorial, from the Bengal Conference, looking to this object. To the Missionary Committee, of which Dr. Thoburn was chairman, this memorial and the one from Chicago were referred, and it was largely by the doctor's earnest advocacy that favorable legislation was secured. In the General Conference of 1900 the paragraphs "On Deaconesses" were recast, and adopted as they now appear in the present Discipline. No formal definition of a deaconess is given, but all the characteristics which had been stamped upon the deaconess in the spontaneous development of the movement are therein recognized. She is a trained free volunteer, usually living in an institution. She is unsalaried, but "entitled to support." She is licensed and "consecrated" by the

\* The limits of this article do not permit mention of the much smaller work of the Protestant Episcopal and the Lutheran deaconesses in America.

authorities of the Church. She is bound by no vows. Her preparatory course of study is by no means nominal. It is nearly always taken in a training school. When consecrated she becomes a Church officer. The bishop, in the beautiful Consecration Service, takes her by the hand and says, "I admit thee to the office." Whether in or out of institutions she is directly under the care of the Board of Bishops, which has become a "General Deaconess Board" for "general supervision over all deaconess work throughout the Church." The Annual Conference "Deaconess Boards," however, have certain responsibilities, chief among which is the granting of the license of the deaconess. The approval of the Conference itself must be given every year for the continuance of the deaconess in office, reminding one of the "passing of character" of the deacons. Transfers to and from Annual Conferences must be made with the approval of the District Bishops. Deaconesses in institutions are under the immediate direction of the superintendent of the institution.

Once given ecclesiastical recognition the deaconess movement immediately entered upon a period of development so rapid that it has been difficult to supply it with the necessary workers. In December, 1888, the second home was established, the great Gamble Home—and, later, Hospital—in Cincinnati. The year 1889 was marked by the opening of deaconess homes in New York, Boston, and Minneapolis. Wesley Hospital was organized in Chicago, the first in America under deaconess auspices. It was in this year also that the Woman's Home Missionary Society at its annual meeting in November resolved to combine with its growing activities methods of deaconess work.\* The first home under the auspices of this society was opened in Detroit in January, 1890.

At the present time there are about eighty centers† of deaconess work in the United States, including three Orphanages

\* This society held from the first the ideal of training for its employees. But the four most characteristic features of a deaconess—namely, that she is (1) unsalaried, (2) costumed, (3) adopts usually the community life, and especially (4) that she is by her license and consecration recognized as an officer in the Church—had their providential rise in American Methodism in the work started in Chicago, June, 1887, and were now for the first time adopted by the Woman's Home Missionary Society for its workers.

† Reckoning as "centers" places where not less than two deaconesses are at work. About thirty "stations," places at which a single deaconess is at work, are also scattered throughout the country.

and Children's Homes, three Old People's Homes, and seventeen Hospitals." \* There are, including probationers, about eight hundred women, devoting themselves to this work. Including the three hundred Methodist deaconesses of Germany and the sixty in foreign mission fields, for which this kind of work is admirably adapted, there are eleven hundred and sixty deaconesses and probationers in the Methodist Episcopal Church.† The German Methodists in America have taken up the work with enthusiasm, giving this branch of the work a strong impulse toward the "mother-house" idea, as is the case with all the work in Germany.

The most characteristic feature of deaconess work in American Methodism is its spontaneity. Though greatly aided and strengthened by the recognition of the General Conference it did not originate with that body. The women themselves had inaugurated the work, had mastered the initial difficulties, and had carried on the work almost a year before General Conference recognition. That recognition was, indeed, almost wholly because of the work. The real origin of the work in America was in the mother instinct of woman herself, and in that wider conception of woman's "family duties" that compels her to include in her loving care the great needy world family as well as the blessed little domestic circle. And the development of the work is satisfactory and expansive just in proportion as in its details and responsibilities it is laid directly on the hearts and hands of the deaconesses themselves.‡

As to the character of the work being done by deaconesses, the two original ideas in America were the religious visitation of the neglected in great cities and nursing the sick poor in their own homes. But in the rapid development of the movement other work has sought these willing hands. As may be

\* Adding the three deaconess hospitals in Germany, at Frankfort-on-Main, Berlin, and Hamburg, we have a total of twenty deaconess hospitals in the Methodist Episcopal Church. These hospitals cared for seven thousand and fifty-four resident patients last year, with much dispensary and outside work.

† See *Methodist Year Book*, 1901, p. 119.

‡ In America, in the English-speaking work, nearly all the homes and hospitals have deaconess superintendents, unsalaried, of course, as is the case with all deaconesses. Upon the shoulders of a deaconess rest all the detail work and the full financial responsibility of an orphanage containing more than ninety children. Deaconesses are successfully managing a large hospital in Omaha, which last year cared for eight hundred and ninety-eight patients, and are collecting money for a great building. So in scores of similar instances.

to them. But does the devotion of the women of that Church, where entering a religious order means so often a living entombment, exceed that of the women of our Church in which to enter this office means a life of free and joyous service for Christ? Who does not know that the real work, the telling work, of the Roman Catholic Church in America has been done very largely by its women? It is their devoted service in hospital and yellow fever camp that has not only gained friends and converts to the Church by scores and thousands, but has created an enormous public sentiment in its favor and brought money by the millions of dollars into its treasures. It is their quiet but unceasing work with the young that gains adherents by the hundreds of thousands. But the women of Methodism, breathed upon by a wind from heaven, are "rising up," "at ease" no longer, and are coming forward to do the same work—nay, a better, purer, more spiritual work for our beloved Church. Nearly eleven hundred volunteers in fourteen years—that is their record. And the number through two quadrenniums has increased at the annual rate of twenty-six per cent. Two hundred and fifty thousand religious calls made last year! Twenty thousand religious meetings held with mothers and children! A score of hospitals established and in hand, wherein were cared for by Methodist deaconesses last year more than ten thousand patients, not to speak of the half as many more poor sick ones given loving Christian ministration in their own homes. Do we understand the significance of this already great work? Who can realize what it will mean to Protestantism when the *Mother* shall have been fully established again in her place in the Household of Faith?

Lucy Rider Meyer

prince of men." So at Troy his dramatic announcement that he had found King Priam's treasure caught the ear of a sensation-loving public, but was totally unfounded in fact. This unfortunate method cost him the confidence of very many scholars. They recognized his zeal, and acknowledged their debt to his expenditure of time and money, they were grateful for what his spade uncovered, but they refused to accept his interpretation of his finds. Some were even led to doubt his statements, but in this they erred. No more honest investigator ever lived.

Doctor Schliemann was by instinct and by training a shrewd business man. He measured his work by its immediate and tangible results. To him more than to any other man is due the present system of archæological research, the system of testing all theories by actual excavations. The spade outranks theory. This practical element, which has entered into and revived every department of classical study, was due to Schliemann. But he was not, either in temper of mind or in training and experience, a scientific archæologist. He was in too much of a hurry. After making a series of excavations he would rush into print with a massive book interesting in its recital of experiences and valuable as a catalogue of actual finds, but worthless as a statement of their real meaning. Within a month or two after the excavations at Tiryns he had his usual big book ready, but Doctor Dörpfeld, whom he had associated with him, was to discuss the architectural features of the discoveries. Dörpfeld took more than a year to prepare his few chapters. To-day those few chapters contain all that is of permanent value in the volume. Doctor Schliemann was prone to let a preconceived theory blind him to the facts lying revealed before him. At Tiryns he sunk shafts in several places because that method had brought such fortunate results at Mycenæ. He found no graves, no gold, no treasures, and so gave up the search and reported that there were no remains of ancient life.

On his second trial he uncovered the floor plan of a great castle, one of the greatest trophies of modern archæological research. On his first trial he had actually cut through the concrete floor eight inches thick, without noticing it, and



failed to find any of the great house walls which even a shallow trench would have uncovered. He was looking for graves and treasure; castle walls and floors did not count. At Troy he ruthlessly cut through and cleared away walls and buildings of unburnt brick, some unrecognized, all unspared in his haste to make sensational finds. To-day we would gladly part with much that he did find could we but have those walls back to explain what is now a puzzle.

It was fortunate for Doctor Schliemann's fame and for the interest of learning that in the last eight years of his work he had as an associate Doctor Dörpfeld. This young architect had been employed in the German excavations at Olympia in 1875-81, where he had taken high place for his mastery of ancient architecture, his success in restoring ancient buildings from fragments, and in reconciling literary evidence and actual remains. It is told of Agassiz, that he excited unbounded admiration on one occasion by drawing on a black-board the complete skeleton of a fish he had never seen, the only basis for his work being one small bone. Similarly, Doctor Dörpfeld has restored great temples from what seemed a heap of worthless fragments, and told their date, their vicissitudes of destruction and rebuilding, and their place in the development of Greek architecture. He put order into the bewildering mass of ruins at Tiryns. He properly explained Schliemann's finds at Mycenæ. He discovered the ancient Athena temple on the acropolis at Athens, and brought to light the famous water system of Pisistratus. He has banished from the old Greek theater the high stage, and has touched only to make more understandable nearly every ancient site in the Greek world. He has brought to successful completion the long series of investigations on the site of Troy, and has fully rounded out in spirit, if not in literalness, the ideal of the German lad of half a century before. Nowhere is this versatile and scholarly German seen to better advantage than in the tangled maze of walls on the steep hillside of Priam's town.

Schliemann's work at Troy had resulted in the uncovering of nine cities, some mean, some magnificent, that had in succession occupied the top of the hill at Hissarlik. The topmost one was the Roman city, Ilium, regarded in its day as

the Troy of Homer. Under its remains were those of a city of late Hellenic times, and an earlier Greek city perhaps as old as 900 or 1000 B. C. The fourth stratum from the top contained what Schliemann at first took to be evidences of Lydian civilization ; later on he recognized them as closely related to the finds at Tiryns and Mycenæ. Still lower were the remains of three poorer, scantier settlements of early date. Under these lay what Schliemann fondly believed to be the Troy of Priam and Hector and Æneas. A stately city it had been, with a mighty palace, massive walls and gates, and many evidences of wealth and power. It was here that Schliemann found the so-called great treasure, gold ornaments literally by the peck. No one who has not seen them as now arranged in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin can have any adequate conception of the number, the variety, the uniqueness of the articles in bronze, in silver, in gold, in pottery. Doctor Dörpfeld has shown that this city was twice destroyed by fire, and twice rebuilt, being finally ruined in a mighty conflagration which left its marks on brick walls and stone foundations. Under this city again were the remains of a still earlier settlement, going far back into prehistoric times, with walls of small rough stones and clay and of the most primitive character.

It was proved that this hill of Hissarlik had been from the earliest period the seat of petty chiefs or powerful kings. Much was found that seemed to bear out Schliemann's contention that the second city, counting from the bottom, was the Homeric Troy. But the excavations at Tiryns and Mycenæ had revealed a splendid civilization beside which Schliemann's Troy took secondary rank. That civilization, called by a convenient but misleading name, Mycenaean, agreed in all essential points with the life depicted in the Homeric poems. These were the same great palaces with noisy courtyards and echoing corridors, with richly decorated megara, where the smoke lazily lifted from the central round hearth up among the tall columns to the vent in the roof. There were remains of the same art, of the same handicraft. There were the same life, in the one case forever embalmed in wall and floor and column, in gem and pottery and implement, in the other case pictured with faithful but idealizing art in

deathless literature. No one could deny that these cities belonged to the age of which Homer sang. But the city Schliemann found was evidently smaller, much older, more primitive, more barbaric.

It was one of fate's cruel mockeries that Doctor Schliemann died just before the real truth became known. The scanty remains of the fourth city from the top, the sixth in chronological order, which he took at first to be of Lydian origin, and latterly as related to Mycenæan life, held the key to the solution of the problem. In the excavations conducted by Doctor Dörpfeld after Doctor Schliemann's death there has been laid bare a mighty fortress of the Mycenæan age, with a great circuit wall, massive towers, and imposing gateways. The city walls and the houses were of well-dressed stone, of far better workmanship than the stone city walls and unburnt brick house walls of the second city. Numerous articles in metal and pottery were found which clearly link this city with the cities of the Mycenæan age in other parts of the Greek world. Of this sixth city, undeniably the real Homeric Troy, nothing is left except the circuit wall and house walls that stood close to it. The builders of the Roman city cleared off the top of the rounded hill, dumping the *débris* over the sides, thus obliterating all ancient remains in the center of the city and burying out of sight the outer and lower portions. Doctor Schliemann sank shafts at and near the center of the hill, hitting the remains of the Roman city, but utterly missing the remains of the sixth city. The fortress he discovered covers an area but little more than one third that of the sixth city. Its city walls bear a general resemblance to those of the sixth city, but are distinctly inferior in massiveness and workmanship. The house walls of the second city were of sun-dried brick; those of the sixth city of carefully dressed stone. The pottery and other small articles found in the second city are quite unlike those of the sixth, both in general style and in skill displayed. No such astounding finds were made in the sixth city as the great treasure of the second, but in the general process of leveling carried on by the builders of Roman times every vestige of the grander buildings, which naturally stood at or near the top of the hill, was wiped out. The great circuit

wall, however, was left almost complete, being entirely covered with *débris*. In one place it was cut through in laying the foundation of a great Roman building, but the builders, so far as we know, took no notice of the giant remnant of a forgotten city except to open a gap for their own wall.

The chronology of the Mycenæan age is uncertain, but we assume that the period of greatest prosperity fell within the second half of the second millennium before Christ. If we date the sixth city at 1500 B. C., and its fall at 1200 B. C., we shall be as near the truth as we can now come. This throws the second city, Schliemann's Troy, back a thousand years earlier. The civilization whose tangible remains Schliemann's spade first laid before us goes back as far, perhaps, as the end of the old empire in Egypt, and antedates the traditional date of Abraham by not less than five hundred years. No longer can Egypt and Babylonia claim to be the sole representatives of civilization four thousand years ago. At Troy there was a royal city as old as the pyramids, the remains of whose life are unique and important to the study of prehistoric man. And, while the resemblances between the sixth city and the cities of Mycenæan time in Greece are numerous enough to fix the same date for both, the differences prove that Troy and Mycenæ were not sister cities, but rivals. Helen may never have followed Paris from Sparta to Troy, but two great and growing states glowered at each other from opposite sides of the Ægean and finally met in deadly conflict, in which Hellenic civilization triumphed over Asiatic civilization; a drama acted again in the days of Marathon and Salamis, and later on the fields of Issus and Arbela. It is the same old story of two nations sprung from a common mother but separated through long centuries and growing to full estate on different soil, with different surroundings, with unlike ideals. Each comes to touch the other at a hundred sensitive points. Indifferent ignorance turns to rivalry, and rivalry to hate, and hate sooner or later is assuaged in a war of extermination.

W. C. Elliott.

Almost every day is adding to our knowledge concerning the magnificent progress made by Egypt and Assyria and other adjacent peoples. The Greeks were chary about admitting that much of their earlier civilization was other than indigenous, though confessing that some of it came from Egypt and the East. But we now know that they were originators in hardly any department of human progress, but only a brilliant race that received the past, improved greatly upon it, then, on their own decay, sent it down. The same may be said of the Romans. Let a rapid survey be made of what was attained before the Middle period, that of the Greeks and Romans, and facts will bear out the claims.

One cannot help being impressed with the vast number of things we now have that were used by the people of the Ancient period. The Egyptians cultivated many kinds of fruits, as the apple, plum, pear; many varieties of vegetables; of grain, wheat, barley, durra; medicinal plants and vegetable oils; they had the horse, ass, camel, humped ox, cow, sheep, goat, pig, cat, and dog. They mined on a vast scale different kinds of building stones, also copper, iron, gold, silver, lead, tin, precious stones, salt, natron, petroleum. Their fine linen, glass work, bronze, porcelain, veneering, and wood inlaying were most exquisite, and gem cutting was good. Their written language took three forms, after the primitive pictures before the alphabet was invented, each form more practical than the preceding—the hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic. Their extensive literature has not been fully put into modern language but consists of treatises in “religion and theology, poems historical and lyric, travels, epistolary correspondence, books on geography, astronomy, astrology and magic, calendars, books of receipts, accounts, catalogues of libraries, and many others.” The Book of the Dead is an elaborate production purporting to be revealed from heaven, while the epic of Pentaur, written to commemorate the success of Rameses against the Hittites, was produced fifteen hundred years before Homer. The fertility of the soil and the industry and frugality of the people made Egypt the granary of the world for two thousand years. They raised linen and cotton for clothing and had extensive irrigation works.

Their engineering skill was remarkable. The Great Pyramid, in the arrangement of the passages and their covering and the provisions against any settling of the masses of immeasurable weight, exhibits mechanical skill that has never been excelled. Their success in smoothing and exactly adjusting the hardest stones of great size, the means by which they cut out and transported and placed the immense masses of hundred tons' weight found as colossi, obelisks, and slabs are the wonder and despair of engineers to-day. Bricks burned four thousand years ago are hard now. Their columns in four distinct orders led the way to the four well-known orders of the Greek columns. Their temples have been the wonder of all succeeding ages. That of Karnak at Thebes, with its suggestion of the Jewish temple, is deemed by students of architecture to be the greatest result of man's constructive building genius, the noblest effort of architectural magnificence ever produced. The graceful obelisks have never been copied. They used decorative painting, the colors of which are still bright; the arch was known and used. Their sculpturing was imperfect, compared with the perfection of the Greek work, since conventional religious conservatism, keeping them from the study of nature, restricted them to certain limitations, yet as having no models before them their art was rich. They used arithmetic, notation, geometry, trigonometry, and their astronomy covered eclipses, the motions, periods, and occultations of the planets with tables and constellations of the stars; they knew the obliquity of the ecliptic to the equator, and settled the exact length of the solar year. The Greek sages, as Pythagoras, Thales, and others, studied science, medicine, and history among the Egyptians.

They had reached and elaborated a great complicated system of religion. The priests at least believed in one God, a pure spirit, perfect, all-wise, almighty. To him they gave the name by which Jehovah revealed himself to Moses at the burning bush—"I am that I am"—*Nuk Pu Nuk*. But the popular cult of the masses was concerning multitudinous gods, whom they worshiped, good and evil ones, with imposing ceremonies and ritual. They believed in existence after this life, in rewards, punishments, transmigration. They offered

sacrifices, both of animals and earth products, and counted many of the animals sacred, raising the bull to the dignity of a god. In society were many classes and occupations. Next the king were the priests, then soldiers. Elaborate duties, training, and customs kept each class effective. They had fleets and commerce, both domestic and foreign. Music highly cultivated produced many kinds of instruments. Schools were open in all the large towns, in which reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught, and by these men became scribes, secretaries, bookkeepers.

The second most prominent development before the Middle period was in the Mesopotamia valley. Here at the dawn of history was the Chaldean people who had already a language of elaborate structure, the verbs especially being of great development; they had invented at an early date the cuneiform mode of writing, the simplest method of writing known till the alphabet was invented, and used it with much success. For building in the broad valley, where they could not obtain stone, they used bricks, both sun-dried and fire-burned, making temples and palaces whose material exists to our day; raised buildings three stories, and of considerable size; used the arch; were successful potters; adepts in gem cutting and in fabricating stone implements and weapons; knew of bronze, gold, silver, iron, and manufactured textile materials. In mathematics they had proficiency in arithmetic, a table having been found in which squares were completed from one to sixty; their astronomy was well developed and aided them in making important mercantile voyages. Their zodiacal constellations were passed down to the Greeks, as was the legend of the twelve labors of Heracles, an astronomical myth. Their religious system was polytheistic, and extensive in its doctrines and ritual. In it was mostly worship of the heavenly bodies. They had two or three greater triads besides other great gods, both male and female. One of their gods, Il, was in the name but a root-equivalent of the Old Testament El. Their system of gods had something to do with that of the Greeks and Romans. Their cosmogony seems to have been taken from original documents from which also much of the creation story of Genesis was taken. The

account of the flood by them was wonderfully like that of Noah. Their reliable chronology must date back as much as six thousand years B. C. Early they founded cities, as Erech, Accad, Calneh, Babylon, that later became very great. By the sixteenth century B. C. great systems of irrigation canals were dug by the Arab conquerors of that region.

There grew up, apparently some centuries later, another great people north of the Chaldeans termed the Assyrians, or worshipers of the god Asshur. They soon attained great development, building large cities, Nineveh, Calah, Asshur, and others. They were given greatly to agricultural life, and of domesticated animals had the horse, mule, camel, sheep, goat, dog, cattle, fish. Like other Semites they were very religious, were fierce and successful in war, used the wedge in writing on clay and stone, developed great skill in architecture and as designers and sculptors, as metallurgists, engineers, upholsterers, workers in ivory, glassblowers, and embroiderers of dresses. Palaces, and not temples or tombs, were their special buildings—vast, ornate, sculptured, strong, their sculpturing fine though lacking the artistic beauty of the Greeks; their bas-reliefs depicting scenes of war, religion, hunting, processions, ordinary life. They cast superb figures, incised and in relief. They worked bronze, sometimes with iron cores for greater strength, and also gold and silver. Their enameled bricks were of many colors and designs and their terra cotta work of high excellence; their glass, both white and colored, yields the antiquarian fine specimens. A lens, plano-convex, an inch and a half wide and half an inch thick, shows that they had a knowledge of optics; their furniture was often most elegant. They worked at philology, and the structure of their own language was very elaborate. In mechanics they excelled, moving masses of sculptured stone by means of ropes and rollers. In gem cutting they were progressive, and not, like the Egyptians, at a standstill.

Their soldiers fought as foot, cavalry, and charioteers. For weapons they had bows, spears, swords, slings, maces, axes. At least in later periods their army was fully organized, could successfully besiege strong places and took vast booty in them. They were royal hunters, having royal game—lions,



wild bulls, wild asses, stags, gazelles, and other. Music was fully cultivated, and they used a dozen different instruments. Boats were successfully used, and rafts, and bridges over their rivers. Situated as they were on the highway between eastern Asia and Europe, their commerce was extensive. Gold, copper and tin for bronze, ivory, precious stones, fragrant cedar, pearls, spices, perfumes, and rich dresses were some of their commodities. Irrigation was most extensive, their canals enabling the whole rich valley to be highly cultivated. Their grains were wheat, sesame, barley, millet; the vine was cultivated for grapes and wine. In times of war they rode in chariots, in times of peace in carriages. Their houses were simple, their dress adapted to the warm climate. In their religious system Asshur stood as the great god, the great lord, the father of the gods, in this sharing with Belus. The system itself was mostly like that of the Chaldeans. Their many gods had various places and duties assigned them, both as male and female, and their worship settled into the grossest idolatry. They worshiped by means of sacrifices and invocations, feasts and festivals, and sensual ceremonies. Their royalty was magnificent, the monarch absolute, yet having those who counseled and advised. Westward their conquests reached to the Mediterranean Sea, eastward across the Zagros Mountains. But by the ninth century B. C. their strong spirit began decaying as luxury and effeminacy came in. The genius of Sennacherib gave a transient glory to the gloom of decay, his military greatness and the building activity by which he greatly adorned Nineveh shedding luster on the national name.

On his assassination revolts and conspiracies succeeded. By the seventh century B. C. the mighty Assyrian empire had become so weak that it could not defend itself against the Scythian swarms that ravaged all that part of Asia, as those of Attila did a thousand years later, and when their force was spent a new enemy pushed to the attack. These were the Medes, from the Zagros Mountains, who renewed their efforts made before the Scythian devastation, which had also ravaged them. Success attended the Medes, for the decaying torch was to be taken in stronger hands. Nineveh falling, the king

burned his palace, his family, and himself in one awful holocaust, and the vast Assyrian empire yielded to the survival of the fittest in human progress. Cyaxares the Median accomplished this victory B. C. 624, after Assyria had flourished a thousand years. It was never more than a loosely aggregated mass of provinces, ready to fall away from the controlling center if a weak prince were on the throne.

If we take our stand at the division proposed between the Ancient and Middle periods what do we see? That the human race had little to hope for in advancement from Egypt or Mesopotamia. Both peoples were in decay. Israel also, save in prophecy, was a forceless fragment. The mighty Hittites were but a name. Any promise of greatness in the Arabian peninsula was past. Little light from India reached the West. Only in new races was there hope, and those were ready. The grand elements of civilization already reached were not to be lost. The Western world was not to return to barbarism. Better things still were to be reached by the new peoples. The past had been advancement, the present was not to stay. Swift progress, not decadent conservatism, was the law then as now. The stronger, more virile peoples ready at this juncture were the Medo-Persians, the Carthagenians, the Greeks, and the Romans.

The first of these, issuing from the eastern mountains and high plains in the Mesopotamia valley, had been bred in hardy habits, veracity, a warlike spirit, and other good elements. In their new location they found a soil yielding phenomenal returns for toil, elaborate irrigation works, great cities even though dilapidated, subservient tributaries; yet with these and other conditions of speedy culmination of national greatness, also, sad to state, conditions of speedy national decay. The climate, so unlike their vigor-giving highlands, was a depressing force upon them.

The satrapial form of governing his vast empire of forty millions of people, instituted by Darius, was a great advance over the government of any preceding people or monarchy. It was an effort at governing by delegated authority—entirely new. Before this time the king was the sole ruler of the realm; now twenty or more petty kings, all under the control

of the great king, held sway. A military commandant watched and checked the satrap, while a secretary, as the eye or ear of the king, watched both. Three things seemed to be aimed at by this new form of government: uniformity in governing the varied people of the empire, definite burdens upon the people, and a counterpoising of the powers of each satrap. This satrapial form of government was for the time highly successful. Then the Zoroastrian religion held by the Persians took the place of the Baal worship of the Semitic Babylonians. The doctrines were more elevating, the ritual and practices better for human enlargement and advancement.

Still, with these advantages, the Medo-Persian empire soon showed weakness; its gigantic struggle with Greece, its final defeat in that great contest, and, later, Xenophon's expedition of the Ten Thousand with Cyrus, all betokened the fall of the colossus, and it only waited the strokes of Alexander's sword to yield.

Another of the fourfold group to start the Middle period was Carthage. This people had obtained such a beginning and reached such progress that the historian laments that they were not permitted the opportunity to evolve their trend to a greater consummation. The daughter of Phœnicia inherited much of the commercial genius of that successful people, but, unlike them, attempted a cycle of conquests that, bringing her into contact with Rome, led to her final destruction. Of the constitution of Carthage Aristotle said it was the best that had ever been produced and he had the Greek and Roman models before him. It is one of the regrets of history that we know so little of that African commonwealth and even that little from its mortal enemies. Their commercial, colonizing, republican, constitutional spirit gave promise of vast worth to humanity, but Rome, finding a dangerous rival over the way, and once tasting the delight of foreign conquest in Sicily, would not be satisfied until her brutal instincts wrought the total subversion of that rival. Cato's cry in the senate that Carthage must be destroyed evinced at once the high purpose of Rome and her bloodthirsty spirit; throwing a distressing glare on the conditions out of which so many good things could come as those Rome has finally given the world.

Of course the vastest progress and worth of the Middle period came from the two peoples nearly always named together, the Greeks and the Romans. If Medo-Persia failed through internal decay, and Carthage was swept from existence by Rome's hatred, these two peoples for well-nigh a millennium took of the former development of man, revising it and enlarging and adding to it, and their progress may easily be considered as forming an epoch by itself.

If the real themes of history are, first man, and then his works and evolving conditions, then in these two peoples there was much of true history produced and shown. As a physical, mental, moral being, man was greatly enlarged in the Middle period. The renowned games, athletic and gymnastic exercises, the drill for the hand-to-hand warfare of those times, as well as the gladiatorial shows, helped to give the fortunate or unfortunate actors in them a physical development seldom, if ever, attained elsewhere by mankind. With that splendid physique seems to have existed a superior and incomparably fertile mental activity. Out of that came their superb art, their profound philosophy, keen religious insight, and their success in government, science, letters, oratory, conquest. Personal human rights, at least in some of the Greek states—as Athens, where democracy had its fairest fruitage in that period—attained great advancement. But with them, and the Carthaginians and the Spartans as well, those attainments were confined to the few; the dominant classes denied to the lower grades of the people and the slaves any part in the national growth and increase of human rights. But it was not wholly so at Rome. There the plebeians through various struggles obtained the right to have tribunes from their own class to protect them, finally obtaining the right to be elected to consular dignity. But even with these gains among the upper classes and fortunate plebeians, and the colonists to whom Roman citizenship was extended after the Marsic Wars, uncounted millions were denied, by slavery, lowliness, and misfortunes, almost every claim to human rights. The power of life and death even was in the hands of the masters, owners, aristocrats. Still Rome gradually learned to trust its conquered provinces, and many people, as now with Great

Britain, were better off under the eagles of Rome than under their own rulers. Through all of Rome's advance, law guided the evolution, for law was the core of Rome's growth ; according to that principle was the progress of humanity in those centuries. Indeed since her material decay Rome has given law to much of the world. Humanity was to be asked to submit to a new moral law, high, strong, and with a mighty significance, and as preparation for that needed to learn the power of natural and political law.

Already the decay of Greece had been very marked. Athens was blotted out, the supremacy of Sparta, won in the dreadful Peloponnesian War, yielded to that of Thebes, and later all Greece had succumbed to the ambitious Philip. The unique civilization of Greece did not run the risk of being so utterly lost as the older ones before the Middle period, for its art was embodied in marble and bronze in forms destined to endure through the ages, while science, poetry, history, philosophy, and other magnificent elements of human evolution were almost as imperishably fixed by letters to endure. The Greek race was perishing, but it had perfected a rich, flexible language to carry forward the incomparable literature and to take up one of the most distinctive elements of the coming and better civilization and history, the New Testament, and thus with their own decay send down conditions for better things. Greece became a Roman province 146 B. C.

The historian who makes an epochal point at the downfall of the Western empire would seem to leave out of sight the decay of Rome that had set in centuries before. Even if the Augustan age were the historic culmination of Rome's development it still contained in itself many and swiftly growing forces of decay. For a hundred years before Christ the liberties of Rome—meaning by that the broadened rights granted to man as man, to cities, classes, provinces, and peoples—were mostly lost. The small farms and conservative owners of them were disappearing, great estates, rich families, patrician luxury and indolence and corruption became the common condition. The attempts of the Gracchi to save Rome from these things ended in defeat, and also introduced domestic feuds and bloodshed, private assassination, and a dangerous

and resurrection took place. The Augustan age, which produced the magnificent literature, was yet a time when there was at least a stay in Roman advancement, and that stay gave letters a chance to flourish at the expense of progress. The vigor which pushed conquests over large shares of three continents was now resting, not from satiety alone, but from early stages of exhaustion. The Romans were not, like the Greeks, to be best known by their literary triumphs; so when their conquests ceased, and freedom granted to those conquered was extended to no new peoples, their peculiar vocation, at least in progress, ended. The immoralities were such as startle, then disgust, and lead to deep indignation that such magnificent powers should be so prostituted to low, vile ends. Morality was openly flouted, marriage was despised, and few children were being born of the real Roman blood; drunkenness was weakening and killing off the conquerors of Carthage and Greece, so that the star that had seemed in the zenith had begun to pale. Gladiatorial shows were brutalizing the people and their thirst for human blood seemed no mild insanity. Now for a century or two Rome could do the world the best service by protecting the tender shoot of Christianity. This done, it was ready to perish, to give way to peoples who were waiting to receive in themselves the best that Rome had produced, and be capable of further evolution toward individual freedom and social enlargement.

The Modern period, from Christ to the present time, owes its greatness to many different forces at work, four of which seem to stand out most prominently to view. These are the Roman laws, Greek culture, the new races, and Christianity. Roman laws, at first and for some centuries directly operative, were less so as disintegration took place. In those days of dissolution the force of Rome's laws was operative especially in the cities and their municipal institutions. On the revival of learning, and as the more developed conditions of Western civilization demanded it, jurists and legislators turned to the vast depositories of wealth in Roman laws and quarried for new structures. Similar things were true of Greek culture. By it Romans were taught and cultured after the beginning of the Modern period, and it afforded language and

ready means for apologetics and for teaching for the nascent religion. It fell into disuse as the barbarian hordes were overturning the old, and only rebuilding slowly. A spark of the true fire was kept alive by the monks in the monasteries until the mighty Renaissance, when the Greek culture grew to be a great impelling power that, like Roman laws, has been touching every phase of development. Our children are its debtors long before they see a Greek book.

The third element I name as shaping the Modern period was the Northern races. They were strong and brave. They had a restless energy which by the time of the Christian epoch had impelled them again and again upon Roman territory. The final subversion of Italy by them was not to take place until four centuries were past. Even before contact with southern Europe they had emerged from the savage state, as rated by Morgan's laws, into that of barbarous. Nomadic in life, they had occupied the central plains of Europe, behind the Danube, the Rhine, and the Alps, for ages, and when finally coming into contact with the highly civilized races were themselves in the lower grades of the civilized state. As for the Celts, they had, in Gaul and Britain and other parts, been in contact with Roman civilization long enough to imbibe many of its rich results, but the main stream of it was to be Teutonic. Other racial elements also entered, one being the original Turanian stock that overspread Europe before the Celts came in or the Romans entered Italy. It is probable that the peculiar vivacity of mind in some of the present peoples of western Europe may be traced to an infusion of that blood. But in so late a period of man's development as the Christian era the various races and families were blended so much that it was impossible for anyone to know that he had pure racial blood in him. Yet blood tells. The predominance of Teutonic elements boded good at the incipience of the epochal change. They were quick and strenuous for personal independence, according to each individual both free rights and direct responsibility. By them the individual was put in front of the state.

Doubtless the greater force in shaping the Modern period was to be the New Testament. Jesus and the Book made out

of his life, teaching and immediate impulse will in this paper be considered only historically. The divine origin of Christianity and the inspiration of the Book are foreign to the scope of this study. It is impossible to say just what part of human progress in this period was the result of Christianity and what was the result of other forces at work in the epoch. A higher conception of man as man began to grow as the teachings of the Great Master became diffused. That there was no difference between Jew and Gentile, Greek and barbarian, was a new teaching. It was an advance now needed in man's evolution. Only the few before were the favored ones of states or of Heaven; now bond and free, rich and poor, great and small, were to stand on an equality. This one teaching, man's inherent individuality, inherent grandeur, and natural rights, was to affect all of man's progress to our time.

One of the mistakes of historians in dividing human progress has been in not recognizing the epochal character of the beginning of Christianity. To be sure, it cut no great figure in the world at the first, but the leaven was swiftly at work. As we gaze the vastness of the Roman empire rises like a huge mountain, seeming to overshadow the light rising for humanity in that little obscure province of Palestine; yet that was the light enlightening every man coming into the world. I urge that the Modern period of history, scientifically considered, should begin with Jesus. Forces then set at work have continuously expanded to our time. The giant power of Rome thoughtlessly protected Christianity at first, then failed to extirpate. The direct apostolic teachings were already profoundly affecting thought and conduct beyond Palestine; another century saw Rome alarmed at what seemed pernicious superstitions; the fourth century saw a Christian emperor ruling the Roman world. By this time the monks and priests and bishops were deeply imbued with a purpose to carry to the steadily encroaching northern people the forces and benevolent influences of the new religion, and Woden gradually gave way to Christ. But the gold had dross mixed with it. Churchmen were allured and corrupted by power. An overweening hierarchy grew up on the Tiber as the political power of Rome was perishing. Still there were mission-



**ART. VII.—THE APOLOGETIC WORTH OF CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE.**

By experience we understand the response in the human spirit to facts and truths. It is the general name for what takes place in us when we come up against certain facts or under the influence of certain truths. Let a man lose his property, and at once he will have an entirely new experience. The fact of poverty will affect him in a manner peculiar to itself. Let a man be possessed by the truth of the transitoriness of wealth, and his experience will be altogether different from that of him who has never been impressed by this truth. It will give him a new view of things, and will make a new person of him.

By religious experience, consequently, we mean the response in the human spirit to the facts and truths of religion. This response is both general and special. Thus there is the experience that all men have, more or less, in one way or another, because of the fact of God; and which expresses itself in phenomena so universal, though varying, as to prove that man is essentially the religious animal: and then there is the special religious experience peculiar to the devotees of the different religions, the truths, or the assumed truths, of each one of these producing their own effect, and so developing their own type of experience in each person who accepts them.

By Christian experience, then, is intended the normal response in the human spirit to the facts and truths of the Christian religion as these are set forth in the Bible. The word normal should be added for the reason that there is much experience of which Christianity, though the occasion, is not the cause. For example, the abundant, positive, and diverse experience which follows the rejection of Christianity is the effect, not of it, but of the sinner's own hard heart. All such experience, therefore, we must at once rule out as unchristian. It is only the experience of those in whom Christianity produces its effect that we need or, indeed, may consider. By the facts and truths of Christianity we mean those which constitute it. Such facts are, God's compassion for

sinners; the incarnation, the character, the work, the death, the resurrection, the ascension, of Christ; and his mission of the Holy Spirit. Such truths are the doctrines which interpret these facts, as, for example, the doctrine of God's love, the doctrine of the incarnation, the doctrine of the sinlessness of Christ, the doctrine of the atonement, the doctrine of the exaltation of our Lord, and the doctrine of the operation of the Holy Spirit. These and other like facts and doctrines make up Christianity. It is because of them that it is what it is. These facts and doctrines, moreover, must all be considered as they are presented in the Bible. This does not mean that the sacred writers fabricated the facts and doctrines of Scripture. They only recorded them. These facts and doctrines were such before the Bible was written; and its authors were divinely inspired to write it just in order that these facts and doctrines might be infallibly stated and communicated. In this, then, we have the reason why the Bible must be the source and, it should be noted, also the norm of all genuine Christian experience. It is not that the facts and truths of Christianity may not, even now, be learned independently of the Bible, and are not, even to-day, often presented quite otherwise than in its words. It is that in the Bible we have the only divine, and, hence, infallible and authoritative, exhibition both of the facts and truths of Christianity, and of what should be the effect of these in the spirit and so on the life of man. It may not be expected, therefore, that the Holy Spirit, who is the only Giver of life and of light, will develop in any a life not in harmony with that depicted in his Word, or that he will give for life any light which does not emanate from its facts and truths as he has recorded them for the express purpose of making us "wise unto salvation." To do either would be to "deny himself," and God cannot "deny himself." Indeed, as Professor Stearns well says (*The Evidence of Christian Experience*, p. 117), "There never was any Christian experience, after the Bible had become the possession of the Church, that could not be traced back to the Bible as its source; there never was any mature and complete Christian experience that did not grow out of the diligent personal use of the Bible."

This experience that, for the reasons given, we call Chris-

tian is the same essentially in all who have it. Incidentally it varies so greatly that in no two persons is it exactly alike. Temperament has much to do with it. So has environment. So has training. So has occupation. So has the previous attitude toward Christ. The experience of a phlegmatic Christian will be quite different from that of a sanguine one. Ritualistic surroundings will develop one type of Christian and revivalistic another. The child who has been brought up on the "Shorter Catechism" will not think or feel with reference to religion or, indeed, with reference to anything, as will one whose theological training has been less systematic. The man who is immersed in the business of the street and the woman who is given over to works of charity will not have, and may not be expected to have, the same experience when they become Christians. The child who has never gone far in rebellion against God will not, and cannot, when converted, experience the same horrors of conviction of sin that he will who for half a century has gloried in blaspheming Christ and in despising his grace. In spite, however, of the number and importance of these differences, it is still true that Christian experience is distinctly one and the same. It could not be otherwise. The facts and truths of Christianity change not, neither does human nature. Thus the object and the subject of this experience cannot vary.

To make this appear, it is necessary only to analyze the experience of Christians who differ widely in every particular except that they are followers of Christ. The same great elements may be seen in the experience of all of them. "Compare," says President Hopkins (*Evidences of Christianity*, p. 188), "the statements given respecting the power of the Gospel by Jonathan Edwards, by a converted Greenlander, a Sandwich Islander, and a Hottentot, and you will find in them all a substantial identity. They have all repented, and believed, and loved, and obeyed, and rejoiced; they all speak of similar conflicts and of similar supports. And their statements respecting these things have the more force because they are not given as testimony, but seem rather like notes, varying, indeed, in fullness and power, which may yet be recognized as coming from a similar instrument touched by a single hand.

raise is, What kind and degree of proof may be drawn from the experience the elements of which we have outlined and with which every reflecting Christian is familiar, of supernatural power congruous with and applying the facts and truths which constitute Christianity, and in connection with which and on account of which this experience has arisen, and without which it cannot be explained? Yet, let it not be supposed that this inquiry is less called for than those which have been mentioned. As we are bidden to have a "reason for the hope that is in us," so, in the case of many, their experience as Christians is the only reason that they have, or can have; and as it is of supreme concern to the impenitent themselves as well as to the Church that they should be brought to Christ, so if the experience of Christians should commend Christ to the world, no more than we ourselves, can men generally afford to be left ignorant of the force of this evidence. We notice then:

I. The direct apologetic worth of Christian experience. This falls naturally under two heads:

1. The apologetic worth of Christian experience to the Christian himself. What kind and degree of evidence does it afford to him that his religion is "the wisdom and the power of God?" To determine this we need to examine:

A. The reality of the evidential facts. The internal work, the illumination of mind, the reversal of will, the change of feelings, in a word, the "new man," in which, as we have seen, Christian experience consists—is there any proof that this is real? May it not be a mere fancy, and so the argument based on it be without foundation? The following considerations forbid any such supposition:

(a) The particular experience under notice is, in the case of Christians, antecedently probable. Since Christianity professes to save men who are "dead through trespasses and sins," it must, if true, work in them the mightiest and most radical of all changes. It is absurd, then, to think that there could be no real difference between the experience of him who is a Christian and of him who is not. It is more absurd than it would be to suppose that one born blind could gain the use of his eyes and not both feel himself a new man and be a new

self is concerned, there is no reason why he should. What you see you do not need to prove. Your sight of it is worth more than any demonstration. At best, the latter is only derivative: it presupposes immediate knowledge. Consciousness, however, is immediate and fundamental. It is the basis and condition of all knowledge. What you are conscious of as real must be real, if there be reality at all. The reality of Christian experience, therefore, may not be doubted by the Christian himself. It is antecedently probable; it is positively promised; it is the object of consciousness itself. The Christian, if he questions its reality, must question all reality.

*B.* Christian experience is the direct effect of Christianity itself. It may not be attributed to some other cause. Its evidential force, therefore, whatever this may be, must be credited to Christianity and to it alone. Several considerations show this to be so.

(*a*) We never find distinctively Christian experience in connection with other facts and truths than those of Christianity. Many circumstances and many doctrines, and of divers kinds, do affect men powerfully; but they never produce in them what we have seen to be the elements of Christian experience. They may even make them better in the sense of more serious, more moral, more spiritual in their aspirations. They may go so far as to develop highly the sense of sin, to reveal much of the exceeding beauty of the character of Christ, to effect a well-nigh complete reformation of the life so far as it can be observed, even to cause continuance in the well-doing thus entered on. But all this is totally different from that dread and loathing of sin as displeasing to God, that appropriation of Christ as your own gracious and indispensable Redeemer, that change of heart or disposition involved in beginning to love God more than self, that growth in true likeness to God, in all of which we have seen genuine Christian experience to consist. This particular experience can be found only in those who are real, even if sometimes secret, disciples of Christ.

(*b*) In them it may be discovered. Of course, many are called by his name who are not his. In these, therefore, we should not expect the experience in question. So, too, many who follow Christ do so only at a distance. We should not be

effects experienced in connection with Christianity, the experience already outlined and considered, regeneration and sanctification, both presuppose and reveal the supernatural.

(a) Take, for example, regeneration. It is an effect that can be rationally ascribed only to the immediate interposition of God in the life of the soul. There are two reasons for this. One appears in the primary sphere of regeneration. This is the heart or disposition. What is distinctive of the Christian is not that he has decided to follow Christ; it is rather that he has come to see in him "the chiefest among ten thousand" and the one "altogether lovely." That is to say, regeneration does not consist only in a change of will; it is also, and fundamentally, a change of the disposition underlying the will. Now, not to enter on the vexed question of the will, this much will probably be granted by all, that no one can change his own heart. He cannot make himself *love* what formerly he hated. Hence, if he has experienced a radical change of feeling toward Christ, it cannot be that he himself has been the cause of it. At least, we must look outside of the human will, if we would explain regeneration. But this is not all. Regeneration is not only an experience which begins below the will and so beyond our control; it is characteristically an experience which develops in direct opposition to nature. It cannot, therefore, be an evolution; it is really the contradiction of that out of which on the evolutionary hypothesis it must have come. When a rushing river is turned in a direction contrary to that in which it used to run, we know that a power other than that of its own stream or its own banks has done it, and must have done it; it is the change in its own tendency that is decisive. And precisely so, when Saul the Pharisee and persecutor of the Church becomes Paul the Christian and "bond servant of Christ," we ought to know that a force other than and above that of his own nature and environment has wrought the transformation, and must have wrought it. Nor does it signify that as a Christian he is the same honest intense man, the identical man, that he was as a Pharisee; it is the absolutely new direction of his whole life that we are considering, and this must be regarded as a causeless effect save on the supposition that there has been divinely

reception of the Gospel by us. (*Vide* Eph. i, 17.) Divinely adapted though it is to our need as sinners, its appropriate effect on us it itself ascribes to nothing less than a miracle of grace. The evidential force, therefore, of Christian experience must be as we have maintained. It is an experience of the supernatural.

D. A word should be added on the verification of this evidence. Though often decried, its sufficiency and, were there space, its superiority might be vindicated on the following grounds:

(a) Its scientific character. Scientific method involves three processes. There is, first, hypothesis; the reality of some fact or the truth of some law is assumed. There is, secondly, deduction; the consequences of the assumed fact or truth are carefully deduced. There is, thirdly, experiment; the fact or truth is put to the test to see if the consequences deduced actually follow. If they do, the assumption has become knowledge; there has been scientific proof. But this is precisely what there has been in the case of every Christian. He has assumed the reality of the facts and the truth of the doctrines of the Gospel. He has done so in view of the stated or implied consequences of these. He has put them to the test by acting in accord with their requirements. And the consequences have followed. The new life promised if they were acted on has been experienced. Again, there has been scientific proof, and it has been as scientific in this case as in the other.

(b) The abundance of consentient testimony. He who makes trial of Christianity does not find it true in his own experience only. He finds also that all others who have made trial of it have had the same experience. Thus he is confirmed by them. Not merely is his experiment successful; it is successful in unnumbered instances; in not one is it unsuccessful.

(c) The objective character of the evidence. Though it consists in experience, this experience expresses itself in the outward life. The Christian sees himself act as a "new man" as well as feels himself to be a "new creature." He observes that the same is more or less but yet distinctively true of all

tives, testify to the same effect, you judge that it would be the height of folly and sin for you not to act on their testimony. Why should Christian experience be the only kind that is not trustworthy?

*B.* The evidence of the experience of others is, in the case of the majority, that which is most easily understood and so most forcible. Many cannot follow an argument; but everyone can appreciate such a statement as, "I took it, and it cured me." All this is specially true in the sphere of spiritual truth. Here reasoning is necessarily abstruse; and so here the testimony of the experience of others, because of its simplicity, is peculiarly valuable. For the masses it is the best evidence, because it is almost the only sort that they can appreciate.

*C.* There is no reason why the testimony of Christians as to their experience should be less valid than the similar testimony of others. As a class, are they more readily self-deceived, are they less honest?

*D.* There is every reason why the testimony of Christians as to their experience should be worth much more than the like testimony of others:

(a) There is the singularly high reputation of representative Christians for breadth of intellect, for keenness of discernment, for trained ability in the weighing of evidence and the giving of testimony. Paul, Jonathan Edwards, Isaac Newton, William E. Gladstone—if these men can be self-deceived, then no man can be trusted; and if their testimony as to their experience may not be received, then no testimony should be. But the significant fact is that their testimony as to their experience is essentially the same as that of all Christians. Even, therefore, though ordinary Christians were peculiarly liable to self-deception, this would not weaken their testimony as to their religious experience; for their testimony as to this is confirmed by that of men who may not be supposed capable of being self-deceived. Nor is this a biased judgment. The keener and the more practical one may be in historical criticism, if only he be fair, the higher will be his confidence in the testimony of such witnesses. One who knew Dr. Arnold, the great historian of Rome, says that he never will forget the unutterable scorn with which that master critic once remarked.



experience of divine power cannot be a delusion ; for they are themselves "epistles of Christ known and read of all men." St. Paul's case has been referred to, but it is far from singular. The Epistle to Diognetus, which general consent assigns to the second century, gives us (chap. v) a picture of the Christian life as unique as it is vivid. "Every foreign country," we read, "is to the Christians a home, and their home to them is foreign ; like all, they marry and they beget children, but they expose them not when born, . . . they are in the flesh, but they live not after the flesh. They abide on earth, but their citizenship is in heaven. They obey the established laws, but in their lives far excel them. They love all, and by all they are persecuted. They are unexamined, yet condemned ; they are killed, yet made alive. They are poor, yet making many rich ; in want of all things, in all they abound. They are dishonored, and in their dishonor glorified. They are blasphemed, and yet justified. They are reviled, and they bless ; insulted, and they honor. Doing good, they are punished as malefactors, and when punished, they rejoice as quickened. War is raised against them as aliens from the Jews ; unrighteous suffering befalls them from the Greeks ; and the cause of this enmity no hater of them can tell." Nor is this a biased because Christian view. The pagans bore essentially the same testimony to the lives of the early Christians. "See how they love each other !" "See how happy they are !" Such were common exclamations. We notice to-day these supernatural changes of character. Jerry McAuley may continue to live in the slums, but he is a radically different man after conversion from what he was prior to it. The neighborhood of Bethany Church, Philadelphia, is now one of the best in that city. Before this church was built, it was exceedingly dangerous. An even more striking objective confirmation of the evidence of Christian experience is the number and the fortitude and the influence of the martyrs ; "for while it may be true that every religion has had its martyrs, no martyrology but that associated with the Bible records exalts whole masses and even nations ; nor have the martyrs of doubt and negation been conspicuous either by their numbers or by their fortitude." Surely, then, we are justified in claim-

until one has received something of the spirit of the artist. The ordinary evidence ought to constrain us to take Christ as he is "freely offered to us in the Gospel." In view of these evidences, it is as irrational as it is wicked to reject him. Yet only the "new heart" can *feel* the utter folly and awful sin of such a course. One must have Christ within him to discern his true glory. The evidences are fitted and intended to persuade us to make trial of him, but only that trial can bring out the full force of the evidences. Our limits, however, forbid the discussion of this very interesting and important phase of the subject. So, too, we may not even touch the many objections often raised to the evidence of Christian experience. We can only remark in closing:

1. How thankful should we be that that evidence of our religion which is the simplest of all, the *one* kind that most can appreciate or use, is really the strongest because the most scientific.

2. What need can be so urgent in this "age of doubt" as that the Church should act on what we have seen to be the apologetic worth of Christian experience?

*W. Brenton Lewis, Jr.*

The following methods employed to earn money by a recent graduate are typical of the conditions there: taking care of a furnace and walks for a private family at \$1 per week; acting as an agent for a city laundry on a commission of 30 per cent for all work collected; working in the library at from 12½ to 25 cents per hour; canvassing for the college annual on a 10 per cent commission; ditto for the college weekly at 15 per cent; posing for students in drawing and painting at 25 cents per hour; working in a store Saturday evenings at \$1 a night; running errands for the librarian at 25 cents a trip; pumping an organ at 15 cents per hour; selling tickets to college functions on a 10 per cent commission; mowing lawns at 25 cents for one of average size; doing odd jobs, such as putting up storm doors, at 15 cents per hour, with a minimum charge of 25 cents, and tutoring at 40 cents for a lesson of forty-five minutes. In a cooperative bookstore, where books are sold at 10 per cent above cost, employment is found for two undergraduates, their profits being 5 per cent of the value of books sold.

Although Northwestern does not undertake to aid students, the registrar says that many students reduce their expenses by caring for furnaces, lawns, stables; by stenography, book-keeping, teaching, canvassing, and as laundry agents. A student at Baker University, who had been a section hand on a railroad, tells how to live cheaply: "We burn wood. For my share of it I go to the 'timber' and cut it, receiving the wood for clearing the ground. I give a part to have it brought to town, so my fuel costs me no money. There are two of us, and we do our own housekeeping." Another student in the same institution not only kept his expenses for the year down to \$110, but also earned nearly half this amount by doing chores, working in gardens, and cleaning yards—incidentally he also led his class. To aid students who wish to rent rooms and board themselves, small cottages, of three or four rooms each, are rented at \$3 a month. A student at Albion College, who had had some practical experience in typesetting, obtained employment in one of the local newspaper offices and earned a considerable part of his year's expenses in that way. Another student during his college course split wood, worked on a farm,

## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

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### NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

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AN observant periodical is of opinion that "the process of religious decay, when it exists, is partly due to the increasingly commercial character of the Church organization." It is possible that Protestants as well as papists may profitably ponder the words of Cardinal Gibbons: "The Church is a bureau of administration; it ought to become a group of apostles again."

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IN these days of excessive optionalism and education in the line of least resistance, there is something tonic and sagacious in such a prescription for self-discipline as this: "Be systematically ascetic or heroic in little unnecessary points; do every day or two something for no other reason than that you would rather not do it; so that, when the hour of dire need draws nigh, it may find you nerved, and trained, and hardened to stand the test. Then you will stand like a tower when everything rocks around you and when your softer fellow-mortals are scattered like chaff."

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AN experienced and wise professor of systematic theology, who holds that nobody ought to attempt to dislodge, repel, or discredit one view without at the same time putting a better in its place, writes: "In these nervous days, no theologian should say one word merely to criticise a thing. I used to do that. He must make sure that he is helping men. I often let a half-truth go its way, simply because, in a given situation, it may be better for men, certain men, than nothing at all, or even than a full truth for which they are not ready."

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THE meeting of the General Conference of the United Brethren in Christ at Frederick, Md., last May, celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the denomination, the choosing of its first bishops, Otterbein and Boehm, and the

centered in realizing concrete possibilities of being and opportunity. This passion for deeds on the part of the intelligent, self-reliant, and cheerful commonalty in America, expressing itself in literature, turned to prose primarily as an instrument for promoting high and noble deeds. For prose, indeed, rather than poetry, is the most available and powerful literary instrument in furthering sane, responsible social democracy.

It is, then, first of all, because this ideal of human equality of being and opportunity was in some form or other always controlling and assisting American life and thought that prose itself—the pedestrian, but free, flexible, and ready instrument of the common man in expressing effectively his ideas on matters of common welfare—was adopted by the American citizen as his characteristic mode of utterance. It is, too, in the second place, because this same ideal expressed itself in literature sanely, responsibly, effectively, that the distinctly American prose style is clear, sane, vigorous, but temperate; that its mood is always strenuous; that its temper is always manly. The ideal of political, social, and spiritual citizenship, vividly realized, and in splendid cheer sought after, inevitably created in America a prose literature somewhat unæsthetic in charm, but still, by way of its real substance and generous spirit, powerful over the heart and imagination of “the plain people.” And if I were asked, In the style of which of the distinctly American prose writers does the quality of “manliness in art” most appear? I should answer, In the prose of the one American who is most typical of clear-headed, sane, and effective aspiration—in the prose of Lincoln. As was the man himself, plain, responsible, human, so he spoke and wrote. His Gettysburg Address, for example, to my mind, must remain the American ideal of prose style—simple thought thoroughly socialized by decent plainness and manly freedom.

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#### IMPORTANT TO FRIENDS OF CONFERENCE CLAIMANTS.

THE problem of caring for worn-out preachers and their dependents has been in all Protestant Churches shamefully neglected, utterly unsolved, or at least inadequately met. Our own communion, though not so negligent and heedless as some, has felt increasingly the painful necessity for some better provision. Various plans have been suggested, but nothing sufficient has been done. The proposition to organize a special Board with a secretary or agent to raise and manage a denominational fund has been disapproved because of difficulties, and particularly because of the undesirability of creating additional boards or societies unless absolutely necessary.

An important contribution toward the bettering of conditions for Conference claimants is now made by the Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who are to be commended for seriously considering this urgent subject and moving in the matter. They are a cautiously constituted, responsible, and capable body, whose duties are not so onerous as to preclude

*the net income derived therefrom shall be annually paid to the Annual Conference or Conferences named by the donor, or, in the absence of such direction, to all the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for distribution to the Conference claimants according to the Discipline of said Church.*

Correspondence relating to this matter should be addressed to George B. Johnson, Treasurer of Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 220 West Fourth Street, Cincinnati, O.

The full list of Trustees is as follows: Bishop John M. Walden, President; James N. Gamble, Vice President; John Pearson, Secretary; George B. Johnson, Treasurer; W. F. Boyd, Counsel; Lewis Curts, Robert T. Miller, Jesse R. Clark, Frank G. Mitchell, Edward B. Rawls, Norman W. Harris, Stanley O. Royal.

In very many of our congregations there must be persons, women or elderly or feeble persons, who are kindly disposed toward superannuate ministers, and who for one reason or another would gladly be relieved of the burden of caring for their possessions if they could just as well receive regularly from the Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church the income therefrom without any care or exertion on their own part, and also escape the payment of taxes which in some instances nearly consume the earnings of their money: the condition being that after the decease of the donor the income from the property shall be paid annually to such Annual Conference or Conferences as said donor may designate for the benefit of the Conference claimants in those Conferences.

This announcement made by the Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church furnishes a good text for the pastor's talk from the pulpit when he urges the needs of Conference claimants at the time of taking the annual collection, and a good topic for instructive conversation in his round of pastoral calls.

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#### THE VALUE OF THE HUMAN.

As to human nature, there are two extremes of view, one taken by positivism, which invites us to worship the great being, "Humanity," even offering us a formulated ritual for such adorations. This absurd proposition we may safely leave to the tender mercies of Mr. Spencer's article on "Retrogressive Piety." The other extreme is that of sour and cynical misanthropy which speaks contemptuously of mankind, disbelieving in human virtue and nobleness. The true point of view lies

The beauty and chief ornaments of the world are human: no flower is as lovely as a sweet child; no sunrise as splendid as the golden morning of a young manhood or womanhood; no crystal as beautiful as the firm purity of a clarified character; no mountain so imposing and sublime as a lofty life; no harvest or fields or fruitage on branches so fair as the goodly products of a useful and noble career.

The music of the world is human. No birdsong so wonderful as the human voice; no babble of a brook so musical as the ripple of innocent laughter in a happy home; no solemn chant of winds so grand as the psalm rolled into the sky by worshipping assemblies. To stand by the ocean and hear the beat of its stupendous pulse, is to take the sound of a shallower deep and a narrower sea than when you lay your ear against the throbbing of a human heart.

The joy of life and wealth of the world are in humanity. He was a wise man who said, "A man's wealth is measured by the number he loves and is loved by." This is not exactly what the books on Political Economy say, but it is as true as anything in them. Get the millionaires together, estimate their riches by this true measure, and for some of them you will need to build a new kind of almshouse. The value of this world to God is not in silver and gold and real estate. Its preciousness is human, and a nameless foundling child, rolled in a shawl by hasty hands of shame and abandoned at midnight in an open lot by one who fled away into the dark, is to the Eye that watches from above a jewel richer than Brazilian or African diamond field ever bore. Humboldt traveled the globe over, saw everything and wrote, "The finest fruit earth holds up to its Maker is *a man*." In Mrs. Browning's "Drama of Exile," Christ speaking of the superiority of humanity over the world bids the earth behold in Man its master:

This regent and sublime Humanity,  
Tho' fallen, exceeds you! This shall flim your sun,  
Shall hunt your lightning to its lair of cloud,  
Turn back your rivers, footpath all your seas,  
Lay flat your forests, master with a look  
Your lion at his fasting, and fetch down  
Your eagle flying.

Yes, the vivid interests of this world are human. The fascination of history, the spell of romance, the charm of poetry—what are they made of? Made mostly of human passions, human

love. God does not win us by revealing his mighty name and nature, bursting upon us with the unbearable glory of His unveiled Being. Hearts unskilled in spiritual things like ours might hesitate in fear or dazed bewilderment. He gives Himself in such a form that the humanest portion of our affections may be met, our love of friendship, our craving for lip speaking to lip, hand grasping hand, in such forms as make Him seem to crave and need our love. Men have been made to appreciate with their bodily senses the sweetness, loveliness, and perfection of Him whom we are invited to love. It is in Christ that God shows Himself as altogether lovely, as entreating, craving, yearning for the love of us poor, simple creatures of the earth.

It may be that sermons have failed to represent Christ enough on his human side. We need to present Him in nearness, not as the Unitarians do, but as the Gospels do. Mankind crossing the rough isthmus of time from one mysterious sea to another, and groping for the path, want not theory, but a hand to hold, not a map of the way, but a guide who himself has trodden it. Culture and education do us poor service if they incline us to substitute philosophy, logic, and scientific discussion in place of the simple pointing of men to Him who was born in a stable and died on a cross. Church history, roots of Hebrew verbs, and doctrines have their necessary place, but they are not what the mass of men hunger for, and need to have laid upon their souls. It gives them more comfort to reach out the hand of faith across eighteen centuries to the actual divine Man who walked by the Sea of Galilee, who healed the sick and raised the dead. They want to know if he still lives for the help of poor souls and bodies that are toiling and struggling on this troubled earth. Apostolic succession, papal dogmas, councils of Nice, mysteries of the Trinity, evolution, higher criticism, the human multitude care little about such things. They are pressed by questions more urgent. They are driven by life's toil and care. They are weary with yesterday's toil, bowed down with to-day's sorrow, troubled with to-morrow's problems. They will all be dead before we can get all those lofty, high flown questions explained, argued, and settled. But that there was once on earth a wondrous man, Jesus, who died for them and holds still his love toward them, to whom a man can call as to an elder brother when his



little child is ill or his wife laid out of sight forever, or when he feels his own body failing, and who can comfort him with sympathy and the assured hope of a better life for his dear ones and himself—Ah! this is what he wants the preacher to tell him about and make real to him. O! let us think of the Man who was familiar with the carpenter's shop; who, when he was tired and thirsty, sat down by the well and asked a woman for a drink, while he wiped away the dust and sweat of his journey; and who bore the brunt of this mortal life, rubbed along with its hardships, and put up with the differences and jealousies and petty meannesses and irritabilities and obstinacies and hot-tempered hatefulness of human nature, and took the bitter with the sweet, mostly bitter; who lived just our life, and drank our cup, and found a way to overcome and to bear up and be victorious in it all; and who lets us see how he did it, making us his comrades; takes us along with him into his great temptation, that we may see how he deals with the tempter, how he answers and defeats him; takes us along into Gethsemane to let us see how he gets through that struggle; takes us with him into Pilate's court, that we may see how he bears false accusings, rage, and mockings; and at last takes us by the hand as he walks along by Simon the Cyrenian, who is carrying the cross for him, and says faintly, Come up on the hill yonder and see me die. He dies forgiving his enemies, and remembering his mother. So he shows us how to live and how to die. That is the kind of Saviour we have, and the Bible is of little use to us unless we find this out. Before he went away he taught us how to pray, made it glad and easy work for us to pray. Indeed, the only real praying on earth is by those that have the Gospel in their hearts and look up to heaven, where Christ has gone to plead for all his saints; and we are commanded to believe that it is none other than the King, eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, our Saviour, who waits to receive into everlasting habitations those who accept his salvation and go forward on His path. William Blake truly says that men pray to Mercy, Pity, Peace, and Love because now, in Christ,

Mercy has a human heart;  
Pity, a human face;  
And Love, the human form divine;  
And Peace, the human dress.

The instinct is not wrong which leads us in trouble to reach out for our kind and makes us value those who come to us in our distress. Thomas à Kempis said, "Our dependence on God ought to be so entire and absolute that we should never think it necessary in any kind of sorrow to have recourse to human consolation." But who was à Kempis, and how has his system of living worked? If it be not right to seek sympathy, can it be right to give it and so lead men to look for it and lean on it? Would it not be fair to them, perhaps duty to them, to say, "No, you must look to God alone"? What an Arctic hell that plan of living would make of this world!

The great opportunities of life will come to us by, and in connection with, man. The only way to serve God is by blessing and helping men. Say you, "O, yes, one can glorify God by self-cultivation, by trying to perfect the nature he has given." No! A man cannot develop himself in any noble and God glorifying way, except by developing outwardly upon his fellows, by playing off his faculties in sympathy and association with them. There is no way to be a follower of Jesus except by doing good, no way of serving Christ but by blessing men. "Doing good to the little and weak and needy is doing it to me," he says. But how can one do men good without love? He will not desire to bless them unless he loves them. He cannot bless them in the highest way except by gaining their hearts. Those who have toiled hardest for this world have been great man lovers, and most of them greatly beloved. It is useless for a man to pretend to love God if he is hateful and hard, or indifferent to his fellows. A cross and surly saint is a contradiction. The only way for us to show our love for God is by being good to his other children. We may pray, read our Bibles, profess and count beads, and do penance without end, and it will go for nothing if we care nothing for our fellow-mortals, their needs and miseries; our fellow-immortals, their state and prospects, fears and hopes. Glorifying God by living to bless men, we may find the highest satisfaction possible to us on earth or in heaven. Sweeter than all other success and richer than a crown, will it be to hear from some human being's lips, "I am a better man, a better woman by knowing you," and if we are capable of extorting such words we will not be puffed up by them, but humbled at the very feet of God.

valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. The dominant race at the opening of the twentieth century is the Anglo-Saxon, and the metropolitan city is London. Egypt has never been hidden from human view, but Babylon and Nineveh for many centuries were as completely lost as the doomed cities of Italy buried beneath the ashes of Vesuvius. It is within a comparatively brief period that explorations and excavations have restored to the civilized nations a knowledge of these long-lost cities, cities famous in the secular annals of Greece and Rome and the sacred annals of the Jewish Scriptures. Many nationalities of Christendom have taken an interest in these explorations; among them the English, German, and French have been the most prominent. Lately, however, our own country has joined with these just named in this most important and interesting work.

While many distinguished men have written more or less extensively upon the methods and results of the exhumation of these ancient cities, no history of Babylonia and Assyria has been written in the English language since the greatest and most recent discoveries, and based upon original sources except this work of Professor Rogers. Really his work rests exclusively on the original Babylonian and Assyrian documents, and is not made up from secondary sources. Scores of thousands of tablets, cylinders, and monumental inscriptions have been exhumed, and many of them deciphered, furnishing a wealth of information on an almost endless variety of subjects. Professor Rogers has availed himself of this wealth of information in the preparation of his work.

Then it should be noticed that there is no other author who gives us in the English language so full and intelligible an account of the successive steps which have been taken in the process of the decipherment of the vast collection of cuneiform inscriptions. It seems almost miraculous that after the lapse of so many centuries these treasures of ancient literature should be discovered, and quite as miraculous that human ingenuity could find a way to restore in a good degree a language thrice dead and utterly forgotten for centuries. It was a most remarkable achievement to solve the riddle of the Egyptian hieroglyphics by the aid of the famous Rosetta stone, but it required vastly more skill, patience, and ingenuity to recover the languages of Babylonia and Assyria. Hommel, Kanlen, and others have told us something about these interesting matters, but our own Professor Rogers has far surpassed them both in extent and thoroughness of investigation and description.

It is of vital importance, and of the greatest interest to Bible students to know that Professor Rogers has treated exhaustively, nearly if not all the ascertained points of contact between Israel, and Babylonia, and Assyria, so that it is possible to gain a very fair estimate of the Babylonian and Assyrian view of these episodes, which to candid minds show the hand of God. The careful reader will notice in the foot notes abundant references to the passages in the prophets, especially in Isaiah and Jeremiah in which these events are discussed. Thus can be studied the contem,

kings that Joshua found in Palestine does not reflect that Palestine was only the size of New Hampshire, and a dozen kings in so small a space would be very small kings of very small kingdoms. So the ships of the Sea of Galilee were small boats, while the sea was less than twenty miles long. So we do well to remember that the entire territory included in the dominions of Babylonia and Assyria, excepting temporary conquests in Egypt and elsewhere, did not exceed more than a space seven hundred miles square, while practically the real territory was not more than half that size, say about one third the State of Texas, or about as large as New York and Pennsylvania. It would scarcely be proper to call this an empire, or the people a world power, in the sense in which we use those terms in modern times. Doubtless Nineveh and Babylon were in a sense metropolitan, and the people who dwelt in them belonged to the then dominant race, but the extent and sphere of their domination was extremely limited.

Then again archæologists fall into the habit of making imaginary and inferential statements. It would be difficult to find one free from this habit. Professor Sayce is a striking example of this. A scrap of a cylinder is deciphered, a part of a clay tablet is read, a broken slab has a part of a very important inscription, and just where words are most important there is a lacuna here and another there. Then comes in play the imagination and the inferential power of the human mind and the lacunæ are supplied. But this is guessing. It is not in any sense scientific. Nothing must be imagined, inferred, guessed. The thing to do is to make a note of what has been deciphered, work on, search out more carefully, and with infinite painstaking seek to discover the lacking material. It may come in due time. After what has been achieved what may we not expect? Already much has been brought to light that tends to confirm the biblical history, to illustrate many of the customs of the Hebrew and other peoples referred to in the Bible. Possibly some enthusiastic persons have overestimated the importance of archæological researches and discoveries in relation to the genuineness and authenticity of the several books of the Bible. The lovers of the Bible have, however, nothing to fear from *established* and *duly certified* FACTS, and *real discoveries*. The discoverers and archæologists must come to some definite agreement among themselves before they can expect any sensible person to accept their discrepant conclusions. In thus pointing out a few—three only—of the characteristics which are very prominent among many archæologists, and explorers of buried cities, and chronologists of ancient times, it is with the greatest satisfaction that one can honestly commend the work of Professor Rogers for its candor, moderation, and reasonableness. His thorough research, his hesitation to accept improved hypotheses, his avoidance of all professional and scholarly dogmatism, his ability to suspend judgment on any case no matter how important the question or how great the temptation to be the first in reaching a conclusion, are qualities which always distinguish broad and

clear-minded scholars and safe leaders in new paths of scientific discovery.

Professor Rogers has rendered an exceedingly valuable service to the cause of truth, and to all intelligent people who wish to keep abreast of the age in which they live. He has brought back to us by a sort of resurrection from the dead peoples of comparatively vast power and influence, whose names and deeds were almost as perfectly lost as the cities and inhabitants of the submerged Atlantis.

*Auburndale, Mass.*

W. F. MALLALIEU.

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#### METHODISM AND CHILDHOOD.

THE discussion that has recently sprung up in the *METHODIST REVIEW* respecting children is every way fortunate and opportune. This is a subject that will not "down!" Many strong and true things have been said in this discussion, but nobody goes far enough and presses it to a logical conclusion. Let us group the teachings of the Methodist Church and the Bible respecting the spiritual condition of children, and see where we come out, what conclusions are forced upon us, and whether the practice of the Church comports with its precepts.

The first statement that can be made with emphasis is that the Methodist Episcopal Church believes and teaches that infant children are in a saved state. Our fathers waged great warfare on this question, and stood in fierce array on the affirmative side. Our Church has taken at their face value the words of Christ: "Of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein." "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven." These words have brought comfort to thousands of sorrowing hearts as Methodist preachers have repeated them at the open graves of infant children.

These words seem clearly to teach two things. First, that infant children are members of the spiritual kingdom of God, members of the invisible Church, Christians; in a word, that they are saved; Secondly, that infant children are the highest types of Christians—the ideal Christians—that child piety is the highest form of piety, and that adults must conform themselves to children in order to enter the kingdom of God and reach the highest attainments in the Christian life. Our Church has believed and taught this. The standards of our Church, and the writings of the leaders of Methodism contain these teachings. Furthermore, the statement can be made with equal emphasis that our Church believes in and practices infant baptism and thereby sets her seal upon the doctrine that infant children are saved. One of our articles of religion reads: "The baptism of young children is to be retained in the Church."

It will be necessary to consider what interpretation the Methodist Episcopal Church has put upon the two doctrines—the *salvation* and the *baptism* of young children.

One of our articles of religion reads: "Baptism is not only a sign of profession and mark of difference whereby Christians are distinguished from others that are not baptized; but it is also a sign of regeneration or the new birth." We define a sacrament to be "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace." Baptism, then, is a sign that the grace of God saves the person baptized. We baptize those only whom we believe to be saved. Infant children are baptized because we believe that they are in a saved state. Baptism distinguishes Christians from others, therefore we believe children to be Christians. Baptism is a sign of regeneration or the new birth. Children may be baptized, therefore we believe they have been regenerated and have experienced a new birth. It is asked in the catechism: "What is the inward grace signified by baptism?" and the answer is: "A death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness." It is not necessary to multiply words. We baptize children because we believe they are saved.

It may be well to quote a few Methodist authorities on this subject. In 1873, when he was at the head of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, the great editor, Dr. Whedon, conducted a discussion on this question to which attention may be called. He quotes Mr. Fletcher as follows: "Those who start at every expression they are not used to will ask if our Church admits the justification of infants. I answer *undoubtedly*, since her clergy, by her direction, say over myriads of infants, 'We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant.'" This last phrase is found in the ritual of the Established Church of England. It is not in the ritual of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but the same thought, as we have already shown, abounds in all parts of our ritual service. Dr. Whedon adds, "Then he [Mr. Fletcher] proceeds to prove that this regeneration is antecedent to baptism, and universal, . . . that infants are truly born of the Spirit as ground of their being born of water; that they are to receive the outward sign because they have received the inward grace." Dr. Whedon likewise quotes Mr. Wesley as teaching that infants are literally and in their infancy members of the kingdom of God, and yet that none but regenerate persons can be members of that kingdom. He also quotes Dr. Fisk as follows:

"Although all moral depravity, derived or contracted, is damning in its nature, still by virtue of the atonement the destructive effects of derived depravity are counteracted, and guilt is not imputed until by a voluntary rejection of the Gospel remedy man makes the depravity of his nature the object of his choice. Hence, although abstractedly considered, this depravity is destructive to the possessors, yet through the grace of the Gospel all are *born free from condemnation*."

These authorities clearly teach, in harmony with Christ's words, that

redeemed this child by the blood of his Son, he will grant that he, being baptized with water, may also be baptized with the Holy Ghost, *be received into Christ's holy Church*, and become a *lively member of the same*." In the first prayer are the words, "We beseech thee, that of thine infinite mercy thou wilt look upon this child: wash him and sanctify him; that he, being saved by thy grace, may be received into Christ's holy Church." And in another prayer are the following words, "So that, when he has glorified thee in his generation, and has served the Church on earth, he may be received into thine eternal kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord." This whole service clearly indicates that the child, who is already a member of the kingdom of God, is being baptized and received into the visible Church, as a recognition of the salvation which has been unconditionally granted under the atonement of Christ.

Such are the teachings of our Church, and yet we never enter the names of baptized children as members of the Church. Our highest aim in adjusting the affairs of the earthly Church is to make its roll of membership correspond with the roll that is kept in heaven; and yet we leave off our earthly roll the only names that we are absolutely sure are on the records of heaven. The ideal members, the highest type of members are left off our rolls, whereas we put on a great many names that we are not so sure about. Whenever we put the name of an adult on our church records we never quite know whether the name is on the heavenly record, but we have no such misgivings about the children.

Our Church teaches that children are proper subjects of baptism, and it baptizes them, and admits them into the Church. It does not enter their names on the roll of membership, however, but waits several years till they are old enough to sin, to be converted, to serve on probation for six months, after which it will enter their names on the church records. If they are saved, why should they not be enrolled as members? If they are on God's records, why should they not be on ours? The common answer is a fear that they will not hold out. Our ministers have taken many adults into the Church when they had grave fears that they would not hold out. They received them and entered their names on the rolls because they were saved *at the time they were received*, only to find at the last that they made shipwreck of faith. Let the children have as fair treatment, and there are many reasons for thinking that not so many of them will backslide as now backslide from an equal number of adults who are taken into the Church. This statement cannot be proved, of course, for the children have never been enrolled and treated as members.

This article has been written to tempt some wise man of Methodism to give a good and sufficient reason why the names of baptized children, who are recognized by the Church as saved persons, should not be entered on the roll of Church membership; for no such good and sufficient reason is on record in the literature of our Church.

*Albany, N. Y.*

HENRY GRAHAM.

## METHODISM IN THE PHILIPPINES.

METHODISM must have her own schools in the Philippines. Every argument which compels establishment and maintenance of our own institutions of learning in the United States is of equal force here. In fact, owing to the inbred Romish conceptions of true piety, the argument for schools other than those established by public funds and carried on without religious instruction has greater weight. I see no way to wash these misconceptions out of the fiber of the Filipino mind except by rubbing them continuously on our own educational washboard.

Government has projected and is carrying out here a most commendable scheme for the free education of the masses. It stands out alone in the history of such efforts. Money and brain and executive ability of the highest order is being given without stint to the establishment of schools for the poorest in the islands. The Government scheme includes college and university all in good time. But just as all similar provisions in America do not satisfy Christian parents and Christian leaders of the various Churches, so here the system of the Government, be it ever so good, will never give us the women and the men who will lead our forces to victory.

We should have in Manila, and at one or two other central cities in this island of Luzon, good schools, where correct views of Scripture will be taught, and where it will be practically impossible for young people to get an education without finding Christ as a personal Saviour. Some steward of the Lord, who wants to do for the Philippines what Mr. Roberts did for regions tributary to Constantinople, can find an opening by writing to the presiding elder of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, Manila.

Until recently the great ingathering of souls in the Philippines was confined to Manila. Now the work is spreading in many parts of the provinces. Four weeks ago I made my first visit to Dagupan, at the northern terminus of our one and only railway in these islands. Our Mr. Martin there had been pounding away more than a year getting Spanish, and making a beginning at Pangasinan, and had just begun to feel at home in speaking. I took up a couple of men who can talk the vernacular. One of them had been awakened and led to accept Christ in the Presbyterian services here in Manila. These men told us of an opening at a city called Camiling, in the province of Tarlac. Brother Martin went with him to look the city over, and so well was he received that he has already organized a circuit with three appointments, of which Camiling is one, and Moncada and Gerona the other two points. At the two latter places he is most enthusiastically received. More than a dozen heads of families have given him their names, at each of the last named places, as candidates for membership in our church, and he confidently expects a truly great work at Camiling. It is all new ground. Protestantism never lifted up its voice on that soil until within the past four weeks, and already many have believed unto the saving of their souls. I shall



revisit the work there soon, and hope to see a great work begin. I am told on good authority that there are fifty thousand men in that province who are accessible to Protestant influences now ! Certain it is that no building will contain all who crowd upon our men to hear the strange new doctrine that Christ saves sinners without the intervention of priest, or sacraments, or penance.

In the province of Bulacan, immediately north of Manila, the Presbyterians had made a beginning; but when the Evangelical Union was formed in May, and Methodism accepted responsibility for the evangelization of that portion of the island of Luzon north of Manila as far as Dagupan, and from sea to sea, it fell to us to take up and carry forward their work. They had a little band of thirty believers in church fellowship with them at a place called Hagonoy, in Bulacan Province. Since then the work there has gone forward rapidly and hopefully. The members raised all the money needed, and purchased a house for a place of worship. They now have a pastor, and our Brother Goodell and Brother Nicholas Zamora visit them at least once a month. The work is spreading into all the regions about Hagonoy in a most natural, healthful, and hopeful way.

Last week I was visited by a delegation from the populous province of Bataan, across the Bay, and urged to send preachers to four cities lying near together. They promise entertainment, free carriages, and crowds to hear the Word. We shall send a couple of our best volunteer preachers over there, in a week or two, and soon we hope to see that province turning to God.

The crying need is *literature* ! The people have *absolutely nothing to read*. We are putting a number of good tracts through the press, but we must have periodical literature. Help at this point will be far reaching in its effect upon the work. We trust that the Church at home will not cease to pray for her workers at this distant outpost of the Church.

*Manila, Philippine Islands, July 2, 1901.*

HOMER C. STUNTZ.

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#### THE TRINITY.

THE Trinity has been a perplexity to many persons because they could not see how *three* separate persons could combine into one Being. I do not recall an effort where an illustration was used to show the possibility of such a Trinity. I do not set myself up as a wiseacre, but as God gives me light my duty is to "let it shine." To illustrate the Trinity take a hard boiled egg : the shell is perfectly one; the white, or albumen, is perfectly one; the yolk is perfectly one: and the three are one.\*

*Van Wert, O.*

JASON YOUNG.

\* It need hardly be said that the above was written soberly and with entire reverence. It is printed as a sample of the elucidation of an abstruse subject by means of a concrete illustration.—Ed.

roots of the thought which they contain and which were intended for the world. The vigor and tone of the preacher will be very much increased by a close study of the *great subjects* of the sacred writers. They treat of those topics which have ever been powerful in awakening the intellectual and moral powers of men. They treat of God and man, Christ and redemption, holiness and heaven. What is said of John the Evangelist by Canon Liddon may in a modified sense be spoken of the thorough student of the Bible. He says: "We may perhaps have wondered how a Galilean fisherman could have been the author of a subtle and sublime theosophy, how the son of Zebedee could have appropriated the language of Athens and of Alexandria to the Crucified. The answer is that St. John knew from experience that blessed and tremendous truth that his Lord and friend was a divine person. Apart from the guidance of the blessed Spirit, St. John's mental strength and refinement may be traced to the force of his keen interest in this single fact. Just as a desperate moral or material struggle brings to light forces and resources unused before, so an intense religious conviction fertilizes intellect and develops speculative talent, not unfrequently in the most unlearned. Every form of thought, which comes even into direct contact with the truth to which the soul clings adoringly is scanned by it with deep and anxious interest whether it be the interest of hope or the interest of apprehension. St. John certainly is a theosophic philosopher, but he is only a philosopher because he is a theologian; he is such a master of abstract thought because he is so devoted to the incarnate God. The fisherman of Galilee could never have written the prologue of the fourth gospel or have guided the religious thought of Ephesus unless he had clung to this sustaining truth, which makes him so profound, for St. John is spiritually simple as he is intellectually majestic."\*

*Second, exegetical study* provides a kind of training very necessary to the attainment of a high order of pulpit address. The style of a preacher has much to do with his usefulness. The mode of presenting truth has much to do with its ultimate success. A close, concise, energetic style is the best for the pulpit orator. The flowing rhetoric of the schoolboy will not do as a *permanent* thing. It will meet approval in the flush of youth, but it will not stand when maturity is expected of the preacher. Very young preachers who are flattered by applauding congregations will do well to remember that the things for which their people approve them now will be the things for which they will censure them when they are older. A close study of the Scriptures promotes dignity of address. Coleridge says, "The study of the Holy Scriptures will keep any man from being vulgar in point of style." Abraham Lincoln derived his choice and idiomatic English largely from the study of the Bible. What a study for the culture of a graphic style is the prophecy of Isaiah in its beautiful English dress.

\* Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, 1866, p. 225.

Müller's Chips are the outgrowth of his studies, so the preacher's topics are largely the outgrowth of his severer studies. A warm heart to appreciate the spiritual forms of truth, and a keen sense of the causes and relations of things, will provide a multitude of topics of great practical value. What abundance of material for distinct subjects is found in the parables and miracles of our Lord! Every one of these has its peculiar aspect, which presents itself in new and varied forms to each individual mind. How wonderful the propositions in the writings of Paul, giving room for argumentative discourses! What shades of meaning are brought out of deepest interest to the hearers in the minute study of particular forms of expression. In the first year of my ministry a young brother of my own age in the ministry asked me to exchange pulpits with him, giving as a reason that his topics were exhausted, as he had preached the Bible through! You will readily see that his study of the Book must have been very cursory when he had exhausted it in less than one year's preaching.

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THE HOMILETIC VALUE OF THE LATE REVISION OF THE SCRIPTURES.—Rom. iv, 1.

THE fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans is very interesting because of the variations in the text, and the different meanings assigned to the passage growing out of them. The version of King James reads, "What shall we say then that Abraham our father, as pertaining to the flesh, hath found?" The late version renders it thus, "What then shall we say that Abraham, our forefather according to the flesh, hath found?" A further reading in the margin of the late revision would be, "What then shall we say of Abraham, our forefather according to the flesh?" There is another rendering also possible, namely, What shall we say that Abraham our father hath obtained according to the flesh? It is not important that we discuss the arguments for or against each one of these varied renderings growing out of the text. For our present purposes we simply compare these which are found in our ordinary version and in the Revised Version and its margin. After the discussion of the previous chapters, in which the apostle has shown the impossibility of obtaining salvation by works of law, and further, that salvation by faith does not make void the law but establishes it, it was natural that the question of the position of Abraham should arise in Paul's mind and also in the mind of his readers. Abraham was the founder of their race, and in his posterity they expected the promised Messiah; hence the question indicated in this verse.

The ordinary rendering of this passage connects the phrase "according to the flesh" with "Abraham our father." This has been regarded by some as tautological, but it serves to show more specifically the relation of the Jews of that time to their ancestor Abraham. The question, then, which is asked, is, "What shall we say then, that Abraham, our

proved of no advantage whatever. This does not deny the value of the law as a training and preparation for the Gospel, but it does deny its efficiency in securing personal salvation. When, therefore, we come to discuss the question of justification by faith, Abraham must be quoted for it, because it was not his works that constituted his justification before God, but his faith, as it is said by this same apostle, "Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness."

For homiletical purposes, then, this passage involves the following points of discussion:

1. The position of Abraham as a typical representative of the mode of human salvation. Is he the forefather of the Church merely in his relation as ancestor of the Jews, or does he represent in the faith which he exercised that point in which Jews and Gentiles were to be brought together and all recognized as children of God by faith in Christ Jesus? The case as stated indicates that Abraham did not obtain his justification before God because of his obedience to the law or to his great achievements, but rather because of his relation to God by faith.

2. What is the relation of law to the justification of the believer? Is it merely an expression of God's attitude in human affairs, or is it also part of an educational system by which the world was to be trained to accept salvation through faith in Christ? For homiletical purposes, it is both. The law is an expression of the will of God in relation to men at any given time. It is also that which reveals to man his own condition by showing his failure to keep its requirements.

3. The importance of typical illustrations, such as Abraham, in bringing out clearly the great ideas of the Scriptures. The frequent reference to persons as illustrative of the principles involved is, indeed, one of the striking characteristics of the Scriptures. They are a living book, because they are the records of the lives of men in their relation to God.

4. For critical purposes, this passage is exceedingly interesting as showing the variances in the text which occur within the space of a few words, variances which have not, however, seriously modified its meaning. The essential point, salvation by faith only, is distinctly affirmed. The various textual readings which are found in the New Testament have not affected the doctrines of the Church to any serious extent. Indeed it is said that no fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith has been put in peril through the researches of textual criticism.

5. The distinction between legal and evangelical justification is shown in this passage and the succeeding context. It is the gracious act of God in pardoning the sinner because of his union with Jesus Christ by faith which the apostle enforces. Blessed is "the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works." Beel, on Rom. i, 2, remarks, "If from works done in obedience to law Abraham had obtained the favor and covenant of God, God would be to him, not the free source of every good, but only a master, who pays for work done; and Abraham's confidence would be measured by his own morality."

## ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

## DISCOVERIES IN THE FORUM.

ROME, in the very nature of things, has been for many centuries one of the most interesting fields for archæologists. The number of treasures recovered from its imposing ruins have been very numerous, and of great value to the student of history. When we stop to consider that archæology has made its greatest discoveries during the past fifty years, and that its greatest harvests have been reaped in Bible, rather than in classical, lands; on the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile, rather than on the yellow Tiber or Adriatic coasts, we are not to be surprised if discoveries in Rome and other classic cities have not been as plentiful or satisfactory as in some other fields. This is especially true of the Roman Forum, though not quite as much so to-day, as it was some years ago, when Augustus J. C. Hare could write, "The recent excavations have been chiefly remarkable for the discovery of nothing which was expected, and of everything which was not expected." The same writer very truly says, "The study of the Roman Forum is complicated by the *succession* of public edifices by which it has been occupied, each period of Roman history having a different set of buildings, and each in a great measure supplanting that which went before."

Strange as it may sound, it may be said that thorough and systematic excavations were not made in the Forum and the immediate vicinity till about three years ago, when methods pursued by Petrie and Bliss in Egypt and Palestine, and by Hilprecht and others in Babylonia were introduced into Rome and adopted in the Forum. The learned world may congratulate itself that Professor Baccelli, the Minister of Public Instruction, has manifested the keenest interest in the excavations commenced in 1898. Indeed, the Italian government was fortunate in finding a person like Architect Boni to superintend the new enterprise, for a man possessing the archæological instinct, as well as a scientific training, to such a degree as Signor Boni, cannot fail to reap a rich harvest in so fertile a field as the spot on which the Forum Romanum once stood.

There are few spots on earth around which there clusters so much that is fraught with historical interest, as this limited space reclaimed from the marshes of the Velabrum, "surrounded on two sides by the lofty, perpendicular cliffs of the Palatine and of the Capitol." The place, though used at first exclusively as a public market, in the course of centuries became the most celebrated and most classical spot of ancient Rome, "where the Senate had its assemblies, and where the greatest men of history determined the destinies of the world." There are, and there have been, public squares around which more imposing buildings have been erected. Roman history contains many a reference to customs and places

in and around this venerable area, of which we would gladly know more. This is why the discoveries of archæologists like Boni and Lanciani are so welcome to those who would possess a more correct and comprehensive knowledge of ancient Rome.

The modern archæologist, in all recent excavations, advances on a purely scientific plan; for that reason, greater results follow everywhere. He is no longer satisfied with a superficial investigation, but, to use a common phrase, he proposes to go to the bottom of things, and, whenever possible, to dig to the lowest level, never resting till virgin soil is reached. Heretofore it was all too common to regard any kind of a pavement or the lowest layer of a foundation as the lowest level, not dreaming that one building or city had been built upon the ruins of another, or that important objects had been buried for centuries under these foundations. To illustrate our meaning, we can do no better than cite the recent discovery of objects found some two yards below the *Lapis Niger* or the well-known *Black Stones*.

The *Lapis Niger* of classic fame was unearthed in front of the Curiae, or Senate houses. This was a pavement of black marble, streaked with white, and bordered on three sides with upright slabs. The exact nature and purpose of the space inclosed by these stones can be only a matter of conjecture. It may have been an altar or, as some think, the veritable tomb of Romulus, or, indeed, at successive ages, like the cromlechs of Celtic countries, may have served both purposes. One thing, however, is very evident, namely, that it must have been a place of no little importance, for it is claimed by those who have a right to speak upon such matters that this pavement is the only monument in Rome, or, indeed, in Italy, where this kind of marble has been found. So much for the *Lapis Niger*.

Now, under this pavement was uncovered a piece of stone masonry, solidly built on three sides, with a huge block of stone in the center. The construction and general plan suggest an altar. Many fragments of wine vases, ointment vials, as well as those of commoner wares, were found among the debris. There were also broken pieces of bones of various animals: cows, sheep, pigs, dogs, and domestic birds. Close by, to one side, is a conical pedestal and a large stele or slab, bearing an inscription in very archaic Latin characters. The fragmentary nature of the inscription renders decipherment impossible; accordingly a very large number of renderings have been proposed. From the few words which can be made out, it is certain that the inscription is of a religious character. Mr. Mason D. Gray, to whom we are indebted for some facts, in an interesting paper in the *Biblical World* submits the following translation, which he candidly admits to be little better than guesswork:

"When the priest through the herald or attendant has admitted them with ritual of song, let him prayerfully take the auspices and dedicate their offerings.

"And likewise let him perform these duties on the nones here.

"Whoever by the auspices is shown unworthy and sinful, let him be accursed. Whoever by (the failure to fulfill) his vow, let him be accursed of Jove."

The discovery of other inscriptions in or near the spot may afford further light; and such discoveries are not impossible, since the unexpected constantly happens in the work of the explorer.

The fragments of earthen pottery as well as the animal remains would also indicate that the conical block below the *Lapis Niger* was in some way connected with sacrificial offerings. Comparing the broken vases and vials with those found elsewhere, it is fair to assume that they belong to the fourth century before our era. The inscription, however, may have been two or three hundred years earlier.

Of the most important edifices restored or unearthed by recent excavators, and in regard to which many additional facts have been discovered, we may name the round temple of Vesta, the Regia, the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, in close proximity to the temple of Vesta; the house in which the Vestal Virgins resided, covering, according to Lanciani, an area of 58,995 square feet, has been thoroughly explored, and the use to which many of the rooms and apartments were put satisfactorily explained. Lanciani, in speaking of the house of the Vestals, says, "We find in the plan of the building itself the prototype of all the convents and nunneries of the world, the characteristics of which are a large courtyard, surrounded with porticoes, both necessary to give air, light, and the possibility of a little exercise to women condemned for life to almost solitary confinement." The Senate buildings have likewise been brought to light. As might be expected, buildings which had served the people for nearly a thousand years must have undergone many and extensive repairs during that long period.

The exact site of the Curia, or Senate buildings, was a matter of conjecture for many centuries; it is now, however, believed that there can be no reasonable doubt as to the very spot on which they were located. These edifices, commenced no later than 700 B. C., as already said, underwent many changes. We know that the Curia was once destroyed by fire, which it caught from the funeral pyre of Clodius, about 700 A. U. C., and that the adjoining courthouse, then called the Basilica Porcia, was likewise destroyed at the same time. Nevertheless, though the building was partially destroyed, and additions were made from time to time, yet it is reasonably certain that the site of the Senate buildings was identical. The temple of Vesta was one of the most important places in Rome. The Vestal Virgins played a very prominent part in the story of the Eternal City. The sacredness of their persons as well as the veil of mystery in which their life was shrouded, need more than a mere mention. The temple of Vesta and the residence of the Vestal Virgins were quite close to the Forum. It is therefore but natural that many things connected with their services should be illustrated by recent excavations. The temple of Vesta, the famous deposi-

tory of the sacred fire, and the Palladium taken from Troy, has been explored; and also the vaults under the same, in which were kept the most sacred objects connected with the temple worship.

Very near the temple of Vesta was the Regia, or *Atrium Vesta*, the official residence of the high priests, *pontifices maximi*. Boni, in speaking of the Regia, very aptly says, "It may be looked upon as an architectural palimpsest of fifteen centuries—a monument which served to register and hand down to posterity the record of the most salient facts in the history of Royal, Republican, and Imperial Rome." Two of the discoveries in or near the Regia deserve mention; one being that of a tholos, that is, a store pit, nearly fifteen feet deep, and, at the bottom, ten feet in diameter, but tapering toward the top. This pit was filled with debris, the upper half containing fragments of mediæval vases, and bones of animals, the lower half imperial pottery, including several amphoræ, one of them being about two feet high, and in a good state of preservation. There were also two smaller ones, with inscriptions upon them. At the very bottom were three lamps and several ointment vases, and, near by, nearly fourscore stills of all shapes and kinds of workmanship; also a thin, open tablet, twelve by four inches. Many of the objects were marked *Regia*.

Signor Boni is inclined to the belief that he has discovered the sacrum of the *Hasta Martia*. This structure was circular, surrounded with massive stone walls. It is yet too early to speak authoritatively on this point. It is, however, known that the sacred spears, which, according to tradition, were used by Romulus, the mythical founder of Rome, and which mysteriously served by their oscillations to foretell calamities and forewarn the Romans of impending disasters, were kept in the Regia. These spears were made of wood, and pointed with some kind of metal. Here we must mention that two bronze objects, conical in shape, which may have served as points for lances, were not long ago discovered in the Forum. May not these be a part of the very spears which are spoken of so often in the classical authors?

Not far from the site of the Forum, on the north side, is the Basilica *Æmilia*, built or enlarged no less than four times; first, under the name Basilica Fulvia, in 179 B. C., by the two censors, *Æmilius*, *Lipidus*, and *Fulvius Nobilior*. A century later it was enlarged and beautified by another descendant of this noble family. We are told that no less than twenty-five years were devoted to the second building. Additions were also made, in 84 B. C., and still others in 14 B. C. This wonderful edifice, but partially explored, has yet been so far restored as to afford us a correct view of the plan and elevation. It has a remarkable resemblance to some of the ecclesiastical buildings or churches of mediæval Rome, the prototype of the modern cathedral. The Basilica *Æmilia* contained three parts, "A central hall, divided into nave and aisles by a double line of columns, two rows of cells or tabernæ on either side of the central hall opening on the outside porticoes."



author adds, "The problems of the new century are serious and difficult, but we need not face them in any other spirit than that of thankfulness for the presence of God in Christian work in past generations, and the assured hope that he will bless the work of the coming time."

#### THE MODERN JEW.

THERE are constantly changing phases of Hebrew action and thought which ought to challenge much greater attention than they receive, and probably would receive, but that the Hebrew is himself a sphinx which puzzles Gentiles. No attempts to adjust him to modern society have proven to be satisfactory. This is perhaps attributable to a race individuality which he preserves with the same tenacity to-day as obtained in any period of his past. While ages of oppression have sharpened his wits for successful competition in his social and religious exclusiveness, they have put into his blood and brain a number of qualities which tend to obstruct his adjustment to Christian civilization.

The Jew is an important factor in every civilized community, Spain alone excepted. In Russia he is contributing far more than his proportion to every important interest. For example, Jewish subjects furnish one hundred and six more men to every ten thousand drawn by lot for the Russian army than are furnished by non-Jewish subjects. The attempt to colonize Hebrews in Palestine is not yet a demonstrated success, and every other attempt to segregate the "Wandering Jew" geographically has proven a failure.

Through all this scattering of the "tribes of the weary foot," they yet maintain a solidarity which seems capable of resisting all efforts to dissipate it. There is one remarkable agency contributing to their unification, that of language. Reference is not meant to Hebrew, for that is influential to this end only so far as the Hebrew alphabet goes. It is to the *Yiddish*, which is spoken perhaps by not less than six millions of people, has an extensive literature, and in which no less than twenty-three newspapers are published. Very few, if any, writers are clear as to its origin. It seems certain that the Jews carried it with them into Poland on their migration to that country three or four hundred years ago, yet it is not based on any Eastern language, but so far as it has been traced appears to have been "made in Germany." Its grammar is erratic, and its vocabulary contains some Polish and Hebrew words which have a peculiar pronunciation. What is specially remarkable about its use is that it is the *lingua franca* of the widely separated communities of Jews the world over—the international tongue—the Volapuk—of the Hebrews of this generation. It is written in Hebrew characters, and none but Jews read it or speak it; a Teuton or German can make as little of it as if it had originated in the mountains of the moon instead of in Germany.

That missionary work can be successfully carried on among Jews,

especially that the Bible in Hebrew can be used with good results among them, seems credibly established. Evidences multiply of a growing disposition among them to again consult "the law and the testimony," and in this we discover a prophecy of good. The tendency among quasi-orthodox Jews to rationalism indicates a religious loosening which may show that the pendulum has swung to an extreme, and that the return sweep, certain in all such cases to come, may render them susceptible to Christianity.

But another and more hopeful tendency, and a marvel in itself, is found in the disposition in large Hebrew communities to *adopt Jesus Christ* as the true Hebrew prophet foretold in the Hebrew Scriptures. This has been evidenced in many directions in recent years, specially in Hebrew current literature. Perhaps nothing will enable the reader to apprehend this better than the following excerpt from an article by Rabbi Salee, a Hebrew of Hebrews, which recently appeared in *Jewish Voice*:

"The oldest and the newest traditions of Israel look with favor upon the Man of Galilee, who as the prophets of old, was willing to give his soul unto death, that his ideals might live after him. His noble and exalted aims have not been fulfilled. What ideals ever were? But we who are Jews to-day certainly have no cause to regret his coming into the world, and have every reason to look forward to the time when the message of this hour will find an echo in the heart and life of mankind. The Gospel of Jesus was the glad tidings of Israel's own universal truth. The Teacher of Nazareth was our own kith and kin, both in the flesh and in the spirit. We revere his memory, claim him as our own, and gladly accord him that high rank which he deserves as one of the greatest benefactors of the human family. How absurd and silly it is to expect us, in this age of enlightenment and growing religious fellowship, to mourn on this day, to shut our eyes to the light like willful, wanton children, and see only the shadows of our past. If we, who are children of the house to whom the prophets belong, and whose mission is to proclaim peace to them that are far and near, strew the seed of discord and resentment among our own, wherein are we better than those who prosecuted our ancestors for wrongs which they had not committed? Shall we hold him whom the millions of our fellow-men commemorate to-day, and through whom, according to the unanimous opinion of our best and profoundest scholars in ancient and modern times, Israel's divine truths were carried out to the nations; shall we hold him responsible for the crimes that were perpetrated in his name? Nay, we do not mourn, but we rejoice that Jesus was born, and through him, despite the shortcomings, despite the manifold prejudices that still darken human hearts, this world at large is infinitely better and brighter than it would have been without him. We would not conjure the dread specters of the past; we thank God that we live in the present, with its wider liberty, its nobler humanity."

## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

**Das spätere Judenthum als Vorstufe des Christenthums** (Later Judaism as the Beginning of Christianity). By W. Baldensperger. Giesesen, J. Ricker, 1900. Those who have read the author's *Self-consciousness of Jesus* and his *Prologue of the Fourth Gospel* know with what ingenuity he argues for positions which are untenable. There is no other German writer whom we now recall who has such a gift for making falsehood appear truth. For this reason he is a most dangerous author except with the most discriminating readers, or when read with the distinct understanding that his main contentions must be rejected. Yet, strangely enough, being a somewhat prolific writer, he is very frequently quoted with approval by those who ought to detect the fallacies in his reasoning. Here he undertakes to show that Christianity as taught by Christ was not based on the presuppositions of the religion of the Old Testament but upon those of the Judaism of his time. In this Baldensperger stands by no means alone. He regards the principal characteristics of the Judaism of the time of Christ as Nomism, or zeal for the law, and Messianism, or burning desire for the coming of the Messiah; though he regards the latter as the overwhelmingly stronger element. The Messianism of the time was transcendental. It had its ideals in heaven, in that which is above the earth, in the supersensuous. But with strongly religious natures recourse to the supersensuous inevitably leads to recourse to the inner life. Hence the elevation of the Messianic ideals, of the eschatology of the period, into the transcendental, was a stage on the way to spirituality, and thus the beginning point of Christianity. Even the rejection of the Law was a consequence of the Messianism. True, there was no tendency on the part of the Jewish Messianists to break through the legal form of life in which they were bound. Nevertheless, the historian can see that in later Judaism we have to do with points of view which unconsciously to their holders diverged widely. Although Law and Messianic hope are well adapted to each other, still they are diverse, and this diversity must become more apparent as each develops into clearness. So Baldensperger. But this whole train of reasoning rests upon an overestimate of the religious worth of this late Judaistic Messianism. This Messianism was transcendental, but it was not spiritual; rather it was coarse and sensuous. The Messiah then expected was not a redeemer from sin, but a deliverer from civil bondage. In fact, the "devout" referred to in the New Testament were apparently not much influenced by late Judaism, but by the prophetism of the Old Testament, Jesus distinctly rejected the popular Messianic ideal. His preaching shows no traces of the Messianic hopes of the masses, but was diametrically opposed thereto. All of Baldensperger's works are characterized by a certain acuteness and, often, of insight, which can but lend interest to their perusal; but neither this or any other of his books can be recommended for sobriety.

**Allgemeine Einleitung in den Hexateuch** (General Introduction to the Hexateuch). By Carl Steuernagel. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, and Ruprecht, 1900. This work is intended to accompany the commentary on the Old Testament edited by Professor D. W. Nowack, and does not enter into the details of introduction, since these are supposed to be found in connection with the individual books: The work is therefore brief. Still, for its purpose it is excellent. The matter is arranged in seven sections, the first of which is intended to put the reader into possession of the necessary standpoint with reference to the importance, content, and divisions of the Hexateuch. The second section pertains to the tradition concerning the authorship of the Pentateuch. Since, the seventh century B. C. there are traces of the view that parts of the Pentateuch were written by Moses. Steuernagel considers this tradition a fair theme for criticism from the Protestant standpoint, and his discussion leads to the conclusion that at least, so far as the literary authorship is concerned, the tradition not only cannot be supported, but must be rejected. Section three gives the grounds upon which the critics assume the participation of several authors in the composition of the Pentateuch—namely, the doublets and contradictions the Pentateuch contains. In section four Steuernagel passes a valuable estimate upon the various attempts which have been made to account for the phenomena presented by the Pentateuch. Section five discusses the foundations of the critical theory; section six the individual component elements of the Hexateuch (D, P, JE, J, E); and section seven treats of the union of these so-called sources, or the editing of the Hexateuch by which they were united. It is plain from this outline that the treatment is orderly and progressive. One only interesting feature can be mentioned more fully here. It has to do with the completion of the Pentateuch, which must have taken place before it was adopted by the Samaritans, since the Samaritan and Jewish texts agree too well on the whole to admit of serious changes subsequently. Now, according to Neh. xiii, 28, the Samaritan community was founded in about 482 B. C. According to Josephus, however, it was established in the time of Alexander the Great, or about 330 B. C. This raises a somewhat serious question; for, according to the critical theory, P was published about 445 B. C., which is but thirteen years before the Samaritans came into the possession of the Pentateuch containing P, if Neh. xiii, 28 gives us the true date. Since it is difficult to believe that thirteen years would suffice to unite P with JED, and to secure the new work the necessary recognition, Steuernagel inclines to reject the authority of Nehemiah as to the date of the founding of the Samaritan community (482), and to accept that of Josephus (330), thereby giving the period of one hundred and fifteen years instead of thirteen for accomplishing the above-mentioned results. Verily the way of the critic, like that of the transgressor, though for a different reason, is hard.

## RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

**European Opinion Concerning the Excommunication of Tolstoi.** The very touching letter of the Countess Tolstoi to the ecclesiastical authorities who pronounced the excommunication against her husband called their attention to the fact that by placing him without the pale of the Church they had agreed to deny him Christian burial, and that this could not affect him, for they denied this only to his dead body; but that it would affect her should she outlive her husband, by depriving her, a faithful member of the Church, of the comforts which it is the function of the Church to bestow upon all her members. Antoni, metropolitan of St. Petersburg, has written a reply which as published does not meet the exigencies of the case, but simply places the blame upon the count himself. This correspondence has attracted widespread attention in Europe. An authority on Russian affairs is responsible for the declaration that the sentence passed upon Tolstoi, while severe, is relatively mild, since his offense would naturally have called forth the severest kind of penalty. The reason the writer gives for the mildness of the punishment is, that Tolstoi is so intrenched in the affections of the people, both high and low, that the usual penalty could not be safely inflicted. He predicts that the precedent thus established will result in such a degree of tolerance in Russia that the sects will grow with more than their customary rapidity, since large numbers are held to the Russian Church by force alone. To us it scarcely seems possible that the Holy Synod should have set such a trap for its own feet.

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**A Sign of the Times in Rome.** The following well-authenticated incident illustrates the superstition which still exists among devoted Romanists: A certain monk relates that he recently lost his breviary. Thereupon he called upon St. Anthony to restore it, but in vain. In his despair it occurred to him to punish the saint for his refusal to answer. Accordingly he turned a small image of the saint, which he had on the table, toward the wall. The monk thought at least that the fear of losing his reputation as a restorer of lost objects would move the saint, but in this also he was deceived. On the twenty-seventh of December the monk threatened the saint with entire withdrawal of confidence in him if he did not restore the breviary by January 1. For a time it appeared as though even this threat was to go unheeded, but on the evening of January 1 a friend of the monk happened to hear of the loss of the breviary, which he immediately said could be found in a designated place. The search was rewarded by the recovery of the lost article. Upon this the monk restored the saint to his former place of honor. The story is so childish as to be almost incredible. Yet it is vouched for by the

*Christliche Welt*, and after all it is no more ridiculous than the whole scheme of the apparition of the Virgin Mary and other saints. Rome certainly needs Protestantism.

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**The Death of Professor Beyschlag.** Recent discussions of the theological situation in Germany have attempted to make it appear that the great Halle professor was an evangelical theologian. It may be well to mention that he was not so regarded even in Germany, where the standard is far lower than in America. And no wonder; for he denied the preexistence, the supernatural conception, and the true deity of Christ. To him Jesus Christ was a man and nothing more, though sinless and the revealer of the Father. It is a striking fact also that the alleged appointment of orthodox professors in Germany of late is denied by those who wish to see Beyschlag's chair filled by a positive theologian. It is declared by the *Deutsche Evangelische Zeitung* that of five professors recently appointed only one is a positive. On the other hand only one is even a mediating theologian, while three are Ritschlians. This makes it clear that in those instances in which orthodox men are appointed the causes are not to be found in the fact that orthodoxy in our American sense is gaining ground among German scholars, but in the fact that the authorities feel that the orthodox party must occasionally, at least, be recognized. We take no delight in awakening the readers of the *Review* from this dream, that orthodoxy is growing in Germany; but as a recorder of the outlook in Europe we must state the facts.

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**Moral Statistics in Roman Catholic and Protestant Switzerland.** From recently published tables it appears that the number of divorces in Switzerland is about two per cent of the marriages. Of these the majority are Protestants, as might be expected from the laws of the Roman Catholic Church on the subject of divorce. When we come to the matter of illegitimate births, however, which is a truer test of the actual morality of the people, it appears that even the confessional does not serve to prevent them from being as numerous among Romanists as among those who rank themselves Protestants. So also in the matter of suicides, which for many years past have been about twenty-two in every one hundred thousand, the Protestants and Romanists are about equal. It may be a surprise to many to learn that the Protestants of Switzerland have no advantage over the Romanists in point of morals. But this appears only on the surface. In all the refinements of life Protestants in Switzerland, as elsewhere, are superior to their Romanist neighbors, as they are also in point of education and business enterprise. But it is a cause for real gratitude that Romanism is so effective in checking the lower instincts of its adherents.

is, its excessive subjectivity makes it prolific of error and dangerous in practical tendency. If the ideal and the spiritual elements are over emphasized, a lack of reality ensues; defined criteria of fact and of truth are ignored. The appeal to Christian consciousness, the conception of Christianity as a life, is sometimes so incautiously and extravagantly stated as to substitute sentiment for reason, and to discredit alike all formulas of belief and all records of events. No one can read the powerful and pathetic presentation of this point of view in the *Lay Sermons* of the late T. H. Green without admiration for their sympathetic tenderness, their high and serious earnestness, and without perceiving, at the same time, the *inconsistency* between this sublimated and etherealized idealism and *the authority of an objective Revelation*. Ideals which sever themselves from fact and from valid doctrine are illusory; they need to be brought into practical accord with reality." The gist of Dr. Griffin's essay is that there are three interests which the philosopher and the theologian need to safeguard: 1. The world of empirical reality, the world mediated through the senses, the world of nature, of society, of history, the world which is the subject of science; and this world demands candid recognition. 2. The world of abstract truth, to which we have access through the processes of thinking, the world of judgment and inference, of logical consistency and reasoned truth; and from this world we may not hold aloof. 3. The world of ideal values, which reveals itself in the imperatives of conscience, in the pure and lofty visions of the spiritual imagination, in the unsatisfied longings of the heart; and to this world we must ever hold ourselves open. *In particular, must the Christian teacher take account of these three elements and spheres.* But the most intensely attractive article recently seen in *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* is "Calvin's Literary Work," by Ferdinand Brunetière, editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, translated from the October, 1900, number of that journal. Brunetière, the foremost living French literary critic, assigns to Calvin, the Frenchman, a high place in French literature, while Brunetière, the Catholic, is severe in his judgment of Calvin, the Reformer's, personal qualities and place in the history of religious thought and progress. The French critic says that Calvin, unlike Luther, who seemed always to be calling the universe and posterity to witness what happened within him, left no confessions or *Table Talk* which make clear the secret reasons of his conversion from popery. Brunetière thinks those reasons were not philosophical, but rather historical, "since it seems that what was to him least acceptable in Catholicism was the chapter of tradition. After that will it be calumniating him to say that in the development of his Protestantism it was part of his ambition to receive the law only from himself? If ever there was a man who thought that no one opposed to him could be in the right, or that he himself could never be in the wrong, that man was assuredly John Calvin." "Whoever does not think concerning 'justification by faith' or 'predestination' as Calvin does, and as he decrees that others must

think, is, in the eyes of Calvin, but a blockhead, a donkey, a dog, a cleanser of sewers. . . . What he least respects in his adversaries is exactly that liberty of thought which he claims for himself. . . . Not even when death approached did his pride leave him, nor his self-confidence, nor, above all, his animosities. . . . During the entire month that his agony lasted not one doubt (of his infallibility) softened his hard and pitiless heart, not one regret or remorseful thought. All that he had done was well done. And he died peacefully, aged fifty-five, May 27, 1564, at eight o'clock in the evening, so that, as Theodore Beza says, 'at the same instant on that day the sun set and the greatest light that was in the world to lead the Church of God withdrew to heaven.' " What Calvin wrote in French comprises a rather small number of works, chief among them being the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which, in Brunetière's opinion, "is one of the great books of French prose, and the earliest in which the proportions, the arrangement, and the construction are monumental. Calvin is the first in all Europe in whom Protestant dogmatics, disconnected until then and scattered in the sermons of Luther and in the treatises of Zwingli, or of Melancthon, took doctrinal consistency and the external form of a system concatenated in all its parts." What is deemed most remarkable in Calvin's style is the decision and consequent lucidity of the thought: he always knows what he wants to say and always says it; his style is that of a man of action more than that of an author. Brunetière thinks that Calvin's *Institutes* was, in point of time, the first of French books which can be called classic; classic by reason of the dignity of its plan and the determination of details by the conception of the whole, by reason of that purpose to convince which moves its internal progress and gives rhetorical grace, by reason of the sustained gravity of style, and by reason of its conformity to the French genius. Brunetière, the Catholic, says without hesitation: "Since the world had lost the idea of the original misery of man, and of the obstacles which are met with in the exercise of liberty; since it had returned to the philosophy of nature, and its highest aspiration seemed to be to become pagan once more; and since the change in morals was leading it, in the end, to the abyss—no one helped more than Calvin to stop it on its downward path; and for this reason we can say that the harm he has done was not without some compensation. If it is necessary that there should be heresies, that of Calvin was not entirely useless; and in the domain of literature, Pascal and Bossuet could not have been what they were without Calvin." Brunetière says France was afraid of Calvin, and could not be made Protestant by him because her facile genius, the genius of Clement Marot, could not accommodate itself to his discipline; her social genius, that of Marguerite of Valois, could not resign itself to his insupportable tyranny of manners and of consciences; and her literary genius, which was incarnate in Rabelais, could not take part in the anathema hurled by Calvin's *Excuse to the Nicodemites* against letters and art.



German physicists, chemists, anatomists, and botanists, take the lead in the use of critical methods in the program of the new effort to understand. In most things the schools of North Germany are famous, while in theology South Germany has set the standard. The admirable article closes with Ulrich von Hutten's saying, "Men's minds are awaking, science flourishes, it is a pleasure to live."

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IN the *North American Review* for July, 1901, Alfred Austin, Poet Laureate of England, furnishes a prosy mythologic poem entitled "Polyphemus;" the late Sir Walter Besant writes of "The Burden of the Twentieth Century;" Dr. James M. Buckley strikes, with his usual deadly precision and demolishing force, at "The Absurd Paradox of Christian Science;" and Cardinal Gibbons, in the series on "Great Religions of the World," writing from the Roman standpoint, states in noble fashion some great facts in which all Christendom rejoices: "One of the most ancient images of the Christian Church is that of a ship tossed about on the waves, yet never sinking. This image was painted more than once on the walls of the Roman catacombs, precisely when it seemed as if Christianity could not possibly hold out much longer against the impact of social and juridical forces that had sworn its extermination. Nevertheless, the Fisherman of Galilee, with his brethren, survived this first great hurricane of opposition, and planted the victorious symbol of the new religion on the Capitol and the Palatine—over the shrine of Roman religion, and amid the councils of the Roman state. On the morrow of this first great reckoning of the new spirit in mankind with the old established forms of belief and government, a tremor of astonishment seized on the priests and philosophers of the pagan world, that an obscure Syrian sect should have at last lifted a triumphant head. It seemed as though all the *criteria* of mankind—common sense, logic, reason, history, analogy—were at once and hopelessly shattered, and a wonder-world set up in place of the familiar realities of society. It is an old story how the few remaining pagans hoped against hope, until they saw the fall of the whole fabric of Western civilization, and the figure of a Universal Church interposed between organized society and the elemental forces of barbarism that threatened it from the North and East. In those all-embracing arms the world of Greece and Rome, that thought to perish doubly, was firmly seized and made to live again. Since that day Christianity has dominated all modern history. Its morality, based on the loving-kindness of an Eternal Father and the mystic brotherhood with the God-Man, has renovated the face of the earth. It has set firmly the corner stone for all future civilization, the conviction of a common humanity that has been deeply rooted in us by no stoicism, but by the story of Jesus Christ and by the lives and deaths of countless Christian men and women. It has clarified at once the sense of sin and the reasons for hope. It has touched the deepest springs.

of efficient conviction; preached successfully, in season and out of season, of mercy and justice and peace; affected intimately every function of domestic life; thrown a sheltering veil of sanctity about maid and mother and home; stood out against the fierce ambitions and illicit loves of rulers, and the low passions of the multitude. It has healed and cleansed whole legislations, and 'filled out with a vivifying spirit' the noble but inorganic letter of great maxims that a Seneca or an Epictetus might utter, but could not cause to live. It has distinctly raised the social and civil life of all civilized humankind. It bears within itself the antidote of a certain divine presence, whereby it overcomes forever those germs of decay and change that cause the death of all other societies. Its earliest writers and exponents had a subtle sense of its true character when they took over from paganism, and applied to the work of Jesus, the symbolic myth of the phoenix, emblem of a native, organic, and indestructible vitality. The life and teaching of Jesus Christ himself have nothing but victories to chronicle since his appearance among men. Every century is a new campaign from which he returns to the heavenly Father crowned with innumerable laurels, and leading captive innumerable multitudes of human souls. The records of history are full of the most astonishing conquests by him of individual souls, voluntary submissions to the irresistible charm of the Son of man. There is no altitude of intellect so towering that it has not bent before him, no seat of power so high that it has not done homage to him. Philosophy and Criticism, History and the Natural Sciences have sent over to him, without ceasing, their noblest worthies as pledges of victory. To go no farther back than the century just elapsed, we may say that every page of its annals is bright with the illustrious names of great men who have been proud to confess the divinity of Jesus. Some of them never knew a wavering of allegiance; others came back to him by a kind of postliminary process, having learned by hard experience the truth of the apostolic cry of Saint Peter, 'Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life.' From this point of view there is never any diminution of the work of Jesus Christ. His benign and gracious figure dominates forever all life and society. Scarcely, indeed, was he known to the world when we are told that he won the admiration of great Roman emperors. Sweet legends of the veneration of an Augustus and an Abgar cling forever to his person—symbols of that self-surrender which has gone on since then, and will never cease. What is the secret of this constant and cosmopolitan devotion to Jesus? From what deep springs of history and human nature do the forces flow that keep it forever alive, in spite of the multitudinous accidents of time and space and change. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.* It can be no slight bond that holds forever such elusive forces as the minds and hearts of men, in varying epochs and lands, periods, forms, and degrees of culture."

## BOOK NOTICES.

## RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

*The Jewish Encyclopedia*; A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. Volume I, Aach-Apocalyptic Literature. 8vo, pp. xxviii, 685, xxxvii. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Company. Price, cloth, \$7.

This is the initial volume of a work of twelve volumes, which will offer a comprehensive account of the life and thought of the Jewish race from its beginnings until now. The managing editor of the whole work is Dr. Isidore Singer, and associated with him is an Editorial Board, whose names form a large guarantee of the scientific character of the undertaking. In the list of Consulting Editors, also, are to be found the names of Christian scholars such as McCurdy, Moore, Price, and Strack, besides the names of the most eminent Jewish scholars of this continent and Europe. Among those contributing articles to the first volume are: Cyrus Adler, A. Harkavy, A. H. Newman, C. C. Torrey, C. F. Kent, G. Deutzsche, D. G. Lyon, E. G. Hirsch, E. Schürer, F. Buhl, F. C. Conybeare, R. Gottheil, I. Abrahams, I. M. Price, M. Jastrow, Jr., J. F. McCurdy, K. Budde, L. Stein, M. Lidsbarsky, R. W. Rogers, C. H. Toy, W. Bacher, W. Max Müller, not to further extend the list. Such a list will compare favorably with the list of contributors shown by the most rigidly scientific enterprises of a similar kind. The aim of the work is, however, declared not to be exclusively scientific—"a work intended as much for the general public as for scholarly use" (Preface xx). Notwithstanding this announcement, after examining the present volume, one must doubt whether many of the leading articles will really prove acceptable to the unscientific reader. A demand exists for an encyclopedia of Judaism. As the editors say in the Preface: "The need of such a work is sufficiently obvious. Jewish history is unique and therefore peculiarly liable to be misunderstood. The Jews are closely attached to their national traditions, and yet, in their dispersion, are cosmopolitan, both as to their conceptions of world-duty and their participation in the general advancement of mankind." "Throughout all the divergences produced by different social environment and intellectual influences, the Jews have in every generation conserved the twofold character referred to above: as representatives of a nation, they have kept alive their Hebrew traditions; and as cosmopolitans, they have taken part in the social and intellectual life of almost all cultured nations." We may look to this work now auspiciously inaugurated to supply the long-standing deficiency of a thoroughly accurate and complete history of world-wide Judaism. Graetz's *History of the Jews* is not regarded as fully satisfactory or comprehensive, but if the promise of this first volume is fulfilled in those yet to come, we may look to have in a few years an

account of all the Jewish communities, past and present, in whatever portion of the globe they may have been or are at present situated. It is doubtful whether more than a few specialists have been able to acquire any large knowledge of the work of the Jewish race in literature, theology, philosophy, and science. The volume under review is packed with information relating to the work of the Jews in the fields named. Students of Christianity expect to find explanation and illustration of features of their system in Judaism, and will rejoice at any means which makes accessible to them the intellectual and religious life of the Jews. The book in hand is printed in clear impression on heavy paper; the headings and side headings are in a heavy, striking type which greatly aids the eye in reference; the cuts, maps, and plates occur plentifully, are well executed, and aptly illustrate the related text. In the biblical subjects a concession has been made in the form of the articles to the traditional view of the Bible, while, at the same time, the critical method and its results have been recognized. In each article there is given first the biblical data in the order of the Masoretic text, then Apocryphal and Rabbinical material, and, after these, the Critical View. At best this method is a compromise. It may be commended for its motive, but the result of its adoption will probably be an impression of weakness left on the minds of scholarly readers and a good deal of confusion in the popular mind. As far as we know, the feature is a novelty in scientific literature on the Bible. The bibliography which generally appears at the end of any important article is marked by knowledge of the literature of the subject and good judgment in selecting authoritative writers. It is, however, a disappointing fault to find some discussions which ought to have had a bibliography lacking at that point. Within a few pages we find the following articles without the feature alluded to: Acceptance, Accessories, Accident—in Law, Accusatory and Inquisitorial Procedure, Acquittal in Talmudic Law, Acre, Acrostics. As we read the treatment of such themes as: Abba, Adoration, Adultery, Agnates, Agape, Old Age, Agriculture, Allegorical Interpretation, Alms, Altar, Ablution, the great value of a knowledge of post-biblical Judaism for the exposition of Scripture and for the historical study of the beginnings of Christianity becomes apparent. The article "Abba," by Köhler, lends interesting light, not upon the New Testament use of that term alone, but as well upon the Christian employment of the term "Father" as applied to God. Ginzberg's article on Forms of Adoration refers to the dispute between Shammaites and Hillelites in the time of Jesus as to whether the Shemá should be said standing or in some other attitude. Ginzberg finds a reminiscence of this dispute in Luke xviii, 11, "The Pharisee *stood* and prayed;" and Matt. vi, 5, "They love to *stand* and pray." Amram's discussion of Adultery would have been more satisfactory, as would the discussions on many other important legal subjects, had there been a critical estimation of the biblical material. In this article the ordeal of the bitter waters in Num. v, 11-31

of God is "being increasingly realized in human society;" (2) The Church, which consists of those whose acknowledgement of Christ is not simply actual but openly confessed, who are banded together, however, not to hold public worship, but "to establish Christ's righteousness in the world;" (3) The Church system of Ordinances, which is never essential or authoritative in any particular form, but may nevertheless minister to the well-being of society. The Bible in the Church is next considered. First, it is shown, by a review of the whole Bible-content, how largely it is occupied with a society. Second, in reference to the influence of the Bible on our own social state, how Christ does not inculcate a radical socialism, nor encourage a slothful and envious pauperism; nevertheless, he does lay stress "upon the dangers of wealth," and upon the advantage and ultimate reward of meekness. The Bible does not, however, furnish set rules but spirit and stimulus to righteous action, and, in the application of this spirit, change of time and custom must be regarded. Third, the Bible is suitable as a text-book of social reform because of its interest in and understanding of masses of men, its redemptive purpose for nations, its universal adaptability, and its confident hope of the future. The Sacraments, which are next discussed, are shown to occupy a subordinate place in the New Testament, and freedom in their administration is declared essential. I, In general, the sacraments are important socially because human nature is instinctive and impressionable; because sacraments mean "the attestation of incorporation into the body of believers;" and because they are its visible pledge of cooperation in loyalty to Christ. II, Baptism favors a view of Christianity as social regeneration, if the original institution by Christ is fully regarded. The larger social mission of baptism should be manifested by recognizing the social obligation imposed by this "sacrament of incorporation." III, The social side of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is declared to be "its chief intention," because of the various names applied to it, and because of its history. Its full social importance may be restored by emphasizing the Church's unity, for which this sacrament stands, and by extending a sense of sanctity throughout all social life. As to Creeds and Confessions of Faith, the author begins by tracing briefly the development of creed-formation in the Church and by maintaining the utility of creeds, since vagueness is as clearly an evil as dogmatism, and, without some authoritative standard, the dogmatic spirit is sure to assert itself. The legitimate place and power of creeds as a social factor are determined by instincts of human nature, and in response to a social demand for one common expression of faith. The dangers to which our use of creeds is exposed are formalism, hypocrisy, and "the evils which beset every phase of dogmatism." Lastly, creeds will become a factor of constantly increasing importance as they are made more and more the expression of Christian righteousness, and the inspiration not of metaphysical disputes, but of a moral purpose and a living faith. Common Prayer and Preaching is declared in the light

established on the rock of pride. He believed that the Patriarchs had laid down the laws of government for all time, and he would twist the policy of England until it harmonized with the ideals of the Hebrew kings. His books, his speeches, his life were the acclamation of Jewish wisdom and grandeur. He pleaded the cause of his people with that secure valiance which comes from the conscience of a just cause. He went so far as to ask, with an air of triumph, "Who can deny that Jesus of Nazareth is the eternal glory of the Jewish race?" In truth, it was his favorite maxim that the complete Jew believes not only in Sinai but in Calvary. The only reviver of the dandy type in very recent times is Oscar Wilde, who clad himself in velvets, with knickerbockers and silk stockings, and a sunflower for a *boutonniere*, gaining notoriety as an æsthete and poseur. He was a degenerate, whom Du Maurier caricatured in *Punch*, and Gilbert satirized in *Patience*, and who perished of ante-mortem moral putrefaction. Not all his perfumes could conceal the stench of his personality. And so, to all appearances, the breed of professional dandies dies out. To this age their gorgeous, inglorious memory is a laughing stock. Our day resembles theirs no more than Theodore Roosevelt resembles Beau Brummell, or Rosa Bonheur Marie Bashkirtseff. The sturdy and stern impulse of Democracy, meeting the mincing dandy on the street, is to seize him with merciless muscular grip, break him in two in the middle, and toss the pieces into the gutter to be carried down the sewer. One lesson written large across the scroll of history is that any family or class which devotes itself to elegance and the pageantry of life dies out from imbecility and sterility. The strenuous age of democratic and Christian utilitarianism is here, peremptory in reducing things and persons to the level of their solid merit. Shams and shows are passing, and we believe the race of dandies is as extinct as the dodo is, and as earls, dukes, and monarchs will presently be. The success and stability of the American republic will mean ultimately nothing less than that. For it, success will mean supremacy. And as to its stability, we may say, as James Russell Lowell answered when the historian Guizot asked how long the republic of the United States may be expected to endure, "It will last so long as the ideas of its founders continue dominant."

*Heart of Man.* By GEORGE EDWARD WOODBERRY. 12mo, pp. 329. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

We agree with another reviewer that a single volume of essays like this appears a more enduring contribution to literature than hosts of the popular novels which boast an enormous sale but sink quickly into assured oblivion, leaving that boast floating like a bubble over the spot where they sank out of sight. Only four essays, yet they run through far ranges of wisdom and beauty. Beginning with an exquisite description of Taormina, a poor little fishing village in Sicily, under Ætna's shadow—an essay rich with many charms—the book passes on through

accomplished to satisfy the believer in the new criticism that its effect will be to destroy that faith in the letter which killeth, and to promote that faith in the spirit which maketh alive; to lead the Christian to see in the Bible a means for the development of faith in the God of the Bible, not an object which faith may accept in lieu of God's living presence; to regard the Bible, not as a book of philosophy about religion, but as a book of religious experiences, the more inspiring to the religious life of man because frankly recognized as a book simply, naively, divinely human." The whole volume may be regarded as a commentary, explanatory and illustrative, of the thesis presented in these words. As an exposition of the method and the results of one form of higher criticism the book has distinct popular value. It does not conceal the fact that even the most moderate, the most conservative, of the higher critics advocates a view of the sacred Scriptures which differs materially from the view which our fathers held. It does not seek to blur or conceal the difficulties thus caused, but meets them openly and frankly. This is wise and it is well. If the Church is to be asked to accept a new view of its sacred books it ought to be told just what this new view involves. Dr. Abbott himself is a moderate exponent of the higher criticism, his tendency is usually toward the conservative and not toward the radical view. Witness this paragraph, for example: "The Egyptian monuments contain many pictorial representations which serve to illustrate the Old Testament account of the Exodus. They are not demonstrations of its accuracy, but they are at least indications that it is not inaccurate. It is not within the province of this article to attempt to reproduce in any detail the arguments from the monuments; it must suffice to say that I believe there never has been found in Egypt any figure, symbol, picture, or monument which tends to throw doubt upon the narrative in the Book of Exodus, or to indicate that the story, even in its minutest details, is inaccurate, while there are many indications of the accuracy of the incidental allusions to Egyptian sites or Egyptian customs which the narrative contains." This is conservative indeed when one thinks of Cheyne and Stade and Winckler, and even of Guthe. It is followed by a still more conservative statement concerning the bearing of geographical exploration upon the narrative of the Exodus—a remarkable paragraph which concludes thus, "Similar considerations to those which Professor Schliemann's explorations have furnished in support of a historical basis for the Iliad constitute a much stronger argument for the substantial historicity of the story of the Exodus and the encampment in the wilderness." That is an exceedingly conservative statement, and would satisfy perhaps the man in the street who had never heard of higher criticism at all. This same spirit is frequently manifested in the spirited defense even of the legal portions of the Old Testament, of which the following may serve to illustrate our point: "Mr. Robert Ingersoll has spoken of the cruel code of Moses, under which hundreds of crimes were punished with death. In point of fact,

auspices of the Board of Missions of the Reformed Church in America, went to Japan, lived and labored there for almost forty years, and there died and was buried. 2. The ground of the author's interest in this life record, and his special qualification to write it are made clear in the preface, in a succeeding chapter (chap. xi), and for that matter throughout the entire work. In the preface, he says: "I knew Verbeck, of Japan, during four years of intimacy in the Mikado's empire. Thrice visiting his birthplace, Zeist, in Holland, I learned many facts about his early life and his unconscious preparation for wonderful work in the far East. I have had access to the file of his letters from 1860 to 1898, written home to the secretaries of the Board of Missions of the Reformed Church in America, and to many of those sent to his own relatives, as well as to his own diaries, notebooks, and to other documents lent me by his daughter." 3. The book consists of seventeen chapters. The first chapter, entitled "A Glance in Perspective," serves the purpose of the last chapter in old-time biographies, being very largely a general statement of the conclusions reached by the author as the result of his study of Verbeck's character and service. The succeeding chapters trace simply, directly, reverently the steps of this good man from the beginning to the end when, "weary with the march of life," he entered into rest. Guido Fridolin Verbeck was born in Zeist, Holland, in the house called "The Koppel," on January 23, 1830. His parents being devout people, he was carefully and religiously trained. When the question of his life work came up it was decided that he should learn engineering, a new and increased demand for mechanical skill being indicated by the appearance of the railroad. To find larger opportunity in this his field, he came to America in his twenty-third year, settled first in Wisconsin, then briefly in Brooklyn, New York, and finally in Arkansas. In the last place he met with a severe illness, which became "a turning point in Guido Verbeck's career," for he promised God if restored to health to devote his life to missionary work. He was restored, and soon the opportunity came to fulfill his promise, sufficient time being given him previously to prepare himself at Auburn Theological Seminary, so that on May 7, 1859, he sailed from New York, landing at Nagasaki November 7. Primarily and chiefly as a teacher, but also as a preacher, and latterly as a statesman, lecturer, and translator of the Bible, Verbeck labored in Japan unceasingly (except for occasional visits to America and Europe, during and subsequent to 1873) until nearly the close of the nineties. The date of his death is March 10, 1898. A closer survey of this work shows that the peculiar interest and value which attach to Verbeck's life story are to be attributed to two facts: first, the mission field in which he was called to labor; second and especially, the truly extraordinary service which he rendered. As to the first, it is sufficient to say that nothing in the record of modern missions surpasses the story of the Japanese Renaissance and Christianization of the past half century. The very fact, therefore, that the review of Ver-



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Such effort, indeed, has been tried before. But then the men who undertook to do it stood isolated, and wielded only a limited influence in their own circles. Ordinarily also they succeeded no further than a few crude outlines of world-interpretation, but failed of furnishing the data from which to work them out and to apply them to the divisions and subdivisions of what exists. The systems which they offered did not agree; lame parts were soon discovered in them; they allowed too much room for accident. Even such a thinker as Spinoza was not able to establish other than a mathematical relation between the substance and its attributes and modes, and left the origin of the world altogether unexplained. But, it is said, all this is now entirely changed. Hegel's pantheism has furnished the idea of the absolute, eternal process of becoming. The materialism of Feuerbach has applied this idea to the world of matter and force as the only existing one. And in the struggle for existence, in the natural and sexual choice of propagation, in the inheritance of the acquired properties, and in the accommodation to surroundings, Darwin's theory of development has provided the necessary means to make this process of the eternal becoming intelligible in the material world. Thus with the change of the century there has gradually a new world-view arisen which undertakes to interpret not merely the inanimate but also the animate creations, not merely the unconscious but also the conscious, and all this without exception independently of God, and only and alone from an immanent self-development.

As a matter of course the followers of this doctrine of development do not all go equally far in the application. There are many who shrink from the inferences, who halt at a given point, and who in imitation of Kant abandon a lesser or greater domain to mystery. These are the agnostics, the dualists, who say, "We do not know," and also "We shall never know," and who take it for granted that the realm which is accessible to science is surrounded by an unknown land of the impenetrable mystery of the unknowable. While they limit the real, the strictly scientific knowing to the world of the sensually observable, and of the measurable and ponderable things, they seek to maintain round about this world an

great truth; namely, You do not cease from praising the reliability and accuracy of mathematics; but what does it avail me to know with utmost certainty the thing which does not concern me? Thomas Aquino has truly said that the least that can be known of highest interests is more desirable and of greater value than the completest and most accurate knowledge of futile and indifferent things.

There is a knowledge which is of highest interest and urgent necessity to every man, without distinction. These are questions of life, whose answer each man requires because it stands in closest connection with the temporal and eternal well-being. Whatever is said, all people are conscious of it in turn that the life of a man is no play, but an awful reality, whose seriousness creates concern, since nothing less than an eternity hangs on it. Each man is convinced of this in the deepest parts of his soul, and shows it by seeking, even though in wrong ways, after a highest, enduring, and eternal good. Our heart is created for God, and it does not rest until it finds this at his Father heart. Hence we should know whence we come, what the source and origin of all things is, whether the last ground of all existing things is matter or spirit, force or person, unconscious impulse, or the almighty will of God, the Creator of heaven and earth.

The development theory of our times meets this question with the answer that in reality there is no origin and no beginning of things. All what is always was, though it be in other forms, and always shall be. The law of substance, that is, the theory the ever equal quantity, of the indestructibility of matter and force, especially since the famous treatise by Helmholtz on *Die Erhaltung der Kraft*, published in 1847, is according to naturalists irrefutably demonstrated and established beyond all doubt. This is the great discovery of the nineteenth century. Said Professor Haga at Groningen last year, in his recital oration on the development of natural science, "A particle of water can be traced from the moment it falls on the tops of the mountains as a snowflake, and as glacier-ice requires years to be pushed ahead, until it melts and in the brook is carried along to river and sea, where once more it evaporates and becomes fluid in the atmosphere as part of a cloud."

This is taught of matter. But this same law is valid with reference to the power which can be moved and changed but never reduced or increased in quantity. The railway train, said the same professor, which has suddenly the brakes put on loses its capacity of motion, but the heat developed in the skid, wheels, and rails represents an equally great quantity of capacity of work.

From this important law many present-day naturalists infer that substance is eternal. There is no origination and no passing away in any actual sense, no being born and no dying. What is was from all eternity and shall be to all eternity. There is change of form, of appearance, and endless transformation; there is an eternal process, an unbegun and a never-ending circular movement of matter and of force. But the substance is indestructible; it is the only, absolute, eternal being, which penetrates and fills eternal time and infinite space. It is, if you please, the Deity of the newer world-view. There is no other god. It has no other properties, no higher virtues and perfections, no more exalted names than matter and force. And it is no blessed, glorious, and all-sufficient *being*, but a restless *becoming*, an eternal urgency subject to an ever-continuing process of motion.

From this motion, which is taken as eternally belonging to matter and force, the origin of all things is to be interpreted. Development, evolution is the eternal law, which governs and directs everything that exists; with its blind fate and incalculable accident it displaces Divine Providence. The origin of our planetary system is explained according to this law. Our world in its present form was preceded by thousand others, which in turn came into being after this same law and have passed away. When the last preceding one had dissolved itself into a gaseous mass of mists, from which, according to a probable esteemed hypothesis of Kant and Laplace, the present world has appeared with its sun, moon, and stars, and also our earth, gradually by consolidation, rotation, and forming of the globe. But as everywhere else, upon this earth also development continues itself by the ceaseless motion of matter and force. Along long, immeasurably long lines of regularity the higher develops itself from the lower. By all

sorts of evolutions the earth forms itself into a fit dwelling place for living beings. First there is the inanimate, the formation of seas and lands, of mountains and streams, of minerals and layers of earth. Then matter organizes itself ever along finer lines and the operations of force become ever more intricate, until at length under favorable circumstances from inorganic matter the cell originates, which is the bearer of life. And when it is once come, then in the course of centuries there develop themselves the kingdoms of plants and animals, in ever higher formation, richer variety, and greater numbers. There is no deep, broad chasm between the animate and the inanimate, but a gradual transition. There is only a more intricate construction, finer organization, a higher development. Along the same way at length man arrives upon the scene. He also is not brought forth by the hand of the Creator, bearing his image; but he is the higher development of that species of animals, whose next of kin still continue to live on in the orang-outang, gorilla, and chimpanzee. In the fierce struggle for existence some animals, by acquiring and inheriting ever more excellent properties, have gradually developed themselves in one or other part of the earth into men. There has not been a first man. No one is able to indicate where the animal ceases and man begins. There is a slow, gradual development spreading itself across many centuries; by the smallest possible changes in the largest possible spaces of time from the lower all the higher has come forth; and man himself is the result of a process covering many millions of years.

This is the new and newest interpretation of the origin of things. There is something imposing, something which takes hold of one mightily in this view. There is contained in it unity of thought, boldness of conception, and sequence of principle. It is readily understood that it charms many. Yes, when one does not believe in revelation which furnishes another interpretation of all creatures, one is bound in a similar way to render the origin of things in some measure intelligible to himself. They must have come from somewhere and have originated in some way. The theory may still be incomplete and leave many phenomena in the physical and psychical world

unexplained, nevertheless, according to Straus, Darwin is hailed as the greatest benefactor of the human race, because he has opened the door through which a more fortunate posterity will be able to cast out the miracle for good. An age which denies the supernatural and even shakes off all religion, cannot do other, all opposition notwithstanding, than expect all salvation from the reason, its own thinking, and to see the solution of all the riddles of the world in development.

But however much this system may seem to be inwardly united and however readily we may account for its influence and popularity, it is not a product of science, but of the imagination; it is a play of conceptions on the part of the understanding which thirsts after unity. It is said to be built upon the foundation of empirical physics, aided by logical thinking; but it is a castle in the air, without any solid foundation, and without any severity of style, an air castle in the true sense of the word. With the laying of the very first stone it abandons empirics, the reliable results of physics. It is no science in any serious sense, no *science exacte*, as it is claimed to be, but a world-view with which the subject plays his parts, a philosophy as uncertain as any system of the philosophers, an individual opinion of as much significance as that of every other man.

That this assertion is correct is shown by the fact that though this system has been more broadly worked out in this century just closed and furnished with data from physics, in principle it has been thought out and recommended by philosophers long ago. Neither in former centuries nor in this has materialism been the result of severe scientific investigation, but the fruit of philosophic thought. Indeed, from the nature of the case physics can never go back of nature. It stands on the ground of nature, assumes its existence, and hence cannot answer the question after its origin. As soon as it undertakes to do this it leaves its lines, ceases to be physics and becomes philosophy, on an equal standing with the other philosophical systems which as grass and the flower of the field may bloom to-day but wither to-morrow. Physics may have discovered in this century the law of the conservation of work-capacity, but with no logical possibility can the inference be drawn from this that matter and force are eternal. What exists now has for this

reason not existed always. And what human power is not able to destroy is therefore not indestructible. The word "eternal" has no place in the vocabulary of physics, for it has only to do with the finite and the seen things and is limited to the relative. It steps across its own boundaries when it speaks of eternal matter, eternal force, infinite space, and time without end. Whenever it does this it plays with words whose meaning it does not understand and whose copulation is as contradictory as that of a wooden iron and a square circle.

It is more foolish still when it speaks of eternal motion. An eternal motion would also have been run down eternally and this be a standstill. For what falls in time is transitory, and what is eternal does not fall in time. Motion assumes a moving force, which gives the impetus, which produces and maintains it. Greek philosophers were so convinced of this, that from the motion of the world they concluded to a first mover. It may, indeed, be said that the universe moves itself, that it is a *perpetuum mobile*; but aside from this being a miracle equally great as the creation, it is as little possible to think this of the world as a whole as of one of its parts. For it is always the same substance, the same matter and force which dwells in the whole universe and in each of its parts. And motion is not everything. There is no motion without direction. What is the force, which not only moves but also leads the motion in a given direction? What is it owing to that motion takes such a direction, that it results in the formation of sun and planets, of heaven and earth, of minerals and plants, of animals and man in an ascending series? An appeal to the blind force of substance by way of explanation is equally absurd, as when, after the example of Cicero, one accounts for a book such as the Iliad from an accidental cast of thousands of letters.

But, apart from all this, what does physics know of the substance of things? Because it moves continually in the world of things that are seen it asserts that there is nothing else than matter and force contained therein. Always dealing with matter it disregards and denies spirit. Theology is accused, and justly so, of having usurped, in early times, all the



sciences. But no science has ever done this more entirely than physical science of the present day. It claims to be the only science and even outstrips English and Russian imperialism in its ambition for annexation. It declares consecutively biology and psychology, theology and philosophy as incorporated with itself, it forces its method upon all the sciences, and considers the mechanical interpretation the only one that is warranted to the claim of being scientific.

And, after all, it does not know what to do with all the phenomena which constitute the object of these several sciences. She does not know what substance is, and when she claims that it is nothing but matter and force, she cannot tell what each of these is, nor how they are related. Such a man as Haeckel, who shrinks from no riddle, was bound to confess that the inner essence of things is unknown. And little as she is able to penetrate the essence of matter and force, she is still less able to analyze the innermost being of life. Life, all life, is a secret which is to be revered but not explained. He who analyzes it kills it. All tracings and investigations have not lifted a corner of the veil which hangs across this mystery of creation. By the studies, especially by those of Pasteur at Paris, it has been shown that even with the lowest organic beings, namely, the *infusorien*, life does not originate of itself by mechanical changes of matter; there is no *generatio æquivoca*. Despairing of a mechanical interpretation, others, such as the English naturalist Thomson (Lord Kelvin), sought refuge in the supposition that life-germs had fallen in meteor stones from other planets upon this earth and thus had imparted existence to organic creatures; and this, as is seen at once, merely puts the problem off, while, moreover, it ascribes the origin of living creatures in the earth to a pure accident. With Haeckel it was held that life needs no interpretation, since it is equally eternal as matter and force and motion—which is no better than a mere play of words and is equivalent to a confession of weakness. With younger investigators, such as Bunge, Rindfleisch, Driesch, Ostwald, Reinke, Pictet, etc., returns were made to the at first disdainfully rejected life-power and alongside of a mechanical, an organic, energetical principle was also adopted in the world-view. *Omne vivum ex vivo*, all



the living comes forth from the living, is still the latest word of science.

This new world-view involves itself still more in a net of contradictions when it handles the question of the origin of man. It is indeed stated, as the consistency of the starting point claims, that man descended from the animal. But it has not been demonstrated by a single phenomena. It was known in earlier times that all sorts of relationships exist between animal and man, it is taught in the Scriptures, and at most has been indicated in our age in several particulars. With the animals man was created on the sixth day. His body also was formed from the dust; of the earth he is earthy. But all the features of relationship give no right to the conclusion that man and animal belong to one family and that they are blood relations. For greater far than the undeniable points of similarity is the far-reaching difference between man and animal indicated by the vertical position, formation of hand, skull, and brains, and still more by the reason and self-consciousness, by thought and language, by religion and morality, by science and art. Moreover, no single sample has been produced of the transition forms which with a common descent must have existed in great numbers. Some finds of human bones and skulls have been hailed enthusiastically as remnants of the so ardently longed-for transition forms. But a more accurate investigation brought ever again the fact to light that all these remnants were original with common people, men of like movements with ourselves. In spite of all diligent and zealous investigations there is nothing in advance this day of the word of Rudolf Virchow, that every fossil type of a lower human development is wanting. No one has thus far demonstrated where and when and how the animals have developed themselves into men. As far as we can go back into the past, animals have been animals and men men. The descentance theory of Darwin may be an indispensable link in the doctrine of development; it finds no support in facts. Man always has and still does form a distinct species in the world of creatures.

For this reason there is still room in science for the wondrously beautiful narrative which the opening chapters of the

Bible contain concerning the origin of things. We, too, acknowledge a unity which holds and binds together all created things. But we do not take this unity to lie in a cold, dead substance, but in the living God, the Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth. It lies in his consciousness, in his will, in his counsel. In the beginning it was not chaotic matter, the unconscious force, the impulse devoid of reason, but the conscious, spoken and at the same time speaking Word, which called all things into being. The creatures do not owe their origin to an emanation from, or to an evolution of the Absolute, that is, God. For both are contradictory to the conception of the Absolute, which is in itself unchangeable, eternal, and perfect being, and admits of no emanation or development. Creation alone, which harmonizes with the being of God as well as with that of the creatures, interprets the origin of things. And thus the Scripture states it. In an ascending series, covering a period of six days, by the word of his power the Almighty brings all things to appear from the unseen world of thought. He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast. He calleth those things which be not as though they were. Heaven and earth, firmament and clouds, mountains and streams, sun, moon, and stars, grass and herbs, creeping and fourfooted animals. He forms them all by the breath of his Spirit from the chaos of being. And he crowns his work with the creation of man after his image and likeness. Hence everything is of divine descent, allied to the Son, animated by the breath of the Spirit; everything is resting upon thought and will, upon understanding and counsel; and therefore everything mutually allied is one world, one cosmos, which receives its crown and glory, its lord and master, in Man of God's own family.

What an insight into the origin of things! What an exalted simplicity! Here is poetry and truth and religion all in one. This is both natural science and philosophy. Experience and thought, head and heart are here reconciled. Here is a view of the world which satisfies both consciousness and conscience and responds to all the aspirations of man. From the other side, it may be said, better be an ennobled ape than a degenerate Adam, or, better be the highest of animals than the

lowest of gods; but these very sayings betray the pride of man, who will be his own creator and in science also fails in the temptation of equality with God. They not only reject the Word of God, and are therefore devoid of wisdom, but they also extinguish the light of reason, saying in their heart, "There is no God," and are darkened in their understanding and vain in the thoughts of their heart.

## II.

Equally important as the first inquiry into the origin is the second, which investigates the essence of things. What is the world? What is humanity and the individual? What am I? An answer to these questions is also indispensable to the unity of our thought and the peace of our heart.

The newer world-view is at once ready with its answer. It asserts, of course, that in reality all creatures are one and the same. There is nothing but matter and force, which constitute the substance of all things and only changes in endless series of forms. There is no God, there are no spirits, there is no heaven, there is no world of invisible things, no kingdom of eternal goods, no moral world-order. Nothing exists save this visible world of measurable and ponderable things, which is moved by purely mechanical and chemical forces. In a word, the world is a machine, and, as a clock, runs down. It is distinguished, however, from a machine made by man, in that the latter has been put together by a reasonable will and is still governed by it. But the world—wonderful saying—is a machine which has construed itself, which continuously holds itself in motion, and which, completely blind, without reason and purpose, eternally runs on and never down. Hence the world is no living, animated organic unity, but an eternal existence of one and the same sort, a circular motion devoid of purpose, an endless, useless round upon round, monotonous and wearisome as the wave-beat of the ocean and the flying wheels of a factory.

The organism, the living being, and man also have their place in this mechanism. For there are no creatures who differ from each other in being; there are no species which, though allied, are separated from each other in

origin. All living beings are automatons, machines, even as inorganic creatures, only more finely construed and more artistically constructed. Man also forms no exception. He has neither a soul nor liberty, neither responsibility, independence, nor personality. In fact, he does not live, he is being lived. There are phenomena peculiar to him which we call psychical. But this gives us no warrant to conclude that these are altogether his own. For practical reasons they are only provisionally distinguished from physical, sensually observable phenomena. For in kind and nature they are really the same. They are but the finest products of the richest developed change of matter.

Simply because man is more finely construed than animals, and again because his highest and noblest construction is the brain, he produces finer and nobler products than other creatures. Hence all the psychical phenomena which we find with man find their preparation and analogy with plants and animals. Understanding, reason, consciousness, will, feeling, passions, tendencies, all occur in an undeveloped form with the lower organisms. The difference is in degree, not in kind. With man all these phenomena are produced in the same mechanical, chemical way. What a man thinks and wills and does, he must think, will, and do. Even as bile separates itself from the liver, so thought separates itself from the brain. The better, the finer, the greater the brain, the better, the deeper, the richer the thought. *Ohne Phosphor kein Gedanke* (without phosphorus no thought). In a word, as a man eats, so is he.

This same interpretation is applied to all spiritual and moral goods which are common to man. Language, religion, morality, art, science, law, history, etc., at its latest instance, is all product of change of matter, results of circumstances. If animals, says Darwin, were educated as men, they too would be men. Fate or accident alone, whichever you please to call it, has determined it otherwise. First living as beasts, climbing the branches of trees, in communion with women, without any sense of right or law, of good and evil, compelled by circumstances, in the manner of bees and ants and beetles, they have gradually formed colonies. And

in those colonies, alongside and over against the animal and selfish inclinations which are originally common to man social instincts have slowly developed, which weighed up against the others, and held them in balance, and caused men to live not exclusively for themselves but to some extent for others. Protected and encouraged by society these social instincts have gradually fostered the sense of right and wrong, of good and evil, of true and false, and quickened the need of arts and sciences. Hence there is no moral world-order, no objective right, no unchangeable law of morals, no absolute distinction of good and bad. It is all the product of circumstances. Under other relations the moral law would be entirely different, good would be evil, right wrong, and truth falsehood. Even religion has no objective value. It is born from the conflict of the feeling of self and the feeling of need. Dependent upon and oftentimes helpless over against nature, and bound to maintain himself in a physical or ethical sense, man reaches out after invisible powers which he takes to exist analogous to his own spiritual life, first in and afterward above nature, and by sacrifice and prayer he tries to engage their help in the conflict. But there is no religion in the sense of a service of God, for there is no God. At most, religion has a subjective value. Man alone is the standard of things.

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Such is the thought of the newer world-view concerning the essence of material and spiritual phenomena. One might almost ask, How is it possible? And in any case, How can faith in such a view be claimed in the name of science? For it is at once clear that from this view-point there is no difference of good and evil, of right and wrong, of truth and falsehood. Everything is good and beautiful and true in its time and place, according to the individual faith and choice. And yet the adherents of the newer world-view claim to have the truth—the pure, full truth, which chases away the mists, expels error, and opens the state of happiness. They think they have a world without riddle, without mystery, and with unknown boldness they force it upon others. Skeptical according to their principle, they are on the one side hardened dogmatists in practice, and oftentimes worse fanatics than the

adherents of a religious belief. While they do not acknowledge objective truth, they are more certain of the truth of their own teaching than many an orthodox believer. By which single fact they pay homage to the validity and the value of the old world-view at a radical and decisive point. Sin is always doomed in spite of itself to pay homage to virtue, and falsehood in whatever garment it hides itself is compelled to confess respect for the truth which it antagonizes. When in the name of science, that is, in the name of truth, the defenders of the new world-view demand faith in their system, they cannot do otherwise than acknowledge the objective, of human opinion, independent difference of truth and falsehood, and thus also of good and bad, of right and wrong, of the beautiful and the unsightly.

Yea, more, when with the warmth of conviction, with eloquence of speech, and force of argument they seek to make their truth the common good of humanity and thereby contribute to the state of future happiness, which is the realm of the true, good, and beautiful, the "trinity of monism," they mean a world of unseen goods which far excels the world of visible things and rules and dominates it. By their trying to break the compulsion of nature by their serious thinking and strong will they show that they themselves are citizens of a higher, reasonable, and moral world which is exalted far above the mechanical order of nature and differs from it in essence. They themselves do not rest content with the physical necessity, but they honor the independence and the liberty of human personality. They furnish the strongest proof that they are no machines, no animals, but men—men of God's own generation, created after his image.

Indeed, this image never allows itself to be entirely wiped out. It operates also in the most deeply sunken and most widely errant man. It bears an indelible character, and asserts itself even in the unrest and in the accusation of the conscience. Man can adhere to falsehood, but he never does it and never can do it save as he holds it to be truth, and thereby pays homage to the truth. He can be the servant of sin, but he never is nor ever can be, except as he reckons evil to be good and so pays his respect to the good. He can kneel down

to an idol, but he never does it and he never can do it except as he thinks that in the idol he sees the only true and living God and confesses awe and fear of the Eternal Being. God leaves himself without witness to no man. In each man's consciousness and conscience, reason and heart there reveals itself a kingdom of eternal and unseen goods, which steps not out of the way of any doubt and shrinks from no bold denial. The materialist may gaze himself blind upon the material world; spiritual, ideal goods are also goods, though they cannot be weighed or measured, or converted into bank notes. Sin, guilt, remorse, repentance, grace, love, comfort, forgiveness, etc., are also phenomena which must be interpreted, as well as the world of ponderable material and mechanical force.

The interpretation which the newer world-view offers of these spiritual and moral phenomena is really not worthy of the name. Confess, can it be called an interpretation when personality is robbed of its liberty; when the objective existence of true and false, of good and evil, of right and wrong is denied; when religion and morality is dissolved in a fancy? We do not dispute the warrant of tracing out as far and deep as possible the unmistakable connection and mutual relation of the spiritual and material phenomena. But as little as he who anatomically and physiologically investigates the brains, interprets the *thought*, or he who anatomically or physiologically investigates the heart, interprets *love*, just so little has he discovered the secret of religion and morality, of art and science, who exposes to the light their connection with the social conditions of any given period of time. Whoever thinks this mocks, indeed, at the needs of the human heart. They do as the unmerciful friends in Jesus's parable: when we ask them for bread they give us a stone; when we ask them for fish they give us a scorpion, as a proof that the mercies of the wicked are still cruel, and he who will feed on this bread of science will, according to Isaiah (xxix, 8), be as a hungry man who dreameth, and, behold, he eateth; but when he awaketh his soul is empty; or as when a thirsty man dreams that he drinks, but when he awakes, behold, he is faint, and his soul hath appetite.

The development theory, therefore, is unable to interpret

the richness and variety of creation. Indeed, the word development is not in place at the view-point of the mechanical world-interpretation. Evolutionists have unlawfully appropriated it and use it as a device to hide their poverty, and as a flag which does not cover their cargo. But development does not stand over against creation, but is only possible upon its foundation and belongs to its confession. Development produces nothing of itself, it is not the mother of being or of life; it is only a form of motion, which can only reveal what lies hidden inwardly in the germ. But the so-called development theory has no knowledge of germs; it knows nothing of disposition or capacity, of fitness and susceptibility. In its system there is no room for anything save atoms and complexes of atoms, which are altogether passive in themselves and are collocated only and alone in a mechanical or chemical manner by circumstances from without. This makes no mention of development in its real sense. No one thinks of development with reference to a machine whose parts are prepared in a factory piece by piece and afterward put together. Development is given an opportunity only when by almighty creation existence is given to beings who by way of organic growth must become what in germ and principle they already are. He who speaks of development refers to thought, plan, law, end; he who names development names God, who laid the "cidos" in the "hyle," the completed organism in the germ, the future in the present, and who in the creation had an eye to all times and opportunities. So little does development stand over against creation that there is scarcely any choice left between creation with the richest development on one side and mechanical combination by the accident of a host of similar atoms on the other. Development stands between origin and end; under God's providence it leads from the first to the last and unfolds all the riches of being and of life to which in creation God gave existence.

When, therefore, in distinction from materialistic one-sidedness we embrace not merely a few but all phenomena in our world-view, how greatly does our outlook upon the universe change and enlarge itself. For then the world is no



monotonous monism, no mechanical process, no irrational machine, but an organic, living whole. It contains not only matter and force, but also spirit and consciousness, reason and will. No merely mechanical and chemical, but also spiritual and moral powers operate therein, and not only are there dominant in it laws for material nature, but also laws for plants and animals, for angels and men, for social and political life, for religion and morality, for science and art, and for all the realms of the true and good and beautiful. The world is a unity, but that unity reveals itself in the richest and most beautiful variety. From the beginning heaven and earth have been distinguished from each other; sun, moon, and stars were given a task of their own; plant and animal and man have each their proper nature. Everything is created by God with a nature of its own and exists and lives after its own law. And although the creatures are thus distinguished, they are not separated from each other. Together they form one whole, one organism, one art product, of which God himself is the artist and the master builder. In him, in his counsel, in his will all created things find their origin and maintain their existence. Everything comes forth from him and in him everything is and moves and has being. He is no *Deus ex machina*, no help in extreme need, whom man invokes as a last resort to assist in his conflict with the mighty forces of nature. But he is the source of all being, the origin of all life and light, and the overflowing fountain of all good, who exhibits his virtues in the world and fills it with his glories.

Again, the newer world-view has no need of God; still less is its need of Christ. It has no knowledge either of sin or of guilt. It needs no Saviour and saves itself. It makes mention of a development and of a civilization which leaves the heart unchanged and at most puts a check for a time upon the "wild animal" in man. But it knows nothing of a regeneration and renewal by the Holy Ghost, or of a faith that justifies the ungodly and that overcomes the world. It is the world-view of the heathen who, knowing God, does not glorify him as God, and gives thanks that the truth of God changes into falsehood, and honors and serves the creature above the Cre-

the compulsion of fate or the capriciousness of accident. Everything is as it is, without reason and without purpose. The theory of evolution furnishes no answer whatever to the inquiry to what purpose everything serves. On this question it remains silent.

There is no purpose which the individual man serves. He exists, but why and to what end cannot be told. He is, remains here for a time, and departs. Then it is done, *la farce est jouée*, death is the end of a pitiful life. Since there is neither soul nor spirit, immortality is folly and faith in it nothing but egoism, the grave, or better yet, the cremation oven, is man's latest dwelling place.

There is no purpose for humanity. History is no theater of liberty, but is dominated just like the physical world, and with equal necessity, by mechanical forces and laws. The study of history which reckons with the will, with individuals and persons, and deems the course of history dependent upon these is entirely wrong. And homage is due to the method of physics, which views the only and all dominating factor of history in society, in the masses, in economical relations, and in social conditions, and from this interprets men with their thoughts and wishes, their religion and morality, their art and science. Irrational, planless, purposeless humanity goes forward to meet its ruin.

There is no purpose for the earth, the present world as a whole. Science teaches that a certain end awaits the whole planetary system of which the earth forms a part. Even as it once proceeded out of the mass of vapors so it shall once return into the same. There are a few who assert that present conditions will continue eternally. But physics disputes this point and deems it untenable. Endless duration together with an endless progress is inconceivable for the earth as well as for man. An end must come. To reckon with millions of years, in the past or in the present, is child's play and unworthy of mature minds, and is at best of no greater value than the gigantic numbers of Indian mythology. All physicists teach that after some millions of years the earth shall come to an end. However rich in provisions, the earth is not inexhaustible. Coal, wood, peat, minerals, etc., decrease gradually in

quantity as the human race increases and covers the whole earth. For this reason alone the development of humanity cannot be taken as endlessly progressing. To this is added that gradually a violent disturbance must occur in our whole planetary system. The velocity in the earth's revolution is diminished according to computation by at least one second every six hundred thousand years. This may be ever so little; after billions of years it is bound to bring about a change in the relation of day and night which renders life on earth simply impossible. The only point of difference among physicists is, which of the two will last longest, the sun or the earth. If the sun will be first to consume his provision of warmth, the earth is bound to face death by congealing. If the earth will be the first to be exhausted, it will land in the sun, and finds there its ruin. But whether by freezing or by burning, death is the end of the world as well as of the individual man and of the entire human race.

And when in view of this future the defenders of the development theory are asked to what purpose all things here have existed and lived, they have nothing to say and leave us without answer. When once it shall have come thus far, says Von Hellwald, then the eternal rest of death shall dominate over the earth. Robbed of its atmosphere and of its living creatures, in eternal moonlike ruin the earth will revolve about the sun, as before; but the human race, its culture, its struggles and efforts, its creations and ideals shall have been. And with the question "to what purpose" unanswered, he closes his history of culture. This is the eschatology, the doctrine of last things in the dogmatics of the theory of development. It is evident that no one can live by so sad an expectation. The defenders of evolution often say that in science the question is not, What brings comfort? but What is true? And they mock at the first question of the Heidelberger, What is thine only *comfort* in life and death? But in the end even they cannot afford to go without comfort in life. And since in the far future everything appears death-like and dark to them, they comfort themselves with the thought that it will take millions of years still before it comes about. The books and writings are not actual, said Professor

This is the development theory, and this the course of history according to the Scriptures; this is its expectation of the future; and this also the hope and desire of the children of God; they foster this hope without any fear that science can deprive them of it, for what can science know of to-morrow? Foolish are the expectations by which science seeks to displace the hope of Christians. There is indeed no other choice save between the ruin of all existing things as taught by present-day science, and the hope of the glory of the children of God, as preached by the Holy Scripture. And can the choice be doubtful? It is true that this future of the Christ will not be accomplished except by a violent crisis and conflict. Jesus came to the earth, not to bring peace but the sword, and to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. They of a man's own household will be his foes. Nevertheless the future is glorious and the hope certain. The kingdom of heaven, founded by Jesus in the earth, is and abides, and shall nevermore be banished from the earth. The foundation of God stands sure, having this seal: the Lord knoweth them that are his. The gates of hell shall not prevail against his Church. The near future may be the portion of the world and Satan, the later future belongs certainly to Christ. If we had no knowledge except that of an immanent self-development, we would have no ground for this hope. The kingdom of heaven has not once come along the lines of gradual ascent, neither will it come along these lines in the future. Not from beneath but from above do we expect the righteousness and life, the blessedness and glory of God. But Christ who has come down to earth is he who has also ascended above all heavens, that he might fulfill all things. And he is exalted that once every knee to him should bow and every tongue confess that he is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

*H. Bavinck.*

**ART. II.—THE PREACHER AND HIS MESSAGE.**

THE work of the prophet is essentially the same in all ages, to call men back to God and, by announcing God's word, help them to cultivate an intimacy of fellowship with their Lord. The preacher may be versed in literature, having the skill of a rhetorician and an orator, expounding Scripture with elaborate proofs, attracting multitudes by the charms of speech, yet, if he has not the voice and tone of a moral prophet, weighted with a message fresh from God to the hearts of men, his place is not in the pulpit. In discussing the relation between the preacher and his message, we call attention to the general character of the message, the method by which it is to be obtained, and what characteristics we should expect to find in the message of the preacher of to-day.

The preacher's message will have two factors—one permanent, being essentially the same for every preacher and for every age; the other variable, differing according to the individuality of the preacher and the characteristics of the age to which he speaks.

I. That permanent, essential factor arises out of the relation existing between God and his people. It does not consist in information or a dissertation even on religious truths. There may be all this without that vital element of a divine message. It is deeper than words; something that makes direct appeal to the religious sensibilities makes people feel that "this man has been with Christ;" that which, in every age, puts the stamp of divinity on the message of the prophet, arrests the sinner in his tracks, makes real the presence of a living God. In short, it is the voice of God, speaking through his prophet, calling men to himself. How is this essential factor of the message to be obtained? It is imparted to us directly through the religious consciousness, that faculty which takes cognizance of the personal relation between the soul and God. Hence, just as the mind must be enlarged and strengthened by disciplinary studies in order to receive truth, so must the religious consciousness be strengthened and cultivated by personal intercourse with the Lord in order that it may be

instructed in things divine. The preacher must have a living, growing acquaintance with the Lord, what is known as a good Christian experience. This is the vital thing, and everything else must be made absolutely subservient to it. Dogma cannot replace it, for this is a touchstone by which dogma itself must be tested. Again and again has the refined, sturdy, Christian consciousness revolted at the conclusions of a logical theology and planted itself firmly on its intuitions until logic has been compelled to come round to it. I hold, therefore, that not only must no course of conduct be pursued, no single act performed, that will in any wise interrupt this intimacy between the soul and God, but also that no thought should be entertained, no results of thought, though they may appear to our finite understanding to be logical, dare be accepted as finally true, that will in the least depreciate this living sense of the divine presence; for no man can be a true prophet without this witness to his own consciousness of the living presence and abiding favor of his Lord.

II. The other factor in the preacher's message is a variable one, and consists in the truths, facts, or doctrines that make up its setting, the terms in which it is interpreted to men. These will vary in every age, and, to some extent, with the individuality of the preacher. True prophets cannot differ in the essential part of their message—the call of God to men—but they will inevitably differ in their selection of the terms by which that message is to be interpreted or expressed, and in the truths or facts that are chosen as the vehicle for conveying that message to its destination. Now this distinction between the essential and the variable elements in the preacher's message should be kept in mind, for the great end of the preacher's work is not merely to teach truth, but to bring about in his hearers a right condition of soul, an attitude of harmony toward God, or, to put it scripturally, to save souls. Truth is a means to this end. That which is recognized as true in the age in which he lives and to which he ministers must be the basis on which he works to reach the hearts of the people. I say, the truth that is recognized as such in his day, for that which was recognized as truth in a former age and which served its purpose at that time will not answer for

to-day. Knowledge changes. We know very little about ultimate truth, though we are striving after it. It must, therefore, be in the very nature of things that "knowledge vanisheth away" and giveth place to higher, and yet higher, knowledge. That which abides is the faith that makes knowledge possible.

The particular truths through which the preacher is to make his message known and effective with his hearers are to be sought in every field—history, Scripture, science, philosophy, human life, everywhere. The underlying principle by which a preacher should be guided in his search for truth is that of a true liberalism of thought, which goes upon the assumption of continuity, or development, in thought. The present has grown out of the past and must in turn be prepared to give way to the larger thought of the future. On this principle a man must be just as true to the sacred heritage of the past as he is hopeful of the larger results to come. Failure to recognize this very important principle will account for much of the superficiality of hypercriticism as well as for the shortsightedness of many attacks made on modern scholarship. On the one hand we have those who seek the overthrow of every orthodox doctrine, and to reduce every tradition and marvel to a fable or myth, intoxicated by the flights of their own fancy and drawing most extravagant inferences from fragmentary data. At the other extreme we have a large class who look upon new investigations, new methods, and new results with suspicion and often with hostility. Both of these are wrong. The sound, healthy liberalism by which we are to seek truth and investigate facts clings to the old, not because it is old, but because it is true; welcomes the new, not because it is new, but because it is true; and every change which it feels called upon to make in former beliefs brings the soul consciously nearer to those eternal verities that are akin to every soul, whose roots strike deep down in the human heart, and whose branches overshadow all human needs.

Besides this liberal *principle* in his investigations, the preacher should have a *method* that is scientific. In this day of inductive science, the preacher must first get facts, then draw legitimate conclusions. Instead of trying to find out

sented their evidence; yet I do not see why faith and reason should be regarded as hostile to each other, and why we should not heed the scriptural injunction to "examine all things" and to "hold fast that which is good," whether it be old or new. It is certainly a poor sort of faith that dreads to submit the truths of the Gospel to honest investigation. The heavenly order for us is not, as some one has expressed it, the old nursery rule, "Open your mouth and shut your eyes, and see what heaven will send you," but "Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord."

4. Many results of these investigations do not directly affect the real essentials of a living faith in Christ. For one, I have not yet been able to accept all the modifications in our traditional beliefs that have been suggested by competent critics; yet I do not see why we should be alarmed at a scientific theory that affirms continuity of development in nature while assuming constant action of divine power underneath it all. Surely, to explain phenomena by law does not take them out of the hands of the Creator. Again, why should we be thrown into convulsions at the mere suggestion of a change in our notions as to the authorship and date of some of the books of the Bible? Suppose Ignatius Donnelly should achieve the great purpose of his life and establish the Baconian authorship of the writings attributed to Shakespeare. Would that make us any less appreciative of those marvelous productions? Even though it should be shown that there were a hundred Isaiahs, the fact remains that the great prophecy stands and teaches truths that bear the impress of the divine mind. What matters it that there may have been some minor mistakes in the transmission of the Scriptures, so long as they give us a revelation of the Christ? Even though we should accept these suggested changes, they need not at all prevent us from retaining the exalted conception of Christ which is essential to a real, elevating, regenerating communion with him.

5. Many changes which the scientific method has necessitated in our creeds have been positively elevating and strengthening to religious faith. The old argument for design in nature that was based on a sort of mechanical adjustment of various parts has given way to a larger conception of continu-





able to dispel the doubts of others. Though it may cost much sweat of brain and agony of soul, it is the business of the preacher in every possible way to get right into the heart of the life and thought of the age, and there to *preach Christ*, the center of thought, the goal of human aspiration, the panacea for all social ills. Nor dare he be satisfied with a mere witnessing to the truth; but if that glorious revelation of Jesus Christ as his Saviour has found his own heart, it will strike fire, and he will never be content until Christ has been actually enthroned in the hearts and lives of his hearers.

One other factor should be considered in connection with this subject. In addition to the message itself, the messenger must have proper credentials, something to accredit him as one sent from God. In some ages the ministry has relied upon physical miracles as evidences of an accompaniment of supernatural power. In these days of wonderful advances in natural science people's minds have changed in their attitude toward the supernatural. Men no longer regard events as miraculous simply because they are marvelous. The belief in the supernatural is changing to other and higher grounds, demanding that we shall go back to the attitude of Christ, who regarded his character as the supreme evidence of his divinity, and his miracles as secondary. The present age demands with greater emphasis than ever that the messenger of God must show his credentials in a supernatural character. Men once said to the ministers of the Lord, "We accept you because we believe in God;" they now say, "We accept God because we believe in you." Though our lives may not be perfect, shall there not be such fullness of spiritual vitality that people shall *see us grow*? May God live near to us, yea within us, and help us, that we may

Be wise as serpents, where we go,  
But harmless as the peaceful dove;  
And let our heaven-taught conduct show  
We are commissioned from above.

Edgar V. Dubois

books. Moreover, many a scientist leading a blameless life, inspired by high ideals of service to humanity, holds himself aloof from the Christian Church because he is unwilling to compromise his high standard of truthfulness by subscribing to dogmas which he is unable to prove; and we not infrequently find an honest, upright man who regards religious enthusiasm as some sort of unbecoming emotional weakness. Unquestionably there is an element of truth in some of these counter contentions. Religious excitement certainly has occasioned the breakdown of many a weakened and unbalanced mind; but adolescence and childbirth have occasioned many more breakdowns, and they cannot be termed pathological or abnormal. I must admit, however, that the real difficulty is not got rid of in this easy negative argument, for there must be some morbid element in an otherwise normal event when it is the cause of a pathological process. I think it must be sorrowfully admitted that there are some quite generally accepted methods of stimulating religious interest which are not thoroughly wholesome, but they are certainly very far removed from the gentle, tactful methods of the Master when he called his disciples or awakened the slumbering longing for a better life in the Samaritan woman at the well of Jacob. And I venture the opinion that, since these questionable methods of revival have little in common with the spirit of the Master, Christianity should not be held responsible for their excesses.

It must be admitted, too, that insanity often adopts the formulæ of religious expression. Special revelations from God, special missions and even reincarnations of Christ are among its most frequent vagaries. But the time has passed in the history of psychiatry when the form of the delusions can be made the essential characteristic of the diseased condition. Any given delusion must be regarded not as the essence but as an accident of the disease process. The self-styled Messiah who promenades his asylum ward, contemptuously disdaining to notice either his fellow-patients or his physicians, has chosen a religious word to express an ego-centric consciousness which is perhaps as empty of religious content as a phonograph is which could reproduce the Lord's Prayer. It may be true that "there is no more weak, unstable, and shifty nature in

ferentiates Christ's teaching from the ancient Jewish tradition. The ancient law condemned the libertine and murderer to death; Christ condemned the libidinous and the angry thought. The early Jews worshiped the God of battles with bloody sacrifice and complicated temple ritual; Christ revealed a God of love and peace to be worshiped exclusively neither in the temple at Jerusalem nor in the holy mountain in Samaria, neither with sacrifice of burnt offering, but in spirit and in truth, with humility and a pure heart. At no time, however, is the physical ignored. The service of the temple he would purify and spiritualize, not abolish. The subordination of the physical to the spiritual does not degrade it, but puts it in a new light of perpetual transfiguration. Not in precept alone, but also in his life is the spiritual supremacy evident. Christ chose deliberately to be king, not of material empire, but of the hearts of men. He suffered physically even unto death for that spiritual supremacy which, doubtless, could never have been otherwise realized. If Christ's mission really was to fulfill the law and spiritualize it, we should naturally expect to find in his teaching some spiritual analogues of the hygienic precepts in the older revelation. Our contention here is that this expectation is justified by the facts.

It would be amply worth our time to point out what I may call the lesser hygienic principles of Christ's teaching. Take, for example, the lesson of the lilies, with its principle of implicit trust and freedom from worry both physical and spiritual. True, it is not altogether new. There are similar precepts in the Psalms and prophets. There are similar precepts in pagan literature. But what we now seek to impress is the essential fact that it is altogether wholesome. The psychiatrist doesn't ordinarily fear the strain of honest work. It is good for one. And nature may usually be depended upon to make her demands for rest and relaxation in no uncertain voice. That part of our duties which rightfully belongs to any given moment is never oppressive. It is the emotional disturbances of the accumulated duties of the next week or month heaped together into one overwhelming present that is unbearable. It is congested worry that chokes and kills. But the lesson of the lilies is not limited to the worry of toiling and

one whole. Foreign matter must either be absorbed or expelled or it menaces the total welfare of the individual. Independent growths within the organism are always pathological. It is equally true that the organization of thought and activity is a condition of wholesome mental life. The most universal manifestation of deteriorated mind is what the pathologist calls its disorganization. A lack of unity through memory results in a "change of personality," or in dementia. A lack of unifying interest and the control of active attention results in a weak and vacillating existence, the prey of momentary temptations, the slave of every chance impulse. Morphine, alcohol, and other nerve poisons work the fearful havoc by which we know them, not merely through the short periods of lost self-control and irresponsibility directly following their use, but through the permanent weakening of mental organization, and inhibitory systems which condition the delicate restraints and balance of normal life. It is not the mere habit of taking opium or alcohol that enslaves men and makes brutes of them, it is the disorganization of mental life they produce, which gradually weakens every controlling motive, and leaves the victim no longer an individual, but an incoherent mass of conflicting tendencies, swayed by the first impulsive idea; no longer a personality, but a mob in which every consciousness of duty and justice is stampeded by the first blind passion. A similar phenomenon is presented by the disorganization of judgment. Whenever the criteria of truth and falsehood are consciously or unconsciously ignored, the first forceful idea presented by an imposing personality or reiterated with sufficient frequency assumes all the prerogatives of truth. Typical forms of such disorganization occur in the unsystematized paranoia of *dementia precox* and in our dreams. When the disorganization of action and thought becomes so complete as to endanger the individual's physical existence or society he is universally accounted insane; but I insist that insanity consists not in any special degree of disorganization but in the disorganization itself. Only the completely organized life is thoroughly healthy.

Primitive mental organization we call foresight. The laws of physical well-being force us to forego many an indulgence

correspondence with it. The standpoint may be ego-centric as in fetichism when the worshiper prays, "My will be done." It may be socio-centric. Or, finally, it may be absolute, when the true worshiper prays, "Thy will, O infinite and eternal God, be done!" This absolute organization, I insist, it is the unique service of Christ to have made tangible and real for us, partly by his discourse, most fully in his life.

The primary question with relation to the Christian religion which is before us as individuals for consideration, is not how much of this or that sectarian creed we can subscribe to, but solely and alone whether we shall follow that one life which lived not for self but for all men, not merely for his own time but for all time; whether we shall attempt to coordinate our activities under some eternal principle, whether we shall seek to make our life count for an onward step in the great world processes, or whether, on the other hand, we shall allow life to flicker away in self-contradictory activities, possibly storing up evil that our successors must painfully counteract. Whatever else conversion may mean to us it must ever mean preeminently a "new birth" into the *civitas Dei*, into the world, not of the now and the here, but of the Eternal and the Absolute. When the highest aspiration of our souls may find expression in the prayer, "Thy will, O Lord, be done by me! if so be that my life may count in the fulfillment of thine eternal purposes;" only then, I insist, can our life, taking its place in the life eternal, be thoroughly organized or thoroughly wholesome.

Raymond Dodge.

the resurrection; for while all the New Testament writers acknowledge the resurrection of Jesus, only the gospels of Matthew and Luke record the supernatural birth. These facts are entitled to respectful consideration, but we may not assume that a question of this kind is to be settled by the mere number of witnesses in the case, nor can we allow any *a priori* assumption of the impossibility of miracle to affect the critical procedure.

It is easy for some to dismiss this question by the short method of authoritative dogmatism. Others have no patience with the details of critical inquiry. Multitudes of our people do not care to think at all. There are many, however, who in a matter of this profound and serious character wish for a broad and candid presentation. They do not doubt the sincerity of the men who deny the miraculous conception, but would like to see a fair and comprehensive statement of both sides of the controversy. One may also venture to submit that, even if the historicity of the first chapters of Matthew and Luke be as a whole open to suspicion, the miraculous conception may still be shown to be credible. Our aim in this article is first to state the reasons usually alleged for doubting the historical trustworthiness of the narratives in Matthew and Luke, and to offset them by such replies and other considerations as are entitled to equal attention. In this part of the discussion we study to abstain from anything which might be construed as partisan pleading, or as unwillingness to allow the full force of the opposite position. We shall then proceed to adduce the strong reasons outside the records of the miraculous birth which go to confirm the credibility of those narratives and to establish the faith and tradition of the Christian centuries.

1. The silence of Mark, Paul, and John touching the miraculous birth is construed to discredit the narratives of Luke and Matthew; for while the argument from silence has little weight in general, it may well appear strange that Paul, had he known of the miraculous birth of Jesus, should have nowhere made allusion to the remarkable fact. Still more strange and difficult to account for is the fact that the disciple who took the mother of Jesus to his own home after the cru-

in John vii, 5, that his brethren did not believe on him. This objection may be met substantially as the preceding. If these were older brethren, as some suppose, children of Joseph by a former marriage, there is no sufficient reason to suppose that the holy secret would have been imparted to them. None of them may have been old enough to remember even remarkable occurrences connected with the birth of Jesus, and they would probably have been left with friends in Nazareth when Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem. But if they were younger brethren, and had even been told something about the remarkable events of the birth of their mother's firstborn son, the lapse of twenty or twenty-five years would have largely removed the impression of it from their thoughts.

7. It is deemed inexplicably strange that in setting forth the facts and claims of Jesus's life no appeal, no reference even, is made in the Acts or in the apostolical epistles to the fact of the supernatural conception and virgin birth. To which it is proper to reply that we are not in a position to judge what was the wise and expedient use to make of such a fact in the apostolic writings. Is it not rather obvious that a miracle of supernatural birth, though well known and accepted among the first disciples, was not a proper subject for public proclamation in the first outgoings of the Gospel? The claims of Jesus to the homage of mankind were first to be set forth on other grounds.

8. The tendency of tradition to glorify the birth and infancy of great men is well known, and the ideals of supernatural intervention associated in biblical history with the birth of Isaac, Samson, Samuel, and John the Baptist are of similar character. This tendency went on in the case of Jesus to the production of all the marvelous stories which are found in the apocryphal gospels; and dogmatic presuppositions led on to the maintenance of the perpetual virginity of Mary, and finally of the immaculate conception of the virgin "mother of God," and all related and consequent Mariolatry. The tendency here mentioned is readily conceded; but it does not follow that we must therefore reject or deem incredible all reports of remarkable signs attending the birth of those whose coming into the world was destined to change the course

of human affairs. The accretions of later legend, dogma, and superstition touching the Virgin Mary do not necessarily discredit the biblical narratives, but point back rather to some sure foundation of fact.\* The observance of the law of purification, as recorded in Luke ii, 22, is in notable contrast with the tendency of thought which developed the dogma of the immaculate conception of Mary. How could a mere ideal legend of the supernatural conception and birth of a holy child, begotten of the overshadowing power of the Most High, have allied itself to the rites of purification? Must not such a holy conception and birth have sanctified the virgin mother rather than have rendered her unclean?†

The foregoing reasons for doubting the historical trustworthiness of the narratives of Jesus' supernatural birth are thus shown to be of a negative character, and may be fairly offset in detail by such considerations as we have presented. Not one of these objections when taken separately, nor all of them when put together, would be sufficient in their nature to set aside a well-attested fact of history. At the same time it may be fairly claimed that an unbiased mind, bent upon a purely historical investigation, would naturally feel that the remarkable nature of the subject-matter, the large proportion of dreams and visions and poetry embodied in the chapters in question, and the lack of corresponding testimony in other parts of the New Testament, expose the historicity of the miraculous conception to very serious suspicion. Certain it is that nowhere in the New Testament is this subject of the miraculous birth put forth as an article of faith. That Jesus Christ was manifested in the flesh (1 Tim. iii, 16; 1 John iv,

\* To perceive what grotesquely fictitious stories real legend may weave around an historical character, the most superficial reader has only to peruse the apocryphal *Protevangelium* of James, the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, the Gospel of the Infancy of the Saviour, the Gospel of Thomas, and the History of Joseph the Carpenter, to find a tone and range of thought unworthy to be compared with the sober simplicity and devout reserve which are so noticeable in the narratives of Matthew and Luke. So, too, the stories of the miraculous birth of Buddha appear absurd and puerile in comparison with our gospel narratives of the birth of Jesus.

† There was certainly nothing in Judaism or Hebrew tradition, which held marriage and the legitimate begetting of children in highest honor, to favor, much less to originate, a fictitious legend about the birth of Jesus; and the supposition that such a legend first started among Gentile Christians, found favor with Jewish Christians, and obtained the credence of such early writers as the compilers of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, is hardly thinkable.



ception can of course find no acceptance with this class of thinkers, and they are thoroughly consistent in rejecting the reports and traditions of all other alleged miracles. But when anyone of this class takes in hand to explain the commanding mystery of the person of Christ, the result is of a most unsatisfactory character. The intangible residuum which is left after eliminating from the Jesus of history all that savors of the supernatural seems so utterly inadequate to account for his personal influence over the men of his time and for the facts which have demonstrably followed as direct results of his appearance in the world, that few if any have been thoroughly satisfied with the various naturalistic hypotheses proposed to explain the earliest records of Christianity.

2. There are others who are persuaded that Jesus must have performed many marvelous works, for they affirm that nothing less than this admission can treat the New Testament records with rational fairness. Critics of this class pursue an eclectic course, and sometimes presume to say what particular miracles may, and what may not, have been actually wrought by Jesus. Most of the cases of remarkable healing are accepted as credible; the casting out of demons is regarded as a tactful accommodation to the superstition of the times, and along with it a truly skillful treatment of certain cases of disordered mental action, resulting in real "mind cure." The deaf, the dumb, and the blind may also have been cured by the superior wisdom and power of the wonderful man who was at once teacher, prophet, and physician. But such miracles as walking on the water are regarded as instances of illusion, and the raising of Lazarus, and the son of the widow of Nain, and Jairus's daughter are rejected as incredible. The position of this class of thinkers, however, seems less satisfactory than that of those who consistently deny the reality of all alleged miracles. These eclectic critics leave us all at sea, and each reader of the records becomes a law unto himself.

3. But there are some who acknowledge the truly supernatural in Jesus, and admit the great miracles attributed to him in the gospels, including his resurrection from the dead, but deny the credibility of the miraculous conception. It is no doubt the right of the critical mind to discriminate in questions of this

Nearer, my God, to thee !  
 Nearer to thee,  
 E'en though it be a cross  
 That raiseth me ;  
 Still all my song shall be,  
 Nearer, my God, to thee,  
 Nearer to thee !

Though like the wanderer,  
 The sun gone down,  
 Darkness be over me,  
 My rest a stone.

And so on. Or again :

Here I'll raise mine Ebenezer ;  
 Hither by thy help I'm come ;  
 And I hope, by thy good pleasure,  
 Safely to arrive at home.

*Home* and *come* are somewhat unhappily married, but what shall one say of such a pair as *Ebenezer* and *pleasure* ! *Ebenezer*, in any case, is an essentially unpoetical word, and gives an awkward, not to say grotesque, effect to the line. Once more :

My native country, thee,  
 Land of the noble, free,  
 Thy name I love ;  
 I love thy rocks and rills,  
 Thy woods and templed hills :  
 My heart with rapture thrills  
 Like that above.

It is plain that, weighed in the scale of literature, such a stanza is like the fine dust of the balance.

It will, moreover, be seen that the words of hymns not only do not *need* to be as self-sufficient as those of other poems, but also that the very bareness and simplicity of hymns, so long as the latter escape actual commonplace, are an advantage. A poem which is involved or heavy with thought may make agreeable reading for the student, but it will make a poor hymn. Not only that, poems which are elaborate, rich with rhetorical ornament and the charms of conscious phrase, will delight the esthetically trained, but are unfitted to be sung. Few, if any, of Browning's poems on the one hand or Tennyson's on the other would therefore serve as models for hymns, whereas not a few of Whittier's poems, though their author was not nearly as great a poet as either of his English contemporaries, are genuine additions to hymnology.

The Quaker poet had a sort of unborrowed simplicity which amounted to originality. Some of his writings drop into commonplace, but his poems of religious devotion never do. Their sincerity and intensity of feeling save them, despite their obviousness and almost childlike artlessness, from mediocrity.

It is not difficult to understand why a professional critic is led so easily to undervalue hymns. He is induced by his very training to hate the commonplace or any approach to it. With Emerson he loves the unexpected, and would

mount to Paradise  
By the stairway of surprise.

But when singing a hymn we are left no time to interpret the unusual or the unexpected; half our attention is diverted to, if not distracted by, the musical tune, and we must catch the meaning on the instant. Simplicity is imperative. One handicap under which the hymn writer works is the monotonous uniformity of rhythmical structure which is forced upon him by the tune. A poet is given the widest liberty to substitute one kind of metrical foot for another, to add light, rapid syllables in the unit of rhythm in place of fewer and slower ones, and to introduce rests or silences in the place of syllables. These elements of variety in rhythm greatly increase the charm of versification, and they are constantly employed by the masters of English poetry. For instance, the opening line of the first stanza in one of Tennyson's familiar lyrics is *Break, break, break*, and the corresponding line of the second stanza is *O well for the fisherman's boy*. Now the movement in the two lines, each of which has three beats or accents, is not inharmonious; indeed the variety caused by the omission of one or more syllables, which would be indicated in music by a "rest," is an added charm. But both lines could not readily be sung to the same notes. Neither could the opening lines of two stanzas in "Crossing the Bar:" *Sunset and evening star*, and *But such a tide as moving seems asleep*. Many of the devices employed in verse to obviate sameness are unavailable in hymns, and their absence detracts from the popularity of this literary form among those who approach it in the spirit of criticism.

Again, the unpopularity of hymns among the fastidious is partly due to the carelessness of the hymnists. The matter of faulty rhymes would alone furnish numerous illustrations. Most of our famous hymns were written in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, when lyric poets wrote with a large hand, and when fluency and passion were allowed to cover a multitude of minor artistic sins. Since the great examples of Keats, Tennyson, and Rossetti no poet who expects a wide hearing dares to be anything less than scrupulous in technique, but it was not so in the days of our grandfathers. It may be objected that even Tennyson's rhymes are sometimes inexact. True; but always consciously and with a purpose. They are not slovenly like

Tongue can never express  
The sweet comfort and peace,

but are introduced like an accidental in music in order to give the charm of unexpectedness, as for example:

Only reapers, reaping early  
In among the bearded barley,

where the broader vowel sound follows the narrower. Tennyson would no more have had *barley* precede *early*, or (in "A Farewell") have made *forever* take precedence of *river*, than he would have brought two s's together.

The hymn is a lyric, and must conform to the requirements of a lyric. It must be brief, must possess unity, must be, in the broad sense, subjective, and must be personal although interpretive of universal experience. Like all literature of value, also, it must as a first requisite be sincere. A hymn which is not fundamentally marked by truth, which leaves the least suspicion of insincerity, is the most worthless of all. For example, take this familiar stanza from one of the Gospel Hymns, which has been frequently and justly criticised:

O, to be nothing, nothing,  
Only to lie at His feet,  
A broken and emptied vessel  
For the Master's use made meet.

The sentiment here is unhealthy and unchristian. It may even be doubted whether the author could have meant it, though one does not doubt that he thought he meant it. No

one in his sane senses believes the desire to be nothing to be a laudable religious motive. We are to covet earnestly the best gifts, to be thoroughly furnished unto all good works. The conception that God can most easily fill a broken vessel with his Spirit is not Christianity, but asceticism. Men used to wear their bodies down to the bone that they might better be filled with religious emotion, but the best thought of the world has moved far beyond that point of view. Not only is the greatest hymn marked by truth, but it embodies those truths which are assented to by the majority of Christian believers. The hymn which is the vehicle of sectarian beliefs is obviously of less value to the Church at large than that which appeals to devout hearts the world over. We would not be understood to say that concessions should be made to agnosticism, or even that the evangelical element in hymns should be omitted in deference to the opinions of so-called liberal bodies. The latter sects are numerically small in comparison with the evangelical, and have produced no such proportion of our best hymns. It is pitiful to see the work of our great hymnists, such as Watts, Wesley, Cowper, Doddridge, Montgomery, and Faber, stripped of its distinctive charm, so as to bring it within the confines of a rationalistic creed. One hardly sees how a sensible person of whatever faith can have any patience with the compiler of a Unitarian hymn book who recently changed "Jesus, Lover of my soul," to read, "Father, Lover of my soul," or regard it as anything less than absurd, if not indeed sacrilegious, when a prayerless coterie calling itself the "Exodus Society, The Church of The Science of Being" mangles and perverts the hymn, "Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve," after this fashion :

'Tis truth's all-animating voice  
That calls thee from on high ;  
'Tis His own hand presents the prize  
To thine aspiring eye.  
O blessed Truth, now led by Thee,  
Have I my race begun;  
And crowned with victory at Thy feet,  
I'll lay my honors down.

On the other hand it must be admitted that points of creed

which are very generally held in dispute, as particular theories of the atonement, for instance, should not be introduced into these songs of the Church universal. The vast body of Christian believers can join in singing "Rock of Ages, cleft for me;" the body of evangelical believers, which constitutes the great majority of the Church, can join in singing "When I survey the wondrous cross." But what of Wesley's "Arise, my soul, arise," which sets forth by implication a view of the atonement which the best thought (even the best conservative thought) of our time has distinctly passed by? A noble and impassioned hymn it is, but viewed as literature it is in a lower class than either of the other two, since it is the instrument for propagating an individual opinion rather than a universal truth. The thought of one part of the Godhead arguing with another part and finally persuading the reluctant and all but implacable Deity to an act of clemency is repugnant to the intellectual temper of our day, and the hymnody which is the vehicle of false or narrow conceptions of our Father in heaven cannot prove an addition to literature.

While one must not be ungrateful for the magnificent hymns which are among the chief glories of the Church, one cannot but feel convinced that the greatest hymns are yet unwritten. The hymn writer of the past has been wont to confine his view too exclusively to certain sides of Christian theology and Christian experience. More than one important aspect of religious thought has remained untouched. Christ's divinity, mediatorship, atonement, have been incessantly chanted, but how few hymns have adequately dealt with his humanity! We have had much about his meekness, patience, sufferings; how little about his manliness and strength! How many hymns, moreover, have dealt much with one's own salvation, have appealed to one's religious self-interest; how few have struck the noble note—in reality the central note of the Christian faith—of self-forgetfulness and disinterested service for others! We can hardly hear the desire too frequently expressed for "a heart to praise (our) God, a heart from sin set free," yet surely we can profitably hear far more than we do of

of food. When the deep moments of the Spirit are holding us, and the soul reaches out for strength and guidance, it is not to the poets of loveliness and external nature that one turns, it is to the poets of religion. The greatest literature reaches down into the spiritual soil. Sermonizing we do not want, but we do want a view of life which shall not leave out of account its largest and most important hearings. Art does not exist, as some have maintained, for its own sake, but for the sake of inspiring pleasure; and the greatest art is that which appeals to the highest and most permanent sources of pleasure. The purpose of science is to appeal to the intelligence—to impart fact. Art exists for the purpose of moving the emotions. But the emotions excited by Tennyson's "In Memoriam" are certainly of a higher order than those aroused by his "Airy Fairy Lilian." If, then, the highest art contributes to the highest pleasures, it must be related to the deeper emotions and the conscience—to the life of the Spirit. And herein lies the justification of hymns regarded as literature. In the past their utility has been very generally recognized by the Church; in the future their charm as well as serviceability is certain to become increasingly evident. One of the highest forms of the literature of to-morrow will be the hymn, and it will make its appeal not alone to the ecclesiastical zealot, but quite as much to the student and lover of poetry.

*Frederic L. Knowles*

**ART. VI.—THE CAUSE AND CURE OF POVERTY.**

It is only true to say that when the Christian Church began to wrangle about the nature of Christ it then lost sight of his great work. Christ was a being of great excellence and purity, and he extended a helping hand to all who had sunk to the lower depths of depravity and uncleanness. He came to better the condition of the race physically as well as save the soul from sin and death. His sympathy for the poor and unfortunate distinguished him from all other teachers of his day. He was the first teacher to care for the poor, and to recognize those whom the governors overlooked. The Pharisees courted the rich and treated the poor and ignorant with contempt. To preach the Gospel to the poor was a Messianic mark, as it is still one of the marks of genuine piety and love. No profession of piety is genuine that does not care for the poor and unfortunate. Wealth brings its possessor before great men, secures positions of influence and authority over those who are poorer, enabling a man to become a governor or senator. But wealth is always insecure. If it has been dishonestly obtained it is worse than useless to its owner. The treasures of wickedness profit nothing. It is better to be an honest poor man than a wicked rich one. A good name weighs more than a good bank account, and is rather to be chosen than great riches. There are advantages in riches and inconveniences in poverty, yet the great law of compensation holds good all along the line, and there is always some offset for either good or evil fortune. The rich man often feels a sense of pressure from the magnitude of his wealth. He is a slave to his own property. He is harassed by the continual demands for money, being in that respect almost as badly off as an impecunious wretch beset by a throng of relentless creditors. Often his health will not allow him to enjoy champagne or rich viands. His grand mansion is often only a boarding house for servants, and as for his wealth he is not even able to see it. When a good man becomes possessed of



a passion to get rich he soon becomes bad. "He that hath an evil eye hasteneth after riches, and knoweth not that want shall come upon him." It is better to be rich in spiritual qualities than in gold. How often does one meet with gray-haired men who once were princely merchants or lordly planters, and who are now compelled to struggle hard for a scanty support. Poverty and riches are relative terms. I would not call a man who has a good position and lives in a well-furnished house, and is able to supply his family with the necessities and some of the luxuries of life, and is able to send his children to the public schools and provide them with books and papers, a poor man, though he may possess no real estate and have no income beyond what he earns. The man who has no income, no real estate, and cannot, either because of sickness or incompetency, supply himself and family with the necessities of life, is a poor man. These were the poor for whom no one cared in Christ's day, and to whom he preached the Gospel.

So far back as we can trace the life of man on earth we find that human existence here began in poverty, or, at least, in what is usually called poverty. All the advance that the race has made has resulted from the efforts of man to better his condition, supply his wants, secure his existence, and enlarge his comforts. The effort of the race to abolish poverty and drive away distress and misery has produced what we call civilization. There is no hope that poverty will ever cease to be in this world, for all cannot become rich, and the masses can never win emancipation from the worry and care of getting our daily bread. The poor will be here always.

The causes of poverty are many. One cause of poverty is found in the fact that too many people prefer the city to the country. In the beginning of the century most of the people lived in the country, and practiced self-denial. The growth of cities in the present century is without a parallel or precedent in any previous age of the world. This shows a change in the habits of the people of the present age, and especially in this country, which has brought with it a radical change in

all the social conditions of life. There is a limit somewhere to the city's capacity to receive, assimilate, and properly care for its population. When the city is overcrowded those who cannot get employment become discouraged, forsake the house of God, and naturally drift toward vice and poverty, as godlessness is always productive of poverty. In all communities where the Christian religion flourishes there is comparatively little poverty. Whenever the experiment of doing without religion has been tried it has proved a failure. All the progress that has been made in the deliverance of the race from the slavery of savagery and poverty has been accomplished by Christian doctrines and methods. We cannot doubt that we are vastly indebted to spiritual influences for the victories we have achieved and the blessings we enjoy. Those who dispute this are special pleaders, dealing in sophistry and investing superficial things with fundamental importance.

In the country people used to be happy in houses with unplastered walls and carpetless floors. They exchanged work with neighbors, and obtained most that they needed by trade; but in the city there is no getting along without money, and there is a poor chance to get money when there are vastly more laborers than there is work. There are millions of people who are objects of charity in the cities to-day who were, before they left their little patches of ground in the country, making a comfortable living. The rich are not to blame because these people moved to the cities.

Another cause of poverty is incompetency. There are some excellent people living in this world who came into it destitute of the elements of success. Many men seem to have no faith in themselves, no assertiveness, no independence, no pluck, and no push. They are not to blame, but they have not the ability to succeed, and they will have to be helped under any social system.

Another cause of poverty very prevalent in this country to-day is found in the discontented disposition of many young men who do not stay long in any place or work faithfully at any employment. They have no staying ability. Lacking in

perseverance, when they get a good position they soon give it up. The job that they have, they think, is not up to their ability. I have seen preachers afflicted with the same mental ailment. The appointment they serve is never big enough for them. They are all the time looking for something better.

Another cause of poverty is traceable to parental neglect. Much of the poverty that now exists in our cities is chargeable to parents who failed to teach their boys and girls some useful and honorable means of earning their living, either by a trade or other occupation. When children are allowed to grow up without any special training for any particular kind of work, and have to make a living by any kind of employment they can get, to-day one thing and to-morrow something else, they will always be poor. Many of them will become objects of charity, and have to be helped by public or private philanthropy, or by both.

Another fruitful cause of poverty is the appetite for intoxicating drink. The day has arrived when a man who drinks cannot be trusted with work or responsibility. The only employment there is for him is to march the other men who drink up to the polls on election day to cast the ballot for some unworthy politician. Rum is the greatest of all causes of poverty, and will continue to be as long as it is made and drank. When a man drinks to excess he loses his position and is unable to find another; and if he drinks at all he will drink to excess. Drinking produces idleness, and idleness leads to poverty. If men would quit patronizing the saloon the institution would not only perish for want of patrons, but poverty would rapidly disappear. There will always be great poverty as long as there are saloons; and as long as drinking men can perpetuate them by their votes they will be likely to stay.

Another cause of poverty is found in sin. Some men do not try to be anybody. They drink, and swear, and relate vulgar stories, and curse the parson, and damn the Church, and never read a good book or paper, but seek the companionship of men of like degrading tendencies. All this tends to poverty. The Church is the best friend the poor man has on earth.

Some say that our present social system is the cause of most of the poverty that exists in our cities. They say that there would be no poverty anywhere if the monopolization of the land by those who control it was prevented. They insist that the weak worker shall share equally with the stronger, and they regard the individual as an inseparable member of humanity, with a duty to his fellows which he cannot cast off. They hold that everyone born into the world is a debtor to society for all he can do, a creditor to society for all he needs. They propose that the surplus substance of the rich man shall be divided among the poor. But if a man has worked hard from early morning till late at night, and has succeeded in securing a competency for himself and family, or even has become wealthy, is it right to take his property from him by legislation or otherwise and give it, in part, to some shiftless, drinking, worthless man who had the same opportunities, in the beginning, with himself? The law of the strongest can be violently suspended, but it lies too deep in human nature to be destroyed. Nature is mightier than artificial theory. All efforts which contemplate bringing up indigent, dissipated, shiftless people to the level of thrifty, enterprising, moral, religious, well-to-do folks, by an application of revolutionary social methods, or the reversal of established governmental regulations, must necessarily prove abortive. The whole income of the country equally divided would give but a paltry income for each individual, and the total incomes under such a system would rapidly diminish, since there would be no longer any incentive to enterprising talents. Men undertake things in hope of gain; but under such a system the object of every man would be to get his share out of the public fund with as little labor as possible. Invention would cease with the inducement that stimulates it. The state would have no money to spend for the rich results that private wealth creates, and the result would be retrogression and decay; every art would decline, and men would be on a common level of poverty and semibarbarism. Every scheme for substituting state control for individual

enterprise would result in the enervation of all industries and in the apathy of the individual. It would stop the beating of the heart of our industrial system. Who can foretell what evils would befall us if we should ever fall into the grasp of this new social system?

In spite of all the poverty of our great cities, in spite of low wages and "sweating systems," and tenement houses, and children put to work as soon as they can talk, and much more brutality, the condition of the laboring people of this country is vastly superior to that of any other country in the world, and is gradually improving. Socialism can never abolish poverty. Poverty can never be abolished by money given in charity, seeing that charity creates rather than removes poverty. It can never be abolished by state control, because government property is always less productive than private enterprises. It can never be abolished by the government ownership of land, because that would not make the land more productive, but less. Our present system gives every man the opportunity of making all of himself that he is capable of making or wants to make. It furnishes him a good education at the expense of the well-to-do and the rich. It recognizes his abilities and gives him the opportunities to exercise them. The social evils existing in our country to-day are chargeable to the selfishness and depravity of the human heart, and not to our governmental system. The evil is in the man, and not in the system. Individualism is the surest guardian the world has ever had of liberty and great endeavor. Instead of self-reliance in the battles of life too many men carry their grievance to the state and seek its aid. The progress of a people was never carved out by a state, but was born of the courage, the ambition, the hard sense, and the perseverance of men. He is a false teacher who promises to correct all the grievances of the masses by legislation.

The trials of the poor can in no way be lessened by persuading them that they are the victims of oppression. All men do not have equal ability to accumulate property. It is the superior efficiency of one individual over another which

enables him to accumulate more wealth than others. No one denies that there are mean rich men who have no mercy and who have the disposition to reduce the laboring class to a condition worse than that of the colored race of the South before the Proclamation of Emancipation was issued; but it is wrong to say that all rich men belong to this class. Many of them have in no way borrowed, begged, or stolen from the poorer man. Instead of injuring the poor man, the rich man has been a blessing to him. He has given him a larger, better customer for his products; he has given him a neighbor who is able to help him in a pinch; he has given him an employer better able to pay good wages, and has stimulated the desire in the poor man to become rich also so that he may enjoy the rich man's superiorities. Many a poor man has been aroused from an apathetic indolence by the rich man and started on the road to success.

Poverty can never be abolished by charity. We shall always have beggars as long as able-bodied men can make a living by begging. When those who are able to work, and will not work, are refused help without investigation, begging by such people will soon cease. Free board and free lodging have encouraged voluntary mendicancy, and have done more harm than good. Sick people and families cannot be benefited by such provision, and no others are entitled to it. Able-bodied men and women should not be helped except through some public industry. Work is what such people need, not charity. People who are usually self-supporting and make the best effort they can, but who, through lack of work or unusual sickness, are reduced to an extremity from which they cannot deliver themselves, are entitled to sympathy and help. Relief in such cases should be prompt and adequate. There are many such people in every community. They make application for assistance only when compelled to do so by necessity. Such people can be saved by proper means, and will continue to be respectable members of society, but if neglected many of them will drift into intemperance and crime. It is right to help worthy unfortunate people over

a difficulty; but what such people need and what they want is not charity, but the opportunity to work and make their own living. The best charity in the world is to give a man a chance to support himself and his family. Worthy people are not trying to get something for nothing. All they ask is a chance to help themselves.

Our government is all right, but it has been too generous. The fact that we have allowed more people to come to this country than can find employment is not a proof of social injustice to them. Oversupply of labor makes competition between laborers so keen that the price of labor is lower than it should be, and selfish, greedy capitalists have taken advantage of it and have oppressed the poor. Our government is not to blame for the low price of labor, but the selfish capitalists who are willing to prosper at the expense of their less fortunate neighbors are to blame. We do not need any new social system, but we need more justice between man and man. We hear too much to-day about social and moral reforms. What we need as capitalists and laborers is salvation, and the disposition to practice the golden rule. Social reforms are too often started to turn one set of men out of office to make room for another set. There are some well-meaning but deceived men who are making it their business to scatter the seeds of discontent, and make the American laborer believe that he is the worst governed and most oppressed person on the face of the earth; but this is disproved by every census report, and by the experience of every community, as well as by every savings-bank report in every State of the Union. The truth is, this country is by far the most prosperous country in the world. I am fully persuaded that labor does not, as a rule, get as good wages as it should, but it gets more to-day than ever before, and man is worth more and capital less than at any other time in the history of mankind.

There is no country in the world in which wealth counts for so little as in the United States. The worthy capitalist who furnishes employment for people, and thus gives them the opportunity to support and educate their families, is more

of a public benefactor than is the man who attacks him merely because he has wealth. But the man who uses his capital for the purpose of crushing competition and securing the passage of laws favorable to himself is an unworthy member of society, and not a benefactor in the truest sense.

We are not yet entirely free from past barbarous views of life, but we are traveling slowly on the road to complete emancipation. A better day is coming in the evolution of the race, but false theories promulgated by men who believe that they are called to lead the laboring class out of industrial servitude to social freedom are not hastening that day. Poverty is dreadful, but it can only be abolished in part, and that must be by the practical workings of the golden rule. Christ preached the Gospel to the poor, believing that the only way to elevate them socially, intellectually, and physically was to first save their souls. You may expend all the money you please in charity to help the poor, and you may work all the theories the human mind can conceive, but they will fail to better the condition of the poor unless you can create in their hearts the desire to live a better and purer life in the sight of God and before the world. Human beings must be elevated from within first, before they can be elevated and helped from without. The way to abolish poverty is to create the conviction in the minds of the poor that labor is not a disgrace, and that economy is not a sign of weakness, but that sin is ruinous; that God must be served, and that sobriety and industry are essential to success in this world, and necessary to make preparation for the next. If poverty is the result of sin the removal of sin will abolish it. You show me an ordinary intelligent man, who is an honest, painstaking workman—a man who is trying to obey God and meet all his duties to his fellow-man—you show me a man of that description who is able to work and is not making a comfortable living, and I will show you ten thousand who are not making a living because they are incompetent and vicious. David says, "I have been young, and now am old; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread." Few genuine



Christians in the United States are suffering for the necessities of life. Religion makes men prudent, economical, and industrious, and secures temporal comforts. It saves from sin, and sin is productive of poverty. How many beggars, to-day, have been genuine Christians from childhood on to the present? I doubt if one can be found. Criminals and beggars, as a rule, do not come out from Christian homes. Occasionally one may, but such instances are very rare. When Jesus preached the Gospel to the poor it was not for the purpose of simply saving their souls in heaven, but to prepare them for a successful career in the life that now is.

Many people in our large cities who are very poor, ignorant, and more or less vicious are often the descendants of a degenerate ancestry. They have been poured into this country by immigration during the past fifty years, and have filled our slums and tenement houses, our hospitals and asylums, almshouses and jails to overflowing. They cannot escape the results of their physical organization, which, in its turn, is an inherited result of ancestral degeneration. What social system is ever going to elevate them? There are fairly respectable poor men in every State in the Union who are furnishing recruits for this great army because, having been made to believe by revolutionary reformers that the present social system is entirely wrong, they have allowed themselves to become discouraged, and are soured at everything and everybody. They are out with the preachers and down on the churches, and have no use for anybody; and, what is worse, they have instilled into the minds of their children this poison, and have started them on the road to degeneration. They have been prejudiced against all the elevating forces in this world. What a pity! God save the people from pessimism!

There are some manifestations of selfishness in this country, however, which are horrible to contemplate. In all our great cities the evils of the "sweating system" are enough to make the blood of every true man and woman boil with indignation. Surely something can be done to free these lowly sons and daughters of toil from the merciless grasp of the

mercenary sweaters and improve their condition. The Christian people of the cities should root out this evil and exterminate it. We do not need a new kind of government in order to get rid of it, but a new heart in those who force men and women to work for starvation wages. Selfish human nature, if allowed to do so, will manifest itself under any system of government. The evil is located back of government, in the selfishness of human nature. We will get rid of our social ills when human nature is changed into the image of Christ, and not before. What we need in this country is better men and women. When the golden rule is practiced between man and man social evils will cease, and not before; for it is impossible to make bad men good men by legislation. The poor of one generation become the rich of the next. The only way for the poor of this generation to make the world a better place for their children to live in is to serve God themselves, set a godly example before their children, teach them to read the Bible, attend Sunday school, listen to the preaching of the Gospel, and show them the importance of submitting to the divine will in childhood, and of associating with good people. Jesus knew what the poor needed, hence he preached the Gospel to them. The way to save the rich of the future is to save the poor of the present; for the poor of to-day will be the rich of to-morrow. If we neglect to bring the poor of to-day to Christ neither the poor nor rich of to-morrow will be his servants. We may talk reform all we please, but if we allow the faith of the people in God and the Church to be destroyed the world will grow worse and worse until no new social system or change of administration can possibly save us as a nation. The only way to have a better government is to have better people; and the only way to have better people is to bring them under the power of Jesus Christ. In the Gospel is our only hope.

E. B. Randle.

## ART. VII.—A NEW COSMIC SONG.

FOR nearly a century America has striven to find an adequate expression for herself in literature. Irving, Cooper, Emerson, Hawthorne, and Whitman have each contributed a note. Yet America remains largely unexpressed, and her eyes are still to the future in the world of letters as in every other phase of her activity. Mr. Mabie in his recent lectures at the Johns Hopkins University uttered a prophecy of hope as to our nation's literary future. He pointed out the widely prevalent talent of expression in both verse and prose, the strong independent nationality, and the growth of an American audience eager for literature. All of these are signs of our times. They promise a large achievement. May we not look for it within our own generation? Are our poets even now in their skillful minor work preluding a symphonic movement?

The appearance of such a poem as "Christus Victor," by Dr. Henry N. Dodge, is a kind of first fruits of this promise. Here at last is a singer with an adequate musical power who has abandoned trivial attempts. He has left the fleeting loveliness or the semiphilosophic pathos of the short poetry of to-day. In its stead he has essayed a cosmic theme. He would include all human life in his survey. He would study the greatest and most vital human problems. And he has made the largest-minded attempt in either American or English poetry in the last score of years. Like Emerson and Whitman, he has studied the ultimate realities of life, though in a very different spirit, and has endeavored to find the rationale of man's universe.

From this study of life he has come back filled with an optimism based on his faith in love. Too many in our day are driven back to skepticism as they face the world problems. Is evil really transient, or will it triumph? Does God rule man, or is life merely an undirected struggle for existence? Can we hold faith in the face of the awful crimes, individual

and national, which are committed every day? The answer has not infrequently been negative. In fact, not a little of the poetry of the present day has thrilled with a pathetic minor chord of hopelessness. The poet has failed to see the transience of evil and the permanence of good; he has wailed the destruction of his ideals, or has sung, "Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die." The advent of a singer who can face all the problems involved in the bad and good of life and who is still buoyed with hope and reverent faith is a noteworthy fact in our American life. He comes back with faith in the possibilities of man, in the immortality of the soul, in the loving omnipotence of God.

Science, with its emphasis on brute forces, has stilled many a nineteenth century singer, and scientific speculation has darkened the hope of many a modern song. The "conflict of science and religion" has become trite and commonplace. Our poet, however, faces science boldly. In its assimilation of scientific truth to the passion of poetry, "Christus Victor" is a worthy successor to the work of Tennyson and Browning. Dr. Dodge is a physician with a thorough scientific training. Minute anatomical knowledge has risen into passionate poetry in several of the earlier sections of this work. Science has lost no fact, but imagination has found a song behind the fact. For example, this marvel of our human frame has a meaning to the poet beyond the ken of the anatomist:

Before such lavish beauty of design  
I stand in awe, and contemplate the throng  
Of earth's unnumbered children, each one made  
With skill so wonderful. Here we behold  
The culmination of a mighty plan;  
Each step advancing from the lower depths  
Of reptile life displays a clearer mark  
Of nearer likeness to creation's head.

In a like manner, the scientific truth of the constant waste and repair of the body also acquires poetic meaning:

How dreamlike and unstable is the form  
That wraps the spirit in its earthly veil!  
In ceaseless flight, the winged atoms haste  
From earth and sea and air—a rescuing host—

To build anew this fast-dissolving frame  
That with each movement, with each thought, casts off  
The perished cells which die that we may live.

We feel faint stirrings of immortal youth,  
And start with wonder at our fading flesh.

But beyond this occasional use of the special scientific data of his own profession the poet displays evidence of a wider scientific knowledge, a knowledge of the vast cosmic designs set forth in the various theories as to our material universe. Such sections as the thirty-third and the one-hundred-and-seventeenth sweep the broadest horizons of scientific synthesis. Science has evidently been a solid foundation for the feet before the soul took flight into the higher air.

But "Christus Victor" is primarily a religious poem, and is indeed representative of the most liberal Christian thought of the present day. For here in America, behind all the activity of our material civilization, behind its cynicism and self-pleasing, which are oftentimes far too apparent, behind our assertive arrogance of intellect, there is ever a deep religious sentiment. It is found in all denominations, and among thousands of serious-minded men beyond the pale of denominations. It sees deep below the conventional limitations set to the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man by our formal creeds. It stands in a spirit of reverence before the unexplored infinities which lie around human life. It recognizes alike human possibilities and human limitations. Life has become more significant in the light of this broader Christian thought. "Christus Victor" represents this phase of present-day America—America searching the universe for ultimate foundations of belief. America needs such voice. She is happier that the voice is hopeful, and that the song rises to cheer mankind. The poet, moreover, mounts above dogmatism and sectarianism into wide catholicity of view. He is reverent, not blatant; tolerant, not bigoted. Not since "In Memoriam" and "The Death in the Desert" have religious thought and passion found such adequate expression in English verse. And without losing in breadth of

vision the "Christus Victor" has become more hopeful than the former, and simpler than the latter.

Nor with all its weight of thought does the work often lose the true method of poetry. In the middle of the poem, however, argumentation dims the light of inspiration. The theologian overcomes the poet, and the power wanes. Arguments are for theology and philosophy, passion is the essence of poetry. In "Christus Victor," generally, as in "In Memoriam," arguments are secondary, and the passion of faith and hope which springs out of the intellectual assurance that arguments give is primary. The author advances no new grounds for his faith. He, the rather, translates the prevalent thought of his times into the terms of passion. But this is all that even the greatest poets have done. Now, such passion in the face of the darkest problems and of man's deepest thought is the possession of all great religious teachers. It is present in power throughout the "Christus Victor." Nor is it a traditionary enthusiasm copied from other books, but a passion which thrills the highest souls of the current world of Christian thought. This passion in the poet, however, modulated by a tenderness and reverence which add charm and power to the poem.

Love is the keynote of the song. It is the key to all his philosophy. The Father-love of God and the brother-love of man will bring harmony out of all the discord of sin and pain. The poet's purpose is

The triumph of Almighty Love to sing.  
Ah, Love, and Love alone, at last will solve  
All the vast threatening questions that distract mankind.

Think not that Love is feeble or supine,  
Or yields to wrong or would at ease recline;  
Love is no sickly dotard, bent with years,  
No blushing maiden melting into tears.

Love is a mighty passion and a flame  
No force can overpower, no conquest tame;  
Love is all-strong to knit us man to man;  
Ah, when will earth consent to heaven's plan?

Unlike aught else in earth or sea or sky  
 Love must itself impart or wilt and die;  
 Love grows by giving and is not content  
 Unless for its beloved it is spent.

Love is an angel whose awakening light  
 Can rouse the darkest soul, sunk deep in night;  
 Sent to refresh mankind so long oppressed,  
 Love yet shall light the world, for Love is best.

The poet rests with calm faith in love's all-conquering power. Is there wrong done by man to man? Brother-love will yet heal all. Are war and rapine the law of international relations? The universal brotherhood will at last prove itself a potent reality. Are viciousness and selfishness marring the glory of man's princely nature? Divine love and mercy will stoop to save, not to destroy. The poet holds fast to a divine love to the uttermost. Nor does he attempt to prove love. It is axiomatic spiritual truth to him. Thence grows his confident faith. The white light of love illuminates the whole world for the singer.

The pæan of immortality also is ever present throughout the "Christus Victor." Like Browning, the author feels the necessity of a future life to deploy the unused and unfulfilled energies of this. A loving Father will not leave us in such incompleteness. One fact after another lends assurance to this faith; yet, as in Tennyson, the assurance is based on intuition rather than reason:

O heart, thine intuition trust,  
 Dream on of greater things to be;  
 Thou feelest thou art more than dust,  
 And thou wouldst know thy destiny.

Exquisitely wrought analogies illustrative of this great truth stud the poem like precious jewels. Through them the hope becomes brighter and brighter to a perfect triumph of assurance in immortality. Yet this was not the triumph of a thoughtless optimist; like all great faith, it had begun in struggle and fear:

Spent as a wounded bird,  
 Fallen afield unheard,  
 My voice was mute.

Silent and hurt I lay,  
While breathed afar all day  
Spring's mellow flute.

Within me struggled long  
Faint hope and dream of song,  
My heart was dumb.

Slow came each tuneless day,  
Went its mysterious way,  
And I lay dumb.

From out this chill reign of doubt he emerged into faith:

Nay, cheer the heart, for even now  
Where from the stem dead leaves are torn,  
Lo, autumn buds of spring are born;  
And hope is writ on every bough.

Though wintry dirges round me wail,  
I hear the swaying branches sing,  
I hear faint murmurs of the spring;  
These buds will wake and life prevail.

Passing on from this assurance of the future life, the poet sings his prophecy as to the nature of that life. Tennyson in a few sections of his great elegy has touched on this with saddened heart, fearing lest the life after death might cause separation between himself and his friend. In "Christus Victor," however, heaven is presented as the consummation of the most glorious moral idealism, the fruition of man's purest and noblest wishes:

Ah, not in slothful ease shall we recline  
And dream away our new existence sweet;  
The dream is past, and life, more life is ours!  
With ever new desire shall we ascend  
Those paths that climb o'er glorious heights to Him  
Whose beckoning hand forever leads the way.  
No dreary days of care, no nights of pain,  
No swiftly flying years that drag us on  
With cruel haste to meet the dreaded end—  
The end is past, and time shall be no more!  
No more our little boats we daily launch  
To creep in fear along our native shore,  
But out upon the boundless ocean sail,  
Free to explore the wonders of the deep.



Into that life beyond the grave will be gathered all the sons of men brought at last into harmony with the Father, there to deplore their energies in nobler duties. Nay, the poet's faith would advance beyond even that. All life is sacred. Even the dumb life of plant and animal may yet be included in "some far-reaching plan of life, some vast and wonderful design, embracing all creation:"

Methinks the tide of life that flows from God  
Will strew no useless wreckage on the strand,  
Nor leave a periwinkle perishing for food  
In any inlet where it once has poured its flood;  
But rolling on with mighty surges vast—  
Life sprung from God, too vital to be lost  
In dark oblivion or to chaos tost—  
Will somehow bless all creatures at the last  
Through evolutions infinitely grand.

It is against the universal inclusiveness of this heaven, rather than against its nature, that dogmatic denial will be made by many Christians. Dr. Dodge, however, is firmly convinced of the all-saving love of God. It is the one phrase of his theme in which he looses the inspiration of poetry in the earnestness of argument. Yet there is abundance of lyric passion also. Man's wickedness cannot daunt the poet's faith in the universal saving love of the Father. Like Tennyson he trusts that

Somehow good  
Will be the general goal of ill—  
That nothing walks with aimless feet;  
That not one life shall be destroyed,  
Or cast as rubbish to the void  
When God hath made the pile complete.

Like Browning, his

Hope is a sun will pierce  
The thickest cloud earth ever stretched—  
That what began bad can't end worst,  
Nor what God blessed once prove accurst.

But what appears in the two great Victorian poets as mere yearning is glad faith in "Christus Victor." All theologies to the contrary, he sings his faith:

Ah, not till his last child has entered in—  
 The last, lone, weary soul from the dead earth  
 Will God our Father bid you, portals fair,  
 Upon your golden hinges joyful swing;  
 To sin and sorrow shut, to night and death.

Ah, never sank a sinning soul so low  
 But God's paternal hand could deeper go  
 His perishing child to save.

Though shipwrecked by sin's overwhelming weight,  
 God's hand has rescued from as hard a fate  
 Some other castaway.

How shall I set a limit to his grace,  
 How dare I cloud the glory of his face?

Abide his time; have faith through weary days  
 That at the last each soul shall sing his praise  
 Who molds the hearts of men.

**Again this faith in the all-saving Fatherhood breaks forth:**

Though man forgot from whence he came,  
 Or with neglect his birthright scorn,  
 He cannot change his rank or name,  
 For he a child of God was born;  
 Of royal lineage he, and princely birth:  
 His Father is the Lord of Heaven and Earth.

Naught, naught the mighty bond can break  
 That binds the Father to his child,  
 Nor Death nor Hell his purpose shake,  
 Though vast their storm and wreckage wild;  
 Man is of royal lineage and birth:  
 His Father is the Lord of Heaven and Earth.

The Lord of Life, who brought him forth,  
 Undaunted by the sin of man,  
 Ingratitude and folly's froth,  
 In triumph will fulfill his plan;  
 We are of royal lineage and birth,  
 Sons of the Sovereign Lord of Heaven and Earth!

This belief runs counter to our creeds. It reads the gospel of God's Fatherhood and of Christ's self-sacrificial love with a world-wide generosity. Will not even those who honestly dissent sympathize with the tender passion for man which so evidently inspired the faith of the poet?

"Christus Victor" is likewise the expression of the brother love among men here in this present life. Some of these strains remind us of Burns, but they are more evidently the work of a thoughtful student of life, who has been pained to see how selfishness has often torn asunder this bond of brotherhood. He sees the awful degradation of humanity in our great slums, its cruel greed in trade, its outbreaks into the demonism of recent wars. Yet the passion of brotherly love can inspire a faith overcoming all this. The worst evils of human life will yet be healed by "the brotherhood of man, the federation of the world." This earnest Christian brotherhood finds many beautiful forms of expression in the poem:

What man soe'er I chance to see—  
Amazing thought—is kin to me,  
And if a man, my brother.

What though in silken raiment fine  
His form be clad, while naked mine;  
And if a man, my brother.

What though he sit in royal state  
And for an empire legislate;  
He is a man, my brother.

What though of strange and alien race,  
Of unfamiliar form and face;  
He is a man, my brother.

What though his hand be hard with toil,  
And labor his worn garments soil;  
He is a man, my brother.

What though his hand with crime be red,  
His heart a stone, his conscience dead;  
He is a man, my brother.

And when we pass upon the street,  
It is my brother that I meet;  
Alas, alas, my brother!

Though dimly there that image shine,  
It marks the soul a thing divine,  
A child of God, my brother.

Though deep the abyss with darkness lower,  
'Tis but the measure of his power  
Who thence will raise my brother.

A Saviour to the uttermost,  
He will not see his brother lost,  
Nigh ruined, yet his brother.

Growing from this loving sense of brotherhood is the obligation of fraternal duty, which is also wrought into song:

Suppose a kindly word of mine  
Could lift the clouds and bring sunshine;  
Am I my brother's keeper?

Suppose the weary worker toils,  
For scanty pittance delves and moils;  
Am I my brother's keeper?

Suppose in penury and fear  
My neighbor see the wolf draw near;  
Am I my brother's keeper?

Suppose beneath the tyrant's heel,  
Some distant nation anguish feel;  
Am I my brother's keeper?

Perhaps—who knows?—perhaps I'm not!  
Self-centered soul, hast thou forgot  
The marvel of our common lot,  
The mystic tie that binds us all  
Who dwell on this terrestrial ball,  
Stupendous hope of time and song,  
The bourn for which the ages long?  
How hard our hearts must seem to Thee,  
Exhaustless Fount of Charity!

This faith in brotherhood lends strength to his enthusiasm for the divine gift of freedom. He sings a strenuous praise of liberty, and summons to duty the lovers of freedom. He calls to America to live up to her proud birthright of liberty. She is appointed to emancipate man from tyranny. Her destiny is to liberate the world. In this passion he greets our country:

Nourished by Freedom here  
Shall a new race appear,  
From many, one;

Beneath her ample shield,  
Upon this widespread field,  
Shall ancient strifes be healed,  
New life begun.

Here will the Lord make plain  
Things men have sought in vain  
Since time's first morn;  
Called forth by Freedom's might  
Here first shall see the light  
Vast powers for man and right,  
As yet unborn.

For her, too, he chants :

In the Titanic struggle yet to be  
When right and light and human liberty  
With powers of greed and tyranny engage  
In mortal combat, final war to wage—  
A world-wide struggle coming on apace  
In many a waking land and longing race—  
My country, do thou make a valiant fight  
And for the people's cause put forth thy might,  
And may the Lord of Hosts who made thee free  
Make thee, great guardian of liberty,  
To lead the nations, marching in the van,  
The fearless champion of the rights of man;  
Arm thee with light, and with immortal fire  
Thine altars keep aflame, thy heart inspire,  
Lest commonweal be counted little worth,  
And Freedom, throttled, perish from the earth!

The poet has mounted high above the current supineness of skepticism as to the more ideal patriotic enthusiasms of America. Faith in America rings clear.

For all the lofty idealism of the poem Jesus Christ is the fountain head. The poet's theme is Christ, the Victor—victor over sin and death. In earnest devotion he prostrates himself before the Son of man, offering him his tribute of love and praise. From him came the assurance of immortal life; through him was revealed the Father-love of God; because of him the light of liberty ameliorated human life. In Christ is the answer to all the poet's doubts and the culmination of all his hopes. So the poem ever returns to the lyric note of wor-

ship. No poet has wrought more lovingly his tribute to him who is Master and Saviour of us all.

Hail Victor, Firstborn from the dead!  
Open our eyes to see thy radiant face;  
Make us to feel thy presence, know thy grace,  
From glory unto glory led.

Bring to our darkened minds new light,  
Diffuse thy quickening radiance far and near;  
Vanquish the might of sin, dispel our fear,  
And let thy day o'erwhelm our night.

Wake our dull souls from drowsy sleep,  
Let us not here be fully satisfied;  
Help us to use with thee to worlds untried,  
Lead thou the way and near us keep!

The poem culminates in that wonderful chant of his passion and death, a chant that touches the very high-water mark of religious song.

Only at far-distant intervals have our poets attempted songs of such cosmic scope. America will yet be proud of this voice now added to her chorus of song. The work has been greeted with "faint praise" as yet. But we may quote from a letter of Sidney Lanier: "Many critics have seemed to be forever conciliating the yet unrisen ghosts of possible mistakes." May such timid reserve be cast aside in a glad receiving of his inspiration and in thankful participation in his faith.

*Chas. St. Hoddell*

### ART. VIII.—INSPIRATION NOT INVALIDATED BY BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

THE validity of the biblical doctrine of divine inspiration is inseparable from the following considerations :

1. Divine inspiration, when claimed by a teacher, serves as a guarantee of the validity of his precepts and the trustworthiness of his statement of facts.

2. It is attributed only to the original authors of Scripture as such.

3. The fact, and not the mode, of divine inspiration is important.

4. The truths of duty and destiny have been presented by the inspired authors in a legitimate and adequate literary setting.

5. The modern scholar is not competent to reconstruct the canon or to mutilate any of its books.

6. Divine inspiration, as a biblical fact, is not disturbed by discrepancies between the Bible and other ancient records.

7. Discrepancies between the books of the canon itself do not invalidate the divine inspiration of the authors of those books.

8. The divine inspiration of the biblical authors is abundantly attested by miracles, prophecy and its fulfillment, and by the character of results realized from their ethical and religious precepts.

In discussing the foregoing considerations we shall find the biblical doctrine of divine inspiration is not invalidated by its critics. The authority of the Scripture, in ethics and religion, is closely related to the question of the divine inspiration of its authors. But the value of the Bible in matters of faith and duty would remain unimpaired, even though the dogma of inspiration were unknown or should be discarded. The laws of human duty contained in the word of God are just and true, irrespective of all questions of their origin or manner of promulgation. The dogma of inspiration does not give them their force or value. They have intrinsic value, for they are founded in truth. While a divine origin, attributed to a

precept, may serve as a recommendation, inducing individuals to try the experiment of observing its requirements, yet, when properly tested, the precepts of Scripture always recommend themselves.

1. The trustworthiness of Scripture in questions of history and natural science is also intimately related to the doctrine of divine inspiration. Whatever the character of the truth which the inspired writer aims to teach, whether ethical and religious or historical and scientific, we shall find that divine inspiration is a guarantee of its validity. We may now inquire, What is the aim of the inspired writer? It clearly is not to teach history and natural science as such, but is to teach ethical and religious truth. But while this is the aim of the inspired writers we find certain facts of history and natural science are necessarily involved in vital connection with the ethical and religious truths taught. Now while Scripture does not assume to be a text-book in matters outside the ethical and religious sphere, still its references to questions of history and natural science are certainly trustworthy, for where *facts* of history or science are involved in vital connection with the system of ethical and religious truth taught, divine inspiration is a guarantee that *facts* have been given. The historical portions of Scripture are in some instances vitally connected with the plan of salvation in Christ. Only a divinely inspired mind could give the world an accurately authentic narration of the great events of the past. There have been many historians, but among them is wide divergence of opinion on many essential points. If we had the work of an inspired historian we would expect it to agree in the main with that of the uninspired historians, and yet to differ from it in some particulars. The historical portions of the Bible are being found in remarkable agreement with the ancient records found in Bible lands. We would not look for agreement in all points, for the inspired writer, in compiling his materials, would sift the false from the true. If, therefore, the monuments do not agree in some instances with the biblical record we are at liberty to reject the testimony of the monuments, for the inspired writer rejected it before us. As a writer of history the inspired



writer was like other historians. He was at liberty to gather the materials for his work wherever he could find them. Some facts were doubtless of human origin, while others may have been made known to him from God. His only concern, however, was that they should be facts. His power of discernment was a gift of the Holy Spirit. The inspired writer was also a higher critic. His human powers were used in cooperation with the divine. He gathered his materials from existing literature in keeping with the rules and principles of criticism appropriate to his own age, and in addition to this he was assisted by the Holy Spirit. His work was therefore of the highest authority.

2. The original authors of Scripture, as Scripture, were under divine inspiration. The reality of their inspiration cannot be questioned any more than can the other facts recorded, for both alike are matters of record. But divine inspiration cannot be claimed for the thousands of copyists who have transcribed the Scriptures from age to age. It must not be supposed the Scriptures have been miraculously preserved from corruption by the Holy Spirit during all the ages, for, having given important truth to mankind in a self-consistent historical and literary setting, God left its care and preservation to human resources.

3. We must not suppose God confined himself to any particular mode of inspiration. "No prophecy ever came by the will of man, but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost." Just how the Holy Ghost moved men to speak is not important. The *fact* and not the *mode* of inspiration is of importance.

4. The truths of duty and destiny have been presented by the sacred authors in a legitimate and adequate literary setting. With reference to the mode of divine inspiration we are not specially concerned. It is interesting to note, however, that ethical and religious truth taught in the Scriptures are embodied in a literary setting composed of history, prophecy, poetry, and law, and are interwoven in metaphor, simile, trope, allegory, parable, hyperbole, enigma, and other figures of speech. The only question to be raised here is this, Is the literature of the Bible legitimate and adequate as a medium

for conveying such important truths to mankind? The literary usage of all ages certainly proves it is both legitimate and adequate. God is therefore justified in giving us just such a Bible as he has given us.

5. The modern scholar is not competent to reconstruct the canon or to mutilate any of its books. The work of the authors of those books is of the highest authority. The higher critic of to-day is no more competent to reconstruct or demolish the work of the higher critic of three thousand years ago than will be the higher critic three thousand years hence to demolish the work of present-day scholars. As the disciples were admonished by the Lord to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, so must we beware of the conceit of the modern scholar. The higher critic of the "destructive" class has a contention with the inspired writers themselves, and also with the men who collected their writings into the canon. He is not competent, however, to demolish the work of the former or to reconstruct the work of the latter. The sacred canon was formed by men who were acquainted with the books themselves, and also with facts of written and unwritten history which supported the claims of those books to a place in the canon. We have the books, but many of these facts have been lost to us. The scholar of to-day cannot possibly know as much about the trustworthiness of the respective books, or their claims to a place in the canon, as did the scholars who placed them there; hence the scholar of to-day is not competent to change the canon or to mutilate it by rejecting the unmistakable interpretation of those parts which support facts distasteful to him. But this is the course pursued by the "destructive" higher critic, for he rejects all interpretations of its language and eliminates all portions of it which give support to distasteful facts; and he undermines the credibility of the Scripture by denying the most apparent facts of its age and authorship. He assails the Bible itself. No man can thus rend asunder the Bible itself, and at the same time lay claim to the name Christian. The books of the canon may not be thus torn to pieces and rejected in part. The canon may be either accepted or rejected, but it may not be openly or covertly mutilated.

6. The divine inspiration of the authors of the Scripture is not invalidated by discrepancies between the Bible and other ancient records. As a body of history the authenticity of the Scripture is supported by all the confirming testimony of the ancient monuments, while the contradictory testimony of the monuments may be explained in either of two ways: It may have been matter previously rejected by the inspired writer himself, or the discrepancy may be due not to an error in the testimony of the monument, but to the mistake of a copyist in transcribing the biblical record. But owing to the jealous national spirit of the Hebrews, and their genius for religious things, it is probable that very few errors of any importance were ever made in all the work of transcribing their sacred books. It is highly probable, too, owing to this jealous care of the Hebrews for their holy institutions and sacred history, that all discrepancies between the Scriptures and the other ancient records are due to the previous rejection of those ancient records by the inspired writers as false. So far, then, as the contradictory testimony of the monuments is concerned our copy of the Holy Scriptures, the work of uninspired copyists, possesses the same authority as the original.

7. Discrepancies between the various books of the Bible, or between different versions of the Bible, do not invalidate the divine inspiration of the authors of those books. All these supposed contradictions seem capable of explanation. To one class belong such instances of discrepancy as that found in First Chronicles and in Second Samuel, where a difference appears in the name of the owner of the thrashing floor, and in the kind and sum of money David paid him for it when Israel was numbered. Here the difference is only an apparent difference. The writers simply employed different but equivalent terms in describing the transaction. To another class belong such instances as that found in Genesis vi and vii, where Noah was instructed in gathering the animals into the ark. These instructions are fragmentary, but as a whole are quite complete, and taken together are not contradictory. In another class may be placed such cases as the discrepancy found in the genealogies of Christ. Different phases are pre-

sented of the same subject. One of these genealogies presents the natural and the other the legal pedigree of Jesus. Our ignorance of the written and unwritten customs of the ancient Hebrews tends to foster doubts or suspicions concerning their ancient records, which would be found groundless had we fuller knowledge of those customs. Other cases may be explained as being statements of similar, but not identical, incidents. Some discrepancies have originated in the variety of names applied to a person or place, or in the different methods of reckoning times and seasons, or in different local and historical standpoints, or in the custom of expressing numbers by letters—several of which closely resemble each other, and also in changes in the use and meaning of terms. Such discrepancies do not invalidate the authority of the Scriptures or the divine inspiration of their authors. We may now inquire, Does our copy of the Scriptures—the work of uninspired copyists—possess the same authority in ethics and religion as the original? It certainly does, unless it can be shown that the Scriptures have undergone some fundamental changes which affect those doctrines. The burden of proof in this matter of course rests upon the critics. Discrepancies between the books, or between different versions of the Scripture, might affect its ethical and religious teachings. An illustration of this may be seen in 1 Thess. v, 23, where “sanctify you whole,” as it occurs in the Greek, has been translated “sanctify you wholly” in the English. The Greek adjective “whole” has been changed in the English version to the adverb “wholly”—an unwarranted though explainable change. In addition, then, to the causes of discrepancy previously mentioned, which might possibly affect history or doctrine, may be mentioned the traditional beliefs of the translators of Scripture from one language to another. The Old Testament was not exposed so much to this danger as the New Testament, for the formulation of theological doctrines belongs to the later times. Such errors and dangers may be obviated by reference to the Scriptures in the original tongues. Revelation of ethical and religious truth has been progressive, and has its culmination in the life and teachings of Jesus Christ. We may safely and confidently affirm not one fun-

damental fact or principle of the Holy Scripture has been lost or corrupted by any error which has ever been discovered in it.

8. Christianity purports to be of divine origin. Its ethical and religious ideals transcend all those which purport to be of purely human origin. They transcend all conceptions and ideals of other sacred systems which purport to be of supernatural origin. It is undeniable that an otherwise fallible man may become infallible by the inspiring aid of the Holy Spirit. The reality of his divine inspiration and of his infallibility must be adequately attested. The claims of the biblical authors to divine inspiration have been attested by miracle, by prophecy and its fulfillment, and by the character of results realized from their ethical and religious precepts. Christianity appeals at once to the most enlightened conscience and common sense. It gives to the world the highest type of personal character, of society, and of the home. All this seems a sufficient guarantee to any honest seeker after truth that we have the fundamental teachings and facts of divine revelation substantially as they came from God. Moreover, the ethical and religious teachings of the word of God are daily confirmed as true and trustworthy in Christian experience, thus illustrating the validity of the sacred authors' claims to divine inspiration. With the doctrine of divine inspiration thus supported and confirmed the critics may cavil, but devout minds need not be disturbed.

*Gro H Bennett.*

## ART. IX.—APOTHEOSIS AMONG THE ANCIENTS.

THE object of the present paper is twofold: to throw some light upon one phase of the religions of the past, and to examine in this light three events in New Testament history—the attitude of mind of Pilate to Christ, of the inhabitants of Lystra to Paul, and of Cornelius to Peter.

The particular phenomenon referred to is the attribution of divine honors to fellow-mortals, a form of worship which, though abounding in antiquity, is repugnant to the modern enlightened mind, a profanation abhorrent to our stricter principles and ideas. The persons referred to, Pilate, the Lystrans, and Cornelius—were all, no doubt, influenced in their actions by not only the traditions coming down to them from the past, but also by the practices in vogue in their own day and country. It is therefore pertinent to our inquiry to determine more definitely what this past meant to them, and to study their environment. As preparatory to the study of the phenomena under consideration we must divest ourselves of all modern conceptions of the Deity and his attributes and enter into sympathetic relations with this side of the religious life and worship of the ancients. This furnishes the proper perspective; to apply the standards of the present century to the feelings and customs of people who lived many ages ago is manifestly unfair. To the modern mind they are seen through a dense, if not opaque, medium; to the ancient mind they are natural and intelligible. Having “oriented” ourselves, we shall consider *Where*, *When*, and *How* this custom originated, and treat our subject under three heads, *Before*, *During*, and *After* the Augustan Age.

## I. BEFORE THE AUGUSTAN AGE.

Here the questions, *Where*, and especially *When*, did this custom originate, are difficult to answer. In regard to the first question, there seems to be practical agreement among authorities. Otto Hirschfeld\* and Friedländer† assign its origin to the Egyptians and Persians (though the latter places

\* Otto Hirschfeld: *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1888, p. 833.

† Friedländer: *Sitten Gesch.*, III, p. 647.

the Persians first in order), while Meyer\* places first in his list the Assyrians. The date for the origin of the custom is beset with difficulty, but it unquestionably reached back to a remote antiquity. The only authority to give a date, as far as I know, is Charles A. S. Davis, in *The Book of the Dead*, who says that in Egypt it was as early as the fifth dynasty that the Pharaohs claimed to be incarnations of the god Ra, the supreme god, the creator of the world. There had been some dispute regarding the date of the fifth dynasty, but if it is, as some scholars maintain, to be placed about 3000 B. C., we see how far back in antiquity we must place the starting point; and, if Meyer's view is correct, it even antedates this. As for the nations of the Orient, we know that it was a custom reaching far back into the past to pay divine honors to their kings indiscriminately, not compelling them, as did some nations, to wait until after death for the opportunity of enjoying divine honors. In India the custom goes back to a remote age. Edward W. Hopkins, in his work on *The Religions of India*, informs us that after the Hindus conquered India the priests were considered gods. It was part of the creed of Jainism, which is said to have originated about 700 B. C., to deny God, but worship man. In Greece the practice prevailed from the earliest times. Here we meet the *ἡμῖθεοι*, or demigods, who in some cases were of divine, in others of human, origin. Hero worship was common, and mythology abounds with instances of mortals who were deified and worshiped. One of the earliest instances is that of Leukothea, the daughter of Cadmus, who was worshiped after death as a sea-goddess.† The worship of heroes and of the dead, according to Roscher,‡ first arose among the Ætolians and Dorians. The Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus was greeted as a god by the Delphic Oracle,§ and Plutarch says that there was a temple at Sparta in which he was worshiped as a god.¶ Another Spartan lawgiver, Lysander (about 405 B. C.), was the first of the Greeks, according to Plutarch and Pausanias, to receive

\* Meyer: *Konversation Lexikon*, s. v. "Apotheosis."

† Compare Homer, *Odyssey*, v, 333 et seq., and Cic., *Tusc.*, i, 28.

‡ Compare Roscher, *Lex. d. Gr. u. Röm. Myth.*, s. v. "Heros."

§ Compare Herodotus, i, 65.

¶ Compare Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 31.

divine honors while still living.\* We read that the Greeks erected altars to his worship, offered sacrifices to him, and sang hymns to his honor. Then followed Brasidas, Agesilaus, and Philip II of Macedon, all of whom were the recipients of divine honors. Boeckh† explains this as a revival of the view prevailing during the Heroic Age, that the kings were sprung from Zeus,‡ and is an extension of hero worship. Parallel to this belief in the divine origin of kings is a similar belief of some nations of more modern times, the Saxon, Danish, Norwegian, and Spanish, who believed that their kings sprang from Odin. Alexander the Great seems to be the second of the Greeks to receive divine honors during his lifetime. He was worshiped by the Egyptians and Persians as well, and looked with great favor upon all comparisons of himself with the god Dionysus.§ The third, Demetrius Poliorketes (about 311 B. C.), was worshiped in Athens itself as *ὁ σωτήρ*, the saviour, and enrolled among the tutelary deities of that city. About a century later we find Greece following the lead of the people of Asia Minor in paying divine honor to their rulers, as, for example, to Flaminius, Sulla, and Lucullus.|| But the Seleucidæ and Ptolemies broke all records in their claims and in the extravagant honors which they received. In their reign apotheosis reached its apogee. During the last years of the republic the Greeks in Southern Italy worshiped the Roman proconsuls. Later in Athens and Sparta, and especially in Corinth, altars and temples were erected to the worship of Cæsar and Augustus. An inscription at Ephesus represents Cæsar as “a god visible and the common saviour of mankind.”¶ At this time many men were deified.\*\* How

\* St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei.*, xviii, 19, it may be noted, mentions Codrus receiving honors: “et hunc Athenienses tamquam deum sacrificiorum honore coluerunt.” However, he fails to say whether this was during his life or after his death. If this Codrus was the king of Athens, who according to tradition flourished 1068 B. C., he would be among the earliest to receive divine honors.

† Compare Boeckh, *Encycl., u. Meth.*, p. 435.

‡ Homer, as is well known, considered Minos to be of divine parentage. This view receives a peculiar interest at the present time from the fact that recent excavations have brought to light the palace of Minos, king of Crete, who lived four thousand years or more ago.

§ Compare Droysen, *Hellenismus*, i, 2, 230.

|| Compare Otto Hirschfeld, *Sitzber. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1888, p. 835. This worship was frequently associated with the worship of the goddess *Dea Roma*.

¶ Compare C. I. G., 2537.

\*\* Compare Cic. *ad Quint. Fr.* i, 7; Suet., *Aug.* 52.



wide was the scope of this all personifying faith of the ancients may be seen from a statement of Prodicus: "The ancients deified everything which was of use to man."\* Before concluding this section it should be noted that the fact that so many Romans had been worshiped as gods in the provinces could not but have prepared the way for the worship of the emperors in Rome.

The Romans were remarkable for their religiosity. What nation can boast of more gods? Cicero says,† "Numerus deorum innumerabilis." According to Prudentius,‡ "Whatever the earth, whatever the sea brings forth, that they called a god." Is it any wonder that Petronius wittily says of his time,§ "Our land is so full of divinities that it is easier to find a god than a man in Rome." With such a wealth of gods, and with such a cosmopolitan population, the worship of human beings, when once fairly started, grew rapidly. This start was with Caius Julius Cæsar, for one need hardly take into account the deification of the mythical Romulus.¶ Cicero, the leading theologian of his time, would not allow the people of Southern Italy to pay him divine honors during his lifetime. Apotheosis among the Romans practically began with Cæsar, the man of universal genius, a man so great that ¶ with his worship apotheosis becomes firmly established in Rome. From the Roman point of view, which looked solely at greatness of intellect and greatness of power and excluded moral considerations, it may be stated if any of the Romans merited deification, that man was Cæsar.\*\* His worship in Rome was established in this way: an altar was erected in the market place, a temple was erected here to his worship, and a college of priests organized to have charge of it. The Senate itself passed a decree requiring the worship of the new god,

\* Compare also *Firmicus Maternus*, cap. 7, 6.

† Compare Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, 1, 84.

‡ Compare Prudentius, *Contr. Sym.*, 1, 297; compare also Max. Taurin, *Patrol.*, 57, 406; and *Min. Felix*, 6, 1; St. Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, III, 12.

§ Compare Petron., 17.

¶ Tertullian, *ad Nat.*, II, cap. 9, satirically comments upon the deification by the Romans of a murderer.

¶ Cæsar: "The most complete character in history."—*Lord Bacon*; "The foremost man in all the world"—*Shakespeare*; "The greatest name in history"—*Merivale*; "The entire and perfect man"—*Mommsen*.

\*\* Servius, *ad Verg. Ecl.*, v. 56, says, "Cæsar, qui primus divinos honores meruit et Divus appellatus est."

under the name "Iupiter Iulius." \* They further decreed that no image should be made of Cæsar as he was really and truly a god. Suetonius tells us that the people fully believed in the divinity of Cæsar. It should be noted that, although Cæsar in his lifetime had no temples at Rome dedicated specifically to his worship, he allowed images of himself to be placed in the temples in the city, and appointed priests for this service. After the death of Cæsar the people believed that a comet which appeared soon after that time indicated that he had been admitted to the councils of the gods.† The worship of Cæsar received much encouragement from his adopted son, Augustus. The first of the emperors was a born diplomat, a shrewd statesman, and one who made the most of every situation, one who made all things work together for his good. His keen mind must have fully appreciated the enormous advantages accruing to one whose person was considered sacred, who was looked up to as to a god, and that nothing more effectual could be devised to assist him in the furtherance of his plans as head of the Roman government and Roman religion. Politics, therefore, had something to do with the growth of the apotheosis idea. Cæsar's worship once established was fruitful in consequences.‡

## II. DURING THE AGE OF AUGUSTUS.

The great Cæsar's mantle fell upon one worthy to wear it. Praise almost equally great has been bestowed upon Augustus. Merivale says: "The establishment of the Roman Empire was after all the greatest political work that any human being ever wrought. The achievement of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Charlemagne, of Napoleon, is not to be compared with it for a moment." The name "Augustus" was in itself no small achievement, for when it was gained much was gained. It seemed to Octavius and his circle that no title hitherto employed would be adequate to his exalted position as head of the Roman government and Roman religion. "Augustus" seemed a befitting title and one that had much to recommend

\* Compare Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II 2, p. 733.

† Compare Vergil, *Æcl.* ix, 47; Suet., *Cæs.*, 88; Dio Cass., xlv, 7; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ii, 24.

‡ Compare Cic., *Phil.* 2, 43; Dio Cass., 44, 4; Suet., *Cæs.*, 76; *Florus*, 2, 3.

it. This name suggested religious sanctity and surrounded the son of the deified Julius with a halo of consecration. It was closely connected with their worship, with the temples, the *auguries* by which the divine will was revealed, and it was connected with the favor and "*authority*" of Jove himself.\* There could therefore be but one result of the assumption of this name. The Romans must have fully appreciated the logical outcome, for one of the writers of this period, Vegetius,† says, "Since the name is '*Augustus*' his worship must be established, as he is a god incarnate and present." The leading poets of his age gave their sanction and indorsement to the claim, and did much to further his worship. The language which they used is to the modern mind most remarkable. Vergil, noted for his sincerity, addresses his quondam schoolmate,‡ Augustus, seven years younger than himself, as a god with the powers of Jupiter or of Neptune, and concludes, "Enter upon thy divine honors and accustom thyself even now to be invoked in prayers" (compare *Georg.*, i, 24 f.). This may be considered to be the language of a courtier, but as Augustus had such unlimited powers as a ruler on earth, as a god his powers should be equally great. Taking into consideration the feelings of the times, such language is in perfect accord with the ancient ways of thinking. It is also true, as Sellar well says,§ "There is no passage in Virgil, scarcely any in Latin poetry, which must strike the modern reader as so unreal as this, or so untrue to the convictions of educated men." Horace, the favorite Latin poet of all climes and ages, says, "By me Augustus will always be considered a god,"|| and "Let us pay now, while he is with us, the honors due him." So Propertius refers to Augustus as a god,¶ and Ovid goes to greater extremes than any of these poets, "Adore him, he is above all other gods."\*\* Manilius, also, uses similar language, and Val. Maximus goes so far as to say (a statement

\* According to Ovid, in his *Fasti*, the word is equivalent to "sanctus," holy or sacred, and these two words are frequently joined together by Cicero, as, *De Nat. Deor.*, i, 119; ii, 62, 79; iii, 53.

† Compare Vegetius, *R. M.*, ii, 5.

‡ Compare Berne Scholia to Vergil.

§ Compare Sellar, *Rom. Poets of the Republic*—"Virgil," p. 224.

|| Compare Horace, *Carm.*, iii, 5, 2; *Epist.*, ii, 1, 15; *Carm.*, iv, 5, 24.

¶ Compare *Prop.*, iii, 11, 66, and iv, 11, 60.

\*\* Compare Ovid, *Trist.*, iii, 9, 12; v, 9, 12.

showing the feeling of the time), "The Cæsars are gods more real than the ancient divinities of Olympus, for we have *only heard* of those divinities, but *we have seen* the Cæsars!" It will thus be seen that during this age the writers all, both great and small, referred to Augustus as a god. But before we pass censure upon the writers of this period for using such extravagant language we should remember that the Senate itself had officially decreed divine honors to him.\* In the city of Rome Augustus strictly prohibited the worship of his person during his lifetime,† but in Southern Italy, according to Appian, statues were erected to him by the inhabitants and he was enrolled among their tutelary gods. Coins have been found in this section with the superscription IVPITER DEVS, and some represent Augustus with a halo about his head. Inscriptions, too, have been found showing that temples were erected to the worship of Augustus during his lifetime at Pisa, Pompeii, Assisi, Præneste, and Puteoli. In the provinces he was more freely worshiped; Ephesus, famous for its temple to Diana, was hardly less famous for its temple to Augustus. Inscriptions have been found at Ephesus in which he is referred to as Θεός and Σωτήρ. At Nicæa, also, a beautiful temple was dedicated to his worship. Pompey, also, was worshiped in Southern Italy, Mark Antony in Asia and Egypt. This, in brief, shows how widespread the worship of mortals was during the Augustan Age.

### III. AFTER THE AUGUSTAN AGE.

Suetonius tells us that certain sharp-sighted persons actually beheld the ascension of Augustus, and censured the public for its incredulity. Augustus hardly died when the Senate officially declared that not only he is a god, but that on the first of the sixth month, henceforth to be called "Augustus," sacrifices should be regularly offered up to him; that a new priesthood should be established (*Sodales Augustales*); that in his honor the "*Ludi Augustales*" should be celebrated. The *Carmen Saliare* is still extant showing the name of

\* Compare Dio Cass., 51, 20.

† Compare Suet., *Aug.*, 52, and Lact., *Inst.*, 1, 15, 7. Augustus went as far as he dared. He must have felt that the time was not yet ripe for such a worship in Rome.

Augustus alongside those of the Olympian deities. His widow, assisted by the young Tiberius, erects a temple upon the Palatine. She, too, was worshiped, but in the provinces sometimes as Juno, sometimes as Ceres. The Senate goes one step further and passes a decree, pregnant with consequences, that henceforth the entire Julian gens should receive divine honors.

Of the emperors who followed Augustus the less said the better, for none knew them but to hate; no one dared to name them but to praise. A worse lot could hardly be found anywhere. Some were crafty, some dull-witted, some brutal, some almost maniacal. The worship of such monsters, some almost fiends, is one of the darkest blots on Rome's history. The poets, with hardly an exception, come under the greater condemnation. But it should be pleaded in their extenuation that the formula for the empire was toady or die, and most of them preferred the former alternative! In that age it was dangerous to be a man of character; \* to publicly refuse to do homage to the emperor was as exceptional as it was dangerous.

Tiberius, the first of the emperors after Augustus, has this to his credit: he forbade the offering of all divine honors to his person while he lived.† He, however, most rigorously insisted upon the newly established worship of his adopted father, and punished all who neglected this with death. He deprived a village in Asia of all its rights for neglecting the construction of a temple promised to Augustus.‡ He also saw to it that the Julian gens should come in for its share of the worship, he himself setting the example.

It was during the reign of Tiberius, as is well known, that Christ was brought before the Roman officer Pilate. Much has been said about Christ before Pilate, less about Pilate before Christ. Certainly Pilate, a Roman officer, well knowing that many Romans during his own lifetime had not only claimed but received divine honors, conscious, too, of the fact that at that very time Cæsar and Augustus were both being worshiped at Rome itself, and living in a province

\* Compare Plin., *Min.*, v, 14, 6; viii, 14, 7.

† Compare Suet., *Tib.*, 28; Tac., *Ann.*, ii, 87, and iv, 15, 36 and 37.

‡ Compare Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 30.

where not only the emperors but also the consuls and prefects, himself possibly among the number, received divine honors—certainly Pilate, a Roman, could not feel surprised or shocked at anyone charging the Accused that he laid claims to divinity, nor could he consistently consider that a very serious offense.

Caligula, remarkable above all things for a colossal veneration—of himself, at the very beginning of his reign boldly lays claim to being a god, and appeared in public sometimes in the garb of Bacchus, or Jupiter, and sometimes even of Venus or Diana! He built a temple to himself as Jupiter on the Capitoline hill,\* substituted his own head for Jupiter's on many statues, and on one occasion rebuked great Jove himself for thundering at an unseasonable time. The Jews alone refused to pay him divine honors. Meeting a party of them one day, he thus addressed them, "Are you the god-haters who deny my divinity, which all the world acknowledges?" Dio Cassius says† that not only the multitude but men of high position rendered him divine honors.

Next came Claudius, who, of course, was deified, as he had so many of the divine (?) characteristics exhibited by his predecessor. Is it any wonder that the early Christian Fathers, both Greek and Latin, so frequently cite this monstrous practice in their warfare against the pagan religion, and that its representatives had so difficult a time defending it?

It was during the reign of Claudius that Paul and Barnabas came to Lystra. The conduct of the Lystrans on this occasion is in perfect accordance with the ancient systems of belief, and, in the light of history past and contemporaneous with them, their attitude of mind and actions perfectly consistent and intelligible. The multitude cries out, "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men, and they called Barnabas, Jupiter, and Paul, Mercury." The priest of Jupiter brings oxen and garlands for the sacrifice. But how strange must the actions and words of the apostles have appeared to them, and what a rebuke! But in spite of all this scarce could they restrain "the multitude from doing

\* Compare *Josephus*, xix, 1; xviii, 18.

† Compare Dio Cassius, 59, 27, 2, and B. Haussoullier, *Revue de Phil.*, 23, 147-164, on his self-deification, and his temple at Miletus.

sacrifice unto them." No less emphatic was the rebuke of Peter to Cornelius, who "fell down at his feet and worshiped him," "Stand up; I also am a man." All of this happened in the Orient, where the worship of mortals had flourished from time immemorial, and hence the more remarkable the actions of the apostles seemed to them. We know that in Greece the images of the emperors were more venerated than those of Jupiter himself,\* and a similar condition of affairs undoubtedly prevailed at this time in the Orient.†

The poets of this age were all a bad lot. Lucan and Martial especially cudged their brains to devise dainty and attractive forms of flattery. Lucan‡ says that Nero is a god who will, after his ascension to his divine abode, rule the world. Vespasian must have looked upon the whole matter of the worship of the emperors as a joke. We are told that when dying he jested on his approaching dignity, observing, as he felt his strength ebbing away, "I think I am becoming a god." Domitian, the cruel tyrant, the "monstrum horrendum," instructed his officers to begin all official documents with "*Dominus et Deus*,"§ and these titles were applied to him by contemporaries in both prose and poetry. || In inscriptions he is called "*sacratissimus princeps*,"¶ and in Athens he was addressed as Ζεὺς ἐλευθέριος.\*\* Quintilian invokes his aid, addressing him as the god who presides over literary studies. The only persons to refuse to worship his image were the Christians, but this was considered a sacrilege deserving to be punished with death. It was during the closing years of the first century that a character lived well known in Church history, Apollonius of Tyana, who by his pretended miracles obtained such a hold upon the people that he was worshiped as a god,†† and set up as a rival of Christ.

Even the distinguished philosopher Marcus Aurelius sanctioned this form of worship, and at his earnest request the Senate declared officially that his wife was a goddess, a belief

\* Compare Philost. *in Apoll.*, i, 15.

† Compare also Paul's treatment at Melita (Acts xxviii, 4).

‡ Compare Lucan., v, 83.

§ Compare Dio Cass., 67, 13, 4; Eutrop., 7, 23, 2; Aur. Vict., *Cæs.*, 11, 2; *Ep.*, 11, 6.

|| Compare *Mart.*, 6, 3, 7; *Sil. Ital.*, 3, 671, etc.; Statius, *Praef.* to ii and iii, and *Silv.*, i, 1, 95, etc.

¶ *Eckhel*, 8, 361.

\*\* Compare *C. I. A.*, 3, 1091.

†† Compare Lact., *Inst.*, v, 3, 7, et seq.

he himself had long held. Space will not permit an account of such contemptible and detestable characters as Commodus, Caracalla, and Diocletian, all of whom were the recipients of divine honors! Alexander Severus, who lived about 212 A. D., in his customary devotions to "the holy souls"—as to Apollonius of Tyana, Orpheus, Abraham, and Christ—included the best of the deified emperors! According to Suetonius sixty persons were elevated to divine honors from Cæsar to Constantine. Even the early Christian emperors, we are told, were declared to be gods as their predecessors had been. But by this time deification was more or less formal and official, and the Christians could accept it without a scruple. It is probable that Gratian (about 380 A. D.) was the first emperor who was not officially declared to be a god after his death.\* It should be remarked that there is a great difference between granting divine honors to an emperor while still living and in doing the same after his death. While almost all the emperors received divine honors after death, it was only the most unworthy, as Nero, Caligula, Domitian, and Diocletian, who insisted upon this worship during their lifetime.† A saying attributed to another emperor, Napoleon, well illustrates the difference between the ancient and the modern point of view, "Alexander could call himself the son of Jupiter Ammon and the whole world believed him; but every fisherwoman would laugh at me if I wished to give out that I was the son of the Eternal Father." But this deification of mortals is not confined exclusively to ancient times. In Peru the inca Uiracoccha was adored as a god even during his lifetime,‡ and so, also, were the reigning sovereigns in Madagascar and New Zealand. We also read of travelers who were taken for deities, as Lander in most African towns,§ Captain Cook in the islands of the Pacific, and Sir Francis Drake among the North American Indians. These examples are sufficient to show the kinship of untutored minds, and that the adoration of human beings knows no geographical limitations; under similar conditions the mind works in a similar way.

\* Compare De Rossi, *Inscript. Christ.*, p. 338.

† Compare also Victor, *Cæs.*, cap. 39, 4.

‡ Compare Sir John Lubbock, *Orig. of Civilization*,\* p. 380.

§ Compare Lander, *Niger Expedition*, iii, p. 198.



Having answered briefly the questions *When* and *Where* this practice prevailed, it remains to discuss the very important question *How* it originated, what feelings gave birth to it. Owing to the limitations of time and space this can only be done briefly and the question concerning its origin limited to the two great nations of antiquity, the Greeks and the Romans.\*

All modern conceptions of God and his attributes must be banished from the mind and only the ancient point of view taken into consideration. The ancients' idea of God and his relation to man was not a high one. The gap between gods and man was not so great in ancient times as now. As Gaston Boissier † says: "There did not exist then, as to-day, an insuperable barrier between God and man; on the contrary, that religion seems to arrange between them a series of transitions which conduct from the one to the other. These intermediate stages acquaint all the world that it is not at all impossible to pass from humanity to divinity." As a matter of fact the gods and men were often confused by the Greeks themselves. Herodotus, ‡ for example, frankly avows his inability to determine whether Zalmoxis was a god or a man. They were in a similar predicament regarding Herakles § and Æsculapius. ¶ Grote ¶ says: "The original hearers felt neither surprise nor displeasure from this confusion of the divine with the human individual. They looked at the past with a film of faith over their eyes. The intimate companionship and the occasional mistake of identity between gods and men were in full harmony with their reverential retrospect." Further, anthropomorphism was a striking characteristic of both the Greek and Roman religions. When the anthropomorphic process is well advanced, apotheosis begins, gods have been changed to the similitude of men, men can now be changed into the similitude of gods. The anthropomorphic process introduced human elements into the idea of God;

\* As far as the *Egyptians* are concerned, who can wonder that they should have worshiped human beings when they were accustomed to consider dogs, crocodiles, wolves, lions, and many other animals of land and sea as gods?

† Compare Gaston Boissier, *La Religion Romaine*.

‡ Compare Herodotus, iv, 94-96.

§ Compare Cic., *De Off.*, iii, 25.

¶ Compare Galen, *Protr.*, 9, p. 22 (K); Pausanias, ii, 26.

¶ Compare Grote, *Hist. Greece*, i, p. 449.

apotheosis introduced divine elements into the idea of man. Each widened the circle of polytheism, allowed the imagination to deify men as easily as it had once deified material and sacerdotal objects. The anthropomorphic polytheism of the Greeks and Romans gave to their gods the form of man and endowed them with all of his traits, both good and bad.\* It is evident from many considerations that with these two nations, godlikeness did not involve righteousness, and that holiness was not necessarily a divine attribute. Morality too often had little to do with religion—notable instances are Jupiter among the gods and Cæsar among the men who were deified. As Gibbon says, "We should disgrace some of the emperors by comparing them with Jupiter." These considerations exhibit the tendencies of the ancient Greek and Roman religions.

Among the Greeks it may be said that the worship of deified men first manifested itself in connection with hero worship (compare page 942) and the belief in the divine origin of kings.† Menander, who lived during the close of the third century, said that "though many of the kings seemed to be from men, they are in reality sent down from God and are emanations of the divine potency." In historical times the deification of Alexander the Great is a typical case. The situation may be thus summed up: he was a god because he manifested the divine attributes and performed the feats of a god, and because he had "the kingdom, the power, and the glory."‡ The Greeks may have been influenced, also, by the practice prevailing among oriental nations.

For the Romans it may be said that their worship of the emperors was a direct outgrowth of their own religious conceptions and of the conditions that prevailed at that time. These conditions were, as their population, of a complex and heterogeneous character. Apotheosis was not the result of any one thing, all things worked together to produce it; there were many forces operative, apotheosis was the resultant of these forces. Ancestor worship, as among the Hindus, the Greeks, and Teutons, so among the Romans, prevailed widely.§

\* Compare Psa. i, 21, "Thou thoughtest, saith God, that I was altogether such an one as thyself." + Compare Boeckh, *Encycl. u. Method.*, p. 435.

† Compare Williamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristotles und Athen*, i, p. 337.

§ Compare Herbert Spencer, *Sociology*, p. 440, and Vergil, *Æn.*, vii, 133 and 177.

This is shown by their worship of the *Lares, divi manes*, and by the *Feralia, Novendiale*, and *Parentalia*. Their worship of the emperors *after death* is to be explained by the belief prevailing among them that after death the father of the family became a *Lar*. Since the state was modeled on the family, it follows naturally that the father of the state, the emperor, should after death become the *Lar* of the state, and accordingly worshiped. Their worship during their lifetime is to be similarly connected with their worship of the *Genius*. If not only every place had its *genius*, or protecting spirit,\* but also the poorest and meanest Roman as well, why not also a great and beneficent sovereign? Accordingly the Romans not only worshiped their own *genius*, but also the *genius of the state*, and the worship of the invisible protector soon blended with the worship of the visible, or of the emperor. In the case of Cæsar the Romans not only worshiped his *genius*, but also the "clemency" of Cæsar, and with Augustus a similar condition of affairs existed with similar results. Augustus further encouraged the worship of the *genius* of the chief magistrate side by side with the worship of the *genius* of the people. In all these cases worship of the abstract prepared the way for the worship of the concrete. Both Cæsar and Augustus claimed to have sprung from gods, and to be under a special care of a god. Augustus, too, was the sovereign pontiff, the official head of the Roman religion, and his authority in all matters of religion supreme.

But, as said above, there were other forces at work, and a word must be said about them. The Romans' belief in their gods had been shaken by the teachings of Euhemerus, whose doctrine had been steadily growing in Rome from the time of Ennius. Euhemerist theology was part of the creed of the Stoics, and was warmly espoused by several Christian assailants of paganism, as by Minucius Felix, Lactantius, and St. Augustine, who found in this doctrine that the ground had been prepared for them in their efforts to strip Jupiter and other pagan gods of the attributes of deity. Even Cicero did not hesitate to say† that "the gods who were publicly worshiped were men," though

\* Compare Servius, ad Verg., *Æn.*, v, 95.

† Compare Lactantius, *Inst.*, i, 15, 16.

he also adds that "he himself worshiped them." The words, too, applied to worship, suffered a metamorphosis. *Deus*, in the course of time, lost much of its primitive feeling of sacredness. Cicero himself uses it a number of times in the sense of "the perfect ideal." \* *Deus* in late Latin, as also *dominus*, hardly suggested to the Roman mind the Deity. Other languages exhibit the same phenomenon, as *Zeûs* in late Greek, *dîva* in Italian, Gott in German, and the rather free use of "divine" in English, and of "worship," idol. So Juliet says to Romeo. "Thy gracious self, the god of my idolatry." *Dominus* in the time of the empire became simply a formal title, a term of deference and courtesy.

The word *apotheosis* itself has suffered a similar desecration. A certain Latin grammar has been recently referred to as an "apotheosis;" and what a falling off was there, my countrymen, in the following outburst in Elia W. Peattie's *An Astral Onion*, recently published, "It was the onion—that fragrant bulb, which had obtained its apotheosis in the cuisine of Nora Finnegan." Such is the modern degradation of these words. In the case of great and beneficent sovereigns the religious temperament of the Romans was such that extraordinary abilities and services commanded extraordinary respect and gratitude, and these feelings could find but one form of expression, the offering of divine homage. In the case of such monsters as Nero or Caligula one cannot but feel that such a form of worship could spring from nothing else than the compulsion of fear or flattery. In the case of the later emperors the bestowal of the titles of *dominus* and *deus*, as well as their worship, had become a mere matter of form, and religious feelings were conspicuous by their absence.

\* Compare Cicero, *De Or.*, i, 106; ii, 179; iii, 53.

Emory B. Lease

## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

## NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

WE set much store by our "Arena" department, and wonder that so few avail themselves of its opportunities. Recent contributions tend to prolixity. We solicit brief, incisive, pithy articles for it.

FROM a work lately published by Swan & Sonnenschein, of London, Cardinal Gibbons quotes statistics showing the inroads made by Romanism in the Church of England and in affiliated classes of English society: "Since 1850 the persons who have gone over to the Church of Rome include 445 graduates of Oxford, 213 of Cambridge, and 63 of other universities, besides 27 peers, 244 military officers, 162 authors, 129 lawyers, and 60 physicians. Among the graduates were 446 clergymen of the Established Church."

DR. H. BAVINCK, whose article leads this number of the *Review*, was born, the son of a clergyman, December 13, 1854, at Hoogetveen, Drente, Holland. Graduating from the university at Leiden, in 1880, he obtained his degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology upon a thesis on "The Ethics of Zwingli." Two years after his graduation he was appointed by the Synod to the Chair of Dogmatics and Encyclopedia in the Theological School at Kampen, which he has now held for twenty years. Among numerous articles, pamphlets, and books from his pen the following may be mentioned: "The Science of Sacred Theology," inaugural to his professorship, 1883; "The Catholicity of Christianity," 1888; "Recent Dogmatic Thought in the Netherlands," (*Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, April, 1892); *Dogmatics of the Reformed Churches*, four volumes, 1897-1901. We have pleasure in presenting his remarkable article, "Creation or Development," in its entirety, notwithstanding its length transgresses our fixed rule, and we have all the more satisfaction because of the admirable way in which the accomplished translator, Rev. J. Hendrik de Vries, has done his work.

## SOME RECENT OUTSIDE VIEWS OF METHODISM.

Few things are more interesting and instructive than non-Methodist references to our Church, which enable us to "see ourselves as others see us," whether their comments be commendatory or otherwise.

1. Recently Goldwin Smith has been saying that against the disintegrating antichristian forces of the eighteenth century "the religious crusade of John Wesley" was among the strongest apologetic and defensive forces, being a practical vindication of Christianity because a demonstration of its power; and that Wesley's Church had the advantage of being "born, not like the other Protestant bodies in doctrinal controversy, but in evangelical reaction against the impiety and vice of the age." He also says that in the nineteenth century, when German philosophy and criticism of the Bible invaded England, and Milman's *History of the Jews* appeared, minimizing miracles and treating Old Testament history and personages in the same spirit as if they were ordinary and merely secular, then the English Evangelicals (chief among whom were the Wesleyans) with "their inward persuasion of conversion and spiritual union with the Saviour," as well as the Quakers with their inner light, were really beyond the reach of the critics, the secularizing historians, and the rationalizing philosophers. The foundations of the evangelical faith, Goldwin Smith clearly perceives, were too deep to be affected by any form of outside skeptical assault; the forces of disintegration could not touch them, never will be able to reach them; they are deeply buried in the soul and rest upon the Rock of Ages. Professor Smith further says that "the main support of orthodox Protestantism in the United States now is Methodism, which, by the perfection of its organization, combining strong ministerial authority with a democratic participation of all members in the active service of the Church, has so far not only held its own, but enlarged its borders and increased its power;" though he forecasts the diminution of its spiritual influence if "the time comes when the fire of enthusiasm grows cold and class meetings lose their fervor."

2. Andrew Lang in his review of the literature of the nineteenth century says that when the flood of modern scientific theories came in with the elder Darwin, who was supposed to explain the universe without a God, those "emancipating"

theories were unable to laugh out of court the mystical religion and austere Christian life which had come in from the preaching of Wesley, and which, Mr. Lang thinks, was reproduced long after in the "Oxford Movement," the spirit of that movement being, in his opinion, directly descended from Wesley. It might then be called in some degree the triumphal return of John Wesley, one-time fellow of Lincoln College, to the halls of Oxford. Following the progress of that historical current of spiritual influence still further, an article in the *Review* (March-April, 1899) on "The Oxford Movement and Its Leaders" closed with this sentence, "The modern Forward Movement of Methodism owes much of its aggressive and evangelizing temper to the Oxford Movement;" from which it would appear that the stream of spiritual life which began with the Holy Club, having flowed abroad over the United Kingdom during many decades, swept back into Oxford University, and after setting all things whirling there in eddies of religious commotion, swept out again, at the end of the nineteenth century, through city and country as the latest aggressive movement of Methodism in our day.

3. Three years ago, in a circle of ministers representing seven Protestant denominations, a clergyman, concerning whom a secular daily once truthfully said that Congregationalism has no honors which it has not offered to him, raised the question whether Methodism owed its large success more to its efficient organization and complete machinery, or rather to something characteristic and distinctive in the spirit of its life and the tone and quality of its message. The propounder of the question was evidently impressed with the large success referred to, and had thoughtfully searched for the real explanation. He announced his own conviction that it was above everything else, that vital something which he considered peculiar and proprietary in the spirit and quality, as well as in the form, of Methodism's message. Now, if this explanation were not a large part of the truth, it could hardly have impressed so disinterested, experienced, discerning, and profound an observer as being true. And if it be true, if the secret of the victories hitherto won by our Church lies in the peculiarly Methodistic quality and spirit of its preaching and its worship, then it is of utmost importance that all of us, especially our younger ministers, take pains to learn precisely what that Methodistic spirit and quality are; and knowing

what they are, to cherish them, cultivate them, cling to them as the very life and power of our communion. For if, as this wise ecclesiastical statesman tells us, the secret of our power lies in them, then to lose them will be to forfeit our commission and be emptied of our power. Outsiders say that Methodism has sounded the Gospel through a trumpet of its own, a sonorous trumpet which gave a loud, sweet, golden, welcome cry, a cry which the sinful and the hopeless liked to hear, a cry which made glad the heart of man. May Methodism hold that instrument with a firm grasp, resolved never to lay it down, nor part with it on any solicitation; but rather stand to the end of time, like one of Fra Angelico's tall trumpeting angels with lifted eyes and illumined face, blowing the praise of God and the salvation of men!

At this moment three Americans are alive who recall an April morning when an Englishman on horseback led the file down the steep, wild, gloomy gorge of the Kedron from Marsaba toward the Dead Sea, and as he rode played on his bugle in brotherly fashion for their delight "The Star Spangled Banner," filling their homesick hearts with glad good cheer and their eyes with happy tears at the dear thought of home and the hope of reaching it after all wanderings, vicissitudes, and perils. Is it true, as we hear our neighbor intimating, that Methodism has so winsomely played the Gospel on its bugle as to put cheer and hope into the hearts of men in their march through the gloomy gorges of this earthly life, rent by earthquake, upheaved by internal and infernal fires, with the Dead Sea not far away shored by the sulphurous ruins of many a Sodom and Gomorrah? Brethren, in this lachrymose, lugubrious, pessimistic, dubitating, cowardly time, there is need to blow up the bugles, loud and clear and sweet,—no harsh note, no low note, no weak note, but the proper golden cry of courage, good cheer, and salvation in the glorious Gospel of the blessed God as our fathers sounded it.

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#### A CENTAUR IN REGENT STREET.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY held miracles to be incredible, and once curtly dismissed the subject with a conclusive air by asking if any amount of testimony could make it credible that a centaur, a man-horse, had been seen trotting down Regent Street in London. Such is often the scoffer's flippant way.



The first suitable reply to the denier, who thus unceremoniously flouts the Christian evidences, would be to ask him if he thinks it at all conceivable that any number of sane persons could possibly be found in London who would testify to such an event as he pictures. Testimony to any such event was never soberly given anywhere. This skeptic supposes the unsupposable.

And the next suitable reply would be to call his attention to the fact that a multitude of sane and reputable persons did declare themselves eyewitnesses of the Christian miracles, especially of the one transcendent supernatural wonder, Jesus Christ, sinless in life and triumphant over death; and further, that millions of sane and honest people in many centuries and in all lands have believed the testimony of those eyewitnesses, finding it supported by much collateral and corroborative evidence, and every way compatible with reason and intelligence. Huxley contemptuously disparages and treats as worthless the reasoned convictions of respectable thinking millions, some of whom, at least, are as intellectually competent as himself.

The form of the question with which this *a priori* denier rudely flung aside the subject of miracles indicates that the particular miracle he had in mind as typical of all was the one supreme, comprehensive miracle, Jesus Christ, the God-man; and the implication is that he thought Him, a being blending in himself the human and the divine, to be as incredible, as necessarily mythical, as the centaur, a fabled creature, part man and part horse. A most amazing failure to perceive the grossest incongruity! A coarse and flippant treatment of a lofty and sacred subject! To call Huxley's suggestion brutal is simply to speak with accuracy. What kind of a mind is it to which the progress of Jesus through the ages suggests a centaur trotting through the heart of London? The man who can, by even the faintest suggestion, and in the most impulsive and unconsidered expression, put Jesus Christ on a par with a centaur must have some such unspiritual mind as that self-fondling egomaniac had who claimed that his perspiration was finer than prayer, and his armpits holier than altars of worship. Even to repeat their words is a mortification of sensibility and a trial of grace. There is something bestial in the unspirituality of such minds, a low subhuman want of sensibility, which would be inconceivable if it were not actual. The utter inanity of the denier's offensive question about the centaur empties it of argumenta-

tive force and merely exposes incapacity for dealing decently with an august subject. What force could there be in saying that because nobody would believe the story of a boozy cockney, rolling homeward in the small hours of the morning, if he should relate that he and his cabby saw a mermaid, a woman-fish, combing her long tresses in the moonlight under London Bridge, having swum up the Thames from the sea; and because everybody would scout the tale of Egyptian fellahin if they should report that a sphinx, a woman-lion, was seen to come out of the desert and lap water out of the Nile: therefore the Christian history related by the four evangelists, containing their accounts of the supernatural Saviour, the divine Man, Jesus of Nazareth, the Christ of God, and the gospel record of the supernatural events which naturally attended the supernatural Man—all this sacred history, though certified by evidence which has convinced and satisfied the greatest minds of Christendom, must be waved aside by sane and thoughtful men as not to be believed?

And here we come upon what looks to unsophisticated minds extremely like a curious inconsistency. Strange to say, this scientific professor, who held miracles to be incredible, did not declare them impossible. But if not impossible, how are they incredible? Huxley distinctly said, as did J. S. Mill, that nobody knows miracles to be impossible; that the question whether miracles have happened is purely and solely one of evidence. These are some of his words: "I am unaware of anything that has a right to the title of an 'impossibility' except a contradiction of terms. There are impossibilities logical, but none natural. A round square, a present past, are impossibilities, but walking on the water, or turning water into wine, or raising the dead are plainly not impossibilities." He further said that our limited knowledge of nature does not qualify us to announce what is or is not possible in this universe; and further, that the native limitations of our faculties are such that we never can be in a position to set bounds to the possibilities of nature. Within those possibilities, therefore, may be such exceptional, or at least unusual, events as the gospel miracles. And yet, notwithstanding such concessions, Huxley insisted that the accounts of miracles given in the Bible are not believable, because no amount of evidence can make the miracles credible, any more than testimony could make us believe that a

centaur was seen trotting down Regent Street. One question not improper to be interjected, though somewhat out of connection, is why skeptical evolutionary scientists, like Huxley, should reckon a union of divine and human in one person, Jesus Christ, whom they deny, to be more unlikely than a union of man and beast in one creature, the Missing Link, which they affirm or declare their belief in, though no man has seen it, nor has science any trace of it.

Apart from the indecency of yoking Jesus Christ with a mythical semibrute monster, there is, to begin with, the stubborn fact that the Founder of the Christian Faith and Lord of Christendom is now accepted by every intelligent person who has examined the matter as no myth, but an actual historic character, who lived, taught, and died in Palestine, marked a new epoch for the world, and gave initiative and sustaining impulse to that most elevated and enlightened period of history known as the Christian era and proud to bear his name. The historical Christ is an indubitable reality. The mythical theory of Strauss's *Leben Jesu* is admitted to have exploded speedily and utterly under fair and capable critical examination; a weaker proposition than its main contention never disgraced language or foisted itself upon human notice. Beyond all possibility of denial the groundwork of Christianity is solid, actual history. However it may be with Huxley's centaur, Jesus is as undeniably historic as Socrates, Cicero, Julius Cæsar, Alfred the Great, Napoleon Bonaparte, or George Washington, and far more unquestionably so than Strauss, because the effects which Jesus wrought, and which remain to attest that he existed, and spoke, and suffered as the gospels narrate, are immeasurably more visible, vast, and indestructible than the faint traces of himself left by David Friedrich Strauss.

The question of Jesus Christ's real existence, his life and death in Palestine, being so settled as to silence forever all objectors except blathering idiots and senselessly stubborn deniers, there remains the question as to his nature, whether that was divine or merely human. That his nature was extraordinary, unique, unparalleled, is manifestly certain. Its singularity and preeminence consisted first of all in his sinlessness. This he distinctly claimed in presence of friends and enemies; this claim his life and character supported; and when he challenged contradiction of this claim no man could truthfully

accuse him. The moral perfection which he claimed others recognized and confessed. Peter, having lived long with the Master, declared that he was not like other men. Pilate found him to be without fault, and washed his hands before the multitude in token of his wish to clear himself of the blood of the innocent One whom he had cravenly yielded up to the clamor of the mob to be crucified. Judas was filled with intolerable remorse because he had betrayed the Harmless and the Spotless. James, the Lord's brother, knowing him from childhood, revered him and spoke of him as the Lawgiver and Judge of men.

Now, this well-proven and conceded sinlessness, this unparalleled moral perfection, certified a unique character, a nature singular and superior. It is a phenomenon which alone by itself creates the probability and raises the presumption that this sinless and perfect Being is something more than human. In the character and life of Jesus is seen a sustained spiritual miracle, the original, fundamental, germinal miracle, setting him apart from other men, and making all the miracles connected with him and his ministry congruous and easy of belief. Herein is the most marvelous thing, not that loaves and fishes were multiplied and water turned to wine, but that One who most clearly and instantly detected the least taint of evil claimed to be absolutely free from taint or fault, and bore out that claim in all his life. Sense of sinfulness, consciousness of shortcoming, signs of penitence, prayer for forgiveness, need of redemption—none of these was ever seen in him; he was without spot or blemish.

Superhumanly perfect, He is the colossal miracle. And that from him should proceed a wonder-working power, producing various lesser miracles of love and mercy, is no more strange than that a born king should exert royal powers, or that from the root of a great tree little saplings should sprout and grow.

The resurrection of Jesus is no more extraordinary than his own exceptional nature; that the conqueror of sin should triumph over death was only to be expected. The significant fact is not so much that the miracles prove Christ to be possessed of superhuman powers as that the transcendently sinless and supernatural Christ makes the small miracles attendant on him seem entirely credible and probable. That he was something more than human is abundantly proven.

But furthermore, as to his nature, character, and powers, he claimed something more than spiritual perfection. He announced himself to be the Messiah of God, the Saviour of men, the Judge of the world, the Arbiter of the everlasting destinies of mankind, Son of God as well as Son of man. He proclaimed himself the founder of a celestial kingdom on earth in which the will of God should be done as it is in heaven; he gave the law for a new dispensation; he claimed to have power on earth to forgive sins, preannounced his death in expiation for the sins of the whole world, and predicted his resurrection and return in glory. The Christ of the four gospels not only was an actual historical person and a morally perfect being; he also made divine claims, asserted divine prerogatives, spoke with divine authority, and wielded divine powers. And he alone of all mankind has lifted the world out of darkness into light, out of despair into hope, and become the source of life eternal to the human race. Even Strauss once spoke of Christ as the highest we know or can imagine in the sphere of religion, and as the Person without whose presence in the mind no perfect piety is possible. Of this there can be no other explanation but that God was in him as in no other, even that in him dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. However it may be with Huxley's man-beast, the God-man is an actual fact in earthly history, and the supreme factor in the moral and spiritual life of mankind. The King of glory advances no less swiftly and victoriously in his benign progress for failing to find centaurs that can be harnessed to his chariot. He is not waiting at a road house for the scientists to furnish him with a relay of mythical monsters, centaurs, minotaurs, or hippogriffs. Alone in his unique greatness and unparalleled nature he moves on.

When a sternly truthful prophet, calling men to repentance, shall cry out at sight of a centaur, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world;" when sinful women shall go in to anoint the feet of a centaur with precious ointment and still more precious penitential tears; when a born skeptic shall lift his eyes reverently to a centaur and exclaim in adoration, "My Lord, and my God;" when a city's populace shall stream out from the city's gate to spread palm branches under a centaur's hoofs, shouting, "Hosanna! Hosanna! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord;" when a soldier shall turn away from watching a centaur die, murmuring to

himself, "Truly this was the Son of God;" when a centaur shall be reported by reputable and veracious chroniclers as saying to his followers or hearers, "I am the Light of the world," "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," "I go to prepare a place for you; I will come again and receive you unto myself; because I live ye shall live also;" when a noble army of martyrs and a glorious company of apostles shall go forth to preach and die for a centaur; when historians shall visit the ruins of dead civilizations which were full of cruelty and pollution, and come back and report that when they inquired what destroyed those centers of abomination a centaur galloped up and answered, "They despised my counsel and would none of my reproof, therefore I slew them with my bow and arrow;" when on the map of the world and in the pages of history a centaurian civilization shall be seen enlightening, purifying, and uplifting nation after nation; when saints shall declare that all the holiness and godliness they know anything about comes by worshiping and loving and serving a centaur; when a man of Napoleon's brain shall say that a centaur's victories so much surpass his own that men's hearts are subdued by the million until they would willingly die for him; when the gifted lips of genius shall describe a centaur as "holiest among the mighty, and mightiest among the holy;" and when a thousand other similar things shall come to pass: then will we concede the centaur to be in all probability a historical reality, a creature of superbestial, and even of superhuman, qualities, attributes, and powers; then will we earnestly, solemnly, and devoutly investigate all accessible evidence concerning the centaur; then will we proceed to fix the day when we will offer our homage and allegiance to the man-beast, and publicly proclaim ourselves his disciples; then will we try to persuade our fellow-men that it is meet, right, and their bounden duty to adore the centaur, crying out in their temples, "Glory be to the man-beast, as it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, world without end!"

If supernatural Christianity ever disappears from among men, it will not be because a scoffing scientist has hitched it up alongside a man-beast and driven both of them to death. A far greater danger is that the Christian Church should betray its trust and professing Christians fail to live the Christian life and do their Master's work.

## THE ARENA.

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### THE PROPHECY OF DANIEL.

DR. PUSEY once said, "The Book of Daniel is especially fitted to be a battlefield between faith and unbelief." This putting of the case harmonizes with the declaration of Sir Isaac Newton when he said, "To reject Daniel's prophecies is to reject the Christian religion; for this religion is founded on its prophecy concerning Christ." Bishop Westcott has said, "No writing of the Old Testament has had so great an influence in the development of Christianity as the Book of Daniel;" and Cornill, though an out and out rationalist, says, "Hardly another biblical book has exercised so controlling a power over all subsequent time; and to-day we still stand under the influence of ideas and views which the Book of Daniel was first to throw into the development of the religion of Israel."

The objects of the book are, first, to comfort and cheer God's ancient people with assurances that their Messianic expectations were not to be disappointed; and second, to warn the nations of their peril and doom. Its predictions cover so much of the Old Testament times as yet remained, and the entire Church period—to the end of our age. Strategically, therefore, Daniel is, in an important sense, the key to the Church's position, historically and eschatologically considered.

The Church has always believed the Book of Daniel to be a unit, notwithstanding five chapters are historical and seven prophetical, and that Daniel was its author. The Church has stood and still stands for these views.

Recently the rationalists with unusual vigor have renewed their assaults upon the evangelical historical view of the authorship of the book. Rupprecht speaks of these assaults in this vigorous manner: "The modern criticism of Daniel's book is in its spirit unchristian, immoral, and unscientific." D'Envieu says, "The violence of modern criticism has only reproduced, under the show of learned strategy, the old assaults in the first years of our Christian era." As I read the history of this conflict I see nothing new in the present assaults except the unwarrantable assumption, by the assailants, of a monopoly of scholarship, which is a trick to capture the ignorant and conceited. The magnificent work of J. Fabre D'Envieu, professor of oriental languages in the Sorbonne, Paris, has answered step by step every assumption, criticism, and argument, linguistic and historical, of the higher critics, ancient and modern, in a comprehensive and satisfactory manner; and utterly refutes the audacious assumption of the destructive critics of a monopoly of scholarship. It puts in the clearest possible light the German apostasy from the word of God, the devotion of its institutions to the

destructive criticism, and crushes every argument made by the critics against Daniel being the author of the book bearing his name.

Professor Tiefenthal, of the College of St. Anselm, Rome, has since issued a work on the same subject in vindication of Daniel. Professor Kennedy, of New College, London, has done the same thing, annihilating Cheyne, Driver, Farrar, and all the imitators of German rationalism. The ablest German writers to-day of the progressive school admit that the Book of Daniel could not have been written later than B. C. 300. Every weapon used by the attacking party has, in the language of Dr. West, "left untouched the solid learning and arguments of an Hengstenberg, Havernick, Stuart, Kliefoth, Kranichfeld, Fuller, Lange, Auberleu, Keil, Volck, Wolf, Caspari, Orelli, Oswald, Pusey, Tregelles, and, later still, Tiefenthal, Herzfeld, Zahn, D'Enviu, Dornstetter, Dusterwald, Atzberger, and others of like mature judgment and profound attainments." I am speaking now particularly about the conflict as to the authorship. The critics insist that Daniel did not write the book, but that it was written by some one who lived during the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, about 170 B. C. If Daniel was not the author, then is the book—in the language of the late Professor E. Cone Bissel—"a complete and wicked forgery." Gess said, "It is impossible to excuse the writer of it from the charge of pious fraud." There can be no middle ground in this contention. This book is either a bedrock foundation for the science of eschatology, or we are in bewildering confusion and ignorance as to the issue of the conflict between Christ and Satan—between the kingdoms of this world and that of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Of course, when contending for the evangelical, historical view of authorship, I mean authorship for substance, and not for any revision of the book. As Dr. West puts it, "We may admit a Maccabean editorship without any difficulty, even as we admit an editorship of our English Bible. This is very remote from saying the book is a Maccabean composition, or half and half so."

The unity of the book is admitted by even the most rationalistic. The historical accuracy of a portion of the book is challenged by a few scholars. The only matter really in dispute relates to its date and authorship. While the destructive critics insist that Daniel did not write the book, they do not pretend to know who did; but they are sure some one must have done the work about the year 167 B. C. I will give their chief reasons for believing as they do, and then state briefly the reasons for not believing as they do in the matter, and for believing that Daniel wrote the Book of Daniel:

*First.* Daniel himself is spoken of in the book in laudatory terms, therefore he could not have written it. It is urged, in reply, that he speaks of himself historically, and in no more laudatory terms than does Paul of himself.

*Second.* Corrupt language is used—Hebrew and Aramaic, with a little Greek. This is met by the statement "that the language of the book



harmonizes perfectly with the circumstances of time and place, and with that of other books written at the period of the exile." The character of the Hebrew bears the closest affinity to that of Ezekiel and Habakkuk. Dr. Driver alleges that "the Aramaic of Daniel is a western Aramaic dialect of the type spoken in and about Palestine." Professor Delitzsch thought otherwise. He says, "Affinity with the Palestine Aramaic is lacking entirely; it is with the Aramaic of the Book of Ezra, the oldest east Aramaic monument preserved to us." The destructive critics once had a long list of Greek words charged to the account of Daniel. They have been reduced to just three, and they are names of musical instruments. It is well known that the Babylonians were fond of music, and that the Greeks had commercial relations with Babylon and countries even farther east. Delitzsch says on this subject: "Why should not three Greek instruments have been known in Babylon, the 'city of merchants,' as Ezekiel calls it, in the preselucid period? . . . Acquaintance with three Greek instruments would not be surprising nor inexplicable even in Nineveh, not to say in Babylon, under the late Chaldean dominion." Critical scholars of to-day ought to know that the figures of these very instruments have been discovered on the monuments of Assyria and Babylon as far back as 800 B. C.; and even Professor Cheyne has abandoned his false argument that sought to fix the date of Daniel's book as Maccabean from its style.

*Third.* The doctrinal teaching of the book. Canon Driver infers that this book belongs to "a later age than that of the exile," because "the doctrines of the Messiah, of angels, of the resurrection, and of a judgment on the world are taught with greater distinctness and in a more developed form than elsewhere in the Old Testament." Professor Green says: "But it is difficult to see why fresh revelations on these subjects might not be made to Daniel as well as to one in the period of the Maccabees. The inspired writer to the Hebrews believed that there were those who through faith had 'stopped the mouths of lions and quenched the violence of fire;' why may we not believe it too?"

*Fourth.* Its place in the canon is inconsistent with early authorship. It is answered "that the order of books in the canon does not rest on chronological but on internal grounds." Daniel had the *donum propheticum*—the prophetic gift—in a preeminent degree, and is called a prophet in Matt. xxiv, 15, and Mark xiii, 14; but he did not have the *munus propheticum*—the prophetic office. To this agree Witsius, Hengstenberg, Havernick, Keil, Oehler, Delitzsch, and others. In Acts ii, 29, 30, King David was called a prophet, but he never held the prophetic office. Green says: "If the critical theory of the Book of Daniel were correct, and this book, though actually produced in the time of the Maccabees, was inserted in the canon because believed to be the genuine production of Daniel, the contemporary of Ezekiel, and the proper place for such a book from such an author was among the prophets, why was it not placed alongside of Ezekiel, as it is in the

Septuagint, where the classification was upon a principle which required it? It is just because the Hebrew canon was accurately classified upon a principle of its own that the book stands where it does, in the K'thubhim and not among the prophets."

*Fifth.* Jesus, the son of Sirach, writing about 200 B. C., in his enumeration of Israelitish worthies, though he mentions Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and others, says nothing about Daniel. But he fails to mention Ezra, Gideon, Samson, and Jehoshaphat. Does such failure prove that there were no such men? But Daniel's contemporary mentions him. See Ezek. xiv, 14, 20; xxviii, 3.

*Sixth.* It is argued that the statement "Understood by the books" (chapter ix, 2) has reference to the completed canon of the Scriptures. This is an assumption for which there is not the slightest evidence. Green says, "The expression used implies that the prophecies of Jeremiah formed part of a *collection* of sacred books, which, nevertheless, it may safely be affirmed, was not formed in 586 B. C."

*Seventh.* Daniel's habit of praying three times a day points to a time when religious ideas had been brought from India. But if Daniel's habit was borrowed, he probably got it from King David. See Psa. lv, 17.

*Eighth.* The writer begins his predictions with the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Delitzsch says the writer "takes up the vision where the perspective of Isaiah had narrowed down to a point, and opens it anew." Westcott says, "The prophetic visions of Ezekiel form the connecting link between the characteristic types of revelation and prophecy."

*Ninth.* That the prophetic parts of the book are widely different from other prophecies. Delitzsch suggests that Daniel's "position in the history of redemption and his own personal position at a heathen court, among Magi courtiers" would be a satisfactory answer for this objection. There are a few minor objections besides, but they are not worth mentioning.

There are a great many indisputable evidences, as I think, that Daniel wrote the book:

*First.* The writer speaks of himself as "me, Daniel," and "I, Daniel," repeatedly and scores of times uses the first person singular. It is true that he sometimes speaks of himself in the third person; but so did Cæsar, Thucydides, and others. He speaks of himself in both the third and first person in the same chapter.

*Second.* The historical evidence. François Lenormant, professor of archæology at the National Library of France, says: "The more often I read the Book of Daniel and compare it with the cuneiform records, the more striking seems the fidelity of the picture given by the first six chapters of the Babylonian court and superstitions of the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and the more strongly am I impressed with the conviction that at least this portion of the book was written in Babylon itself, and not far from the time of the events related, and so the more

impracticable and incorrect it seems to me to transfer its origin to a date as late as that of Antiochus Epiphanes."

*Third.* Internal evidence. The style, temper, sentiment, movement of thought, and personal characteristics of this writing belong to a much earlier time than 170 B. C. Even Canon Driver admits that "in warmth of religious feeling and in the unflinching maintenance of divine truth the book resembles closely enough the writings of the older prophets."

*Fourth.* The Talmud tells us that the Book of Daniel dates from the time of the Great Synagogue. If it was written about 167 B. C., on what grounds can its presence in the Septuagint version be accounted for without arbitrarily denying the incontestable evidence of the age of this venerable document? In *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible* it is said, "The First Book of Maccabees represents Mattathias quoting the marvelous deliverances recorded in Daniel, together with those of earlier times (1 Macc. ii, 59, 60), and elsewhere exhibits an acquaintance with the Greek version of the book (Macc. i, 54; Dan. ix, 27)."

*Fifth.* Josephus tells us that Alexander the Great entered Jerusalem about 330 B. C. and offered sacrifices to God in the temple, where the high priest showed him the prophecies of Daniel (Dan. vii, 6; viii, 7), which predicted the overthrow of the Persian empire by a Greek king, which he felt could apply to none other than himself.

*Sixth.* Until modern times Porphyry was the only one to insist that Daniel did not write the book. Both the Synagogue and the Church declare that it contained authentic prophecies of Daniel.

*Seventh.* The testimony of Jesus to the authorship of the book. He said, "When therefore ye see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet," etc. That is to say, Jesus says that Daniel was the author of Dan. ix, 27, and xii, 11, etc. Some of the critics say that Jesus simply accommodated himself to the current belief of his day, namely, that Daniel wrote the book bearing his name, which is tantamount to saying he perpetuated a fraud. Some of them declare that Jesus did not concern himself about such matters; while some boldly say he did not know any better. Well, I have "not so learned Christ." The testimony of the great Teacher makes an end of all controversy with me. But some of the critics say, It does not matter who wrote the book so long as you have it. But when Jesus tells us who did it does matter who wrote it.

The critics who are leading the present assault upon the belief that Daniel wrote the book bearing his name hold to what they see fit to call "The Near Horizon" view of predictive prophecy; that is, the prophetic seer could not see "afar off." One of them states the case thus: "The prophets were bounded like other men by the horizon of their own views, and occupied themselves only with that future whose rewards and punishments were likely to reach their contemporaries." That is to say, they do not believe there is any predictive prophecy. Consequently

they must bring the date of the Book of Daniel down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes in order to find a plausible explanation for the predictions found in the book.

The Apocalypse is a summation of all the preceding books composing the Bible. Kliefoth says, "The Apocalypse actually brings nothing more concerning the last things than what is elsewhere found in other Scriptures of the prophets, our Lord's words and the utterances of the apostles." Delitzsch says, "The Apocalypse represents the Old Testament Eschata in their future temporal succession and order. It is, in this respect, the key to the prophetic word." Luthardt says, "Whoever is at home in the prophets will be so in the Apocalypse."

No intelligent interpretation can be given of our Lord's Olivet discourse, the Second Epistles of Thessalonians and Peter, and the Book of Revelation if there are no predictive prophecies beyond the boundary of man's horizon; if Daniel was not written until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Daniel and Revelation stand or fall together. If the assailants carry the Church's position in their assaults on the Book of Daniel, the army of the living God will be thrown into confusion as to the outcome of the conflict raging between Christ and Satan, and the Church suffer irreparable hurt.

Of the more than one hundred predictions in Daniel's book quite three fourths have been fulfilled to the letter, the great majority of them centuries after they were made. Daniel foretold the immediate return from Babylon, the building of the second temple, the Maccabean persecution, the coming of Messiah, the rejection of Messiah by the Jewish nation, the destruction of the second temple by the Roman army, the war and desolation decreed upon Jerusalem and the Holy Land, "unto the end" of Israel's sad and weary way. All these and as far as to the present time have been literally accomplished. He foretells the coming of the last Antichrist, the great tribulation, the second coming of Christ in the clouds of heaven, the deliverance of the Jews from Gentile power, the resurrection of the holy dead, the destruction of the Antichrist, and the victory of the kingdom "underneath all heavens." Who that believes the Bible is the word of God will doubt or deny this? And what has been fulfilled is indisputable proof that the rest will be fulfilled no less literally. This is our comfort and hope.

*Philadelphia.*

L. W. MUNHALL.

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"SHALL CHRISTIANITY HAVE A FAIR TRIAL?"

I HEARTILY agree with the sentiments expressed by Dr. Bishop, in a recent issue of the *Methodist Review*, when he affirms that Christianity has never yet been given a fair trial in the world. That Christianity is a power in the earth, that the religion of the Son of God has had much to do in the transformation of human society, that the faith of the Bible has banished to a great extent ignorance and idolatry and superstition

from the earth, there can be no doubt. But there is not a single country in the world to-day that is regarded as a Christian country of which it cannot be said that it is only nominally Christian. The laws of these so-called Christian countries, instead of doing all in their power to discourage vice of all kinds and to encourage virtue of every character, in many instances, at least, encourage vice and discourage virtue. The saloon, which is the hotbed of crime and the mother of infamies, is not only tolerated but legalized by our authorities. The house of prostitution, which leads the unwary feet of many of our youth astray, and which is a menace to modern civilization, threatening the nations with a ruin as terrible as was visited upon the empire of ancient Babylon and that laid the empire of proud Rome in the dust, does not have to wage perpetual warfare in order to exist, but flaunts itself in the faces of the people and defies the power of the churches. Not only is it true that the powers that be do little to check its ravages, but in nearly all of the cities accept money from its promoters to connive at its crimes.

The large business corporations that are backed by vast financial resources, instead of setting a good example for the smaller corporations and the less prominent business men to follow, set an example that is just the opposite. For instance, one of the leading railroad companies of the West does not scruple to advertise Sunday ball games and to run special excursion trains over portions of their track where Sunday traffic is ordinarily an unknown thing, in order that the Sabbath-desecrating public may be accommodated and that others may be given an opportunity to desecrate the Sabbath that might otherwise be spent in attending the services of God's house. And the manager of this company, by the way, has for years been a prominent worker in the Young Men's Christian Association. Christianity sometimes, nay, often, suffers in the homes of its friends.

Christianity has never had the chance that some of the false religions of the world have had. If it were given the chance that Mohammedanism has been given in Turkey, it would soon take the world for Christ. The Turkish government puts forth a studied effort to make it easy for the people of Turkey to be Mohammedans and difficult for them to be anything else religiously. I think that one of the best answers that can be made to those who accuse the churches of not accomplishing all that they say ought to be accomplished is that Christianity has not yet been given a fair chance in the world.

Whether or not Christianity will be given a fair trial in the century that has just opened remains to be seen.

*Craigton, Neb.*

J. NARVER GORTNER.

**THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.****CATECHISM OF MINISTERIAL COURTESY.**

HIGH civilizations are characterized by the courteous bearing of people toward one another. This relates itself to all social conditions, and especially to professional life. It is well known that all professions have their code of amenities, generally unwritten, yet everywhere recognized as binding on the profession. A very little experience with lawyers and physicians, as well as ministers, will confirm the impression that, in general, they will not violate the code of courtesy existing between the members of the profession, even under strong temptation of personal interest. These laws of courtesy, unwritten though they are, have their bearing on the relations of members of the Christian ministry to one another. They include the bearing of ministers of different denominations toward one another, and the bearing of the ministers of the same denomination toward those of their own fellowship. Very little has been written on the subject. There is a danger sometimes lest the professional courtesies should be pressed to the injury of the service to which the minister is called. This is to be deprecated; and yet it is far better that certain principles of courtesy should be observed than that each person should be a law unto himself.

We propose a brief catechism on this subject, and shall give tentative answers for the consideration of young ministers, leaving each one to enlarge or to modify, as the circumstances in which he is placed seem from time to time to demand. The catechetical method has the advantage of giving clearness to the points under consideration, and enabling the answer to be more definite.

1. What courtesies are due by a pastor to the accidental visit of another minister to his church or congregation?

It not infrequently happens, especially in the summer vacation, that ministers of the Gospel passing hither and thither, and spending the Sunday in some community, naturally attend the service of their own denomination; or it may be that another minister is on a visit to a member of his congregation, and naturally attends the services. If the pastor knows that a fellow-minister is within the limits of his parish it is a courteous thing for him to call on him and pay his respects. There is no obligation, however, to invite him to occupy the pulpit on Sunday. The circumstances, however, must largely determine. Should the visitor be one whose relation to the Church as a whole, or to that particular congregation, would lead the public to expect that he should be heard the pastor will avail himself of the opportunity to secure his services. The absence of an invitation, however, to officiate in the pulpit cannot be taken by the person who is visiting a church as

any indication of discourtesy. The person to whom we are referring is sojourning in a community for his own convenience. He has not come to serve the church; hence a courteous visit on the part of the pastor and a recognition of his presence is all that the amenities of the case require. If, however, the visitor is one of whom he has no knowledge, and whose introduction to him is merely incidental, he should not invite him to preach unless his introduction is of such a character as to assure the preacher that his congregation should hear him.

There are many regular ministers of the Gospel thus coming and going who might well fill a pulpit at the request of the pastor, but the absence of an invitation involves no lack of courtesy. Ministers who are not pastors, nor engaged directly in church work, who come into congregations for business purposes, should neither ask nor receive recognition as preachers before the congregation, but should conduct their work in the same manner as other persons do who are engaged in the same business. The pulpit should not be made the vehicle for the promotion of the personal business of an individual minister except so far as the church itself proposes this method of rendering him a service. The writer remembers a case in his own pastorate when a local preacher came along selling an ointment, no doubt a very good one, through the congregation. Another local preacher brought him to the pastor, with a request that he be permitted to occupy the pulpit. This he declined to do, whereat the seller of the ointment felt that the writer had treated him very discourteously. To have admitted him to the pulpit as a preacher at that time would be simply to make the pulpit an advertising agency, which it was never destined to be.

The pulpit is a sacred position. It is to be protected in its high office. The pastor should not allow it to be used for any propagandism which is not in harmony with the teaching for which it was established. Indeed there is a question of importance as to whether pastors do not place other people in the pulpit at times when he should occupy it himself. He has prepared, perhaps, a special sermon, for a special purpose on a certain day; it is in his heart and on his mind. Why should he fail to give that to his people merely as an act of courtesy to another? Certainly a minister of the average sense which belongs to all ministers of the Gospel would neither want nor expect him to do so. Every minister recognizes the duty of every other one to fulfill his own mission from the standpoint of his own convictions, and not to be turned aside for a mere appearance of courtesy. The writer recalls a time when he was pastor of a church of which the mayor of the town was a leading officer. At times a very eminent minister visited the congregation; and whenever he came the pastor felt it his duty to invite him to preach. The person who was thus invited was a great favorite with the mayor and the people; but one day the former protested against the frequent invitations for the visitor to preach without previous announcement. He declared that the pastor of a church had no more right to invite any

other minister to take his place and do his work than he had to invite the mayor of another city to preside temporarily over the affairs of his city. He insisted upon it that the people went to church to hear their pastor, and that if another person was to occupy the pulpit it should be previously announced so that those who preferred to go elsewhere should have an opportunity to do so. We cannot fully concur in the position thus taken and so broadly stated. What we mean to say then, in answer to the first question, is that every courtesy should be shown to a visiting or sojourning fellow-pastor or preacher, but that the regular duties of the pastor should not be waived except in cases where both courtesy and duty to his people are in harmony.

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#### HOW MAY THE MINISTER SECURE TIME FOR HIS MANY DUTIES?

THE majority of Christian people are not aware of the many and varied duties which fall upon the Gospel preacher in connection with a large pastorate. To many it seems as if the only work of the minister is to preach the Gospel and attend to general pastoral work. In the estimation of many this requires very little time and no great expenditure of strength, either physical or mental. It is a common supposition among the people that the minister does but little work in comparison with the members of other professions. We may well notice some of the work of the minister, and then ask whether the above position is well taken.

First, there is the preparation of two sermons each week. This in itself is more than the labor of a week for one man. A real sermon is the outgrowth of heart, intellect, and spiritual energy, and the preparation of two sermons such as the people will gladly gather to hear is a work of such magnitude that those who are best qualified to perform it shrink from the undertaking. If a person is an inferior preacher he may be able to prepare three sermons a week, but a successful minister regards one sermon as a sufficient tax upon his time and strength. Now when it comes to the preparing and preaching of two sermons each week the burden is almost more than he can bear. If we recall that in addition to preaching two sermons a prayer meeting talk is to be given each week, and that at some periods of the year special services are held, occupying several weeks, the tax upon the minister's physical, intellectual, and spiritual energy will be apparent. There is no part of the minister's work more taxing, nor is there any requiring more skill and ability, than the proper conduct of the prayer meeting. If one would hold the attention of the people the address which he gives should contain the best thoughts that he can command. There are some ministers, indeed, who are more successful at such services than in the pulpit. Both are important, however, and both demand time and care for their proper performance. We may add to this also the frequent calls upon the successful minister for addresses connected with great Church movements. It is true that the minister should be beguiled into outside



addresses as little as possible, but there are certain duties in this direction that his position demands. He is not only pastor of a church, but he is a man in public position and has relations to great public interests, especially the moral and religious. He must join with all Christian workers and brethren generally in meeting these responsibilities. They are no insignificant tax upon an otherwise overworked man.

In this connection also the large number of organized forces in the church which demand the pastor's general supervision should be considered. He is not expected to do their work, nor is he indeed their administrator, but he is in a sense the supervisor of everything that takes place in his church. A wise minister will be careful not to obtrude himself upon organizations controlled and managed by others, but he cannot shirk his responsibility for their conduct. Nor can he cease to be anxious as to the methods employed and the results attained by these agencies. In many cases his active participation is important. Then there are the social duties, which in some charges are so numerous as to demand a great deal of his time. Nor must we omit to mention certain duties which are fundamental to the pastorate. The deep interest which the pastor must have in the welfare of his people; his relations to the sick and the sorrowing make demands upon his energy and time which one unacquainted with the subject can hardly understand. The funeral services of the church in their delicacy often become a matter of great importance and occupy in many charges much of the time of the pastor. All these duties are important, some more, some less, but when put together you have an aggregation of duties and a variety of work such as belongs to no other sphere of labor. The problem is how the minister may have time and strength to meet these calls.

First, He should preserve his health, without which he becomes powerless to do his work. This is especially fitting in the summer season of the year. Ministers are supposed to take vacations varying from four weeks, in most charges, to three months in the large city pastorates. The minister must have respite from labor and from the nervous strain, which such a variety of duties lays upon him. We believe, therefore, that the preservation of health by relaxation and change of scene and cessation of work is an important means of enabling him to meet the demands to which we have already referred. The minister should not usually use his vacation in preaching in other pulpits. It is not wise for him to go away for rest and engage at the same time in intellectual labor or spiritual work. Of course he is to keep alive the spiritual life, but the vacation period should be a time of absolute rest in which to gather strength for his work when he returns home.

Second, In order to have time for his many duties the minister should have system, but not system carried to excess. There is such a thing as a man becoming a bundle of rules and regulations, so that instead of mastering his system his system masters him. There are some who have become so fixed in method that they are not able to meet sudden demands

upon them, and thus are often prevented from doing the good which otherwise they might accomplish. A plan of work is an excellent thing as a guide, but it should not be adhered to when a clear revelation of duty demands its interruption. There can be no system which should prevent a person from seeing an earnest soul who desires religious advice, or from comforting a troubled heart or helping a cause that demands help. System should not be abused. We must remember, however, that without some method no great amount of work can be done.

One who takes care of his health, as above indicated, may work steadily, excepting his hours of ordinary relaxation, if he works with quietness. It is anxiety and rush which cause the difficulty in work. Wesley's maxim, "Always in haste, never in a hurry," is an excellent one. We have known men who seemed never to be in a hurry, and yet they were working all the time. One can save time by having something definite on hand with which to employ his spare moments. For illustration, a person is at home; it is about mealtime, but there is some delay. If he have on the table a book on a subject which he wishes to investigate he can make some progress in five minutes, laying it aside and taking it up again, and thus after a time he will be able to master the subject on which he is engaged.

Then, too, the pastor will save time by not doing unnecessary things. There are some who exhaust themselves by attending conventions and meetings of all kinds which would get along just as well without their presence. It is not hinted that pastors should not attend these gatherings, but they should only attend such as would be helped by their presence. Life is too short to attempt unnecessary things, especially when they are taxing. A careful discrimination between the things we ought to do and the things merely discretionary would help amazingly. To do well what we ought to do, and to do it when it ought to be done, is a safe maxim.

This subject is of importance enough to engage the thought of the young minister. Each minister should take into consideration his own physical condition, his own mental aptitudes, and plan his work and arrange his time accordingly. He can best do this for himself, yet at the same time he will do well to study the lives of men who have accomplished great things in the world. There are men living who are examples of the care of time and energy of which we are now speaking. The biographies of those who have passed away are also fitting illustrations of the same. Let us study the life of John Wesley, who was remarkable in this respect. How carefully his time was planned is shown in his diaries. The life also of Jonathan Edwards, a quiet and a scholarly man, who used his time well, and whose works are almost an astonishment to the reader, is worthy to be emulated. Statesmen innumerable would likewise afford illustrations of the point we are now urging, namely, the value of a suitable arrangement of our time and the proper care of our physical, mental, and spiritual power.

## ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

## THE "ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA" AND CRITICISM.

PARADOXICAL as it may sound, we risk the remark that no theologian in the English-speaking world, in recent years, has done more for sober and sound biblical criticism than Canon Cheyne, the editor in chief of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. This author, posing as the advocate of free thought and rational biblical exegesis, has stood for the past twenty years or more in the closed ranks, may we not say, in the vanguard of the historical biblical critics. He has written with such daring, and has become the exponent of the most radical teachings regarding the Holy Scriptures, that many of those who had championed his cause are amazed, dazed, and disgusted, and are beginning to see the real nature of the barren desert into which this apostle of evolutionary destructive criticism has led them. It is no wonder, therefore, that many are wisely retracing their steps in order to find a more solid foundation upon which to rest their faith. It is because of this reaction that we credit Canon Cheyne with having done so much for sound biblical criticism and evangelical religion. There was a time when he marched side by side with Robertson Smith, but soon he found more congenial company in the society of Wellhausen, the sage of Halle, or now of Göttingen.

To appreciate the distance between Cheyne and Robertson Smith one has only to compare the articles on biblical subjects in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Those of Smith are conservative in contrast with the latest utterances of Canon Cheyne. We have no desire to criticise the *Encyclopædia Biblica* unduly, or to depreciate the value of the many fine articles written in this great work. Some of them are models in every sense of the word, especially those on geography, natural history, domestic and national customs, and kindred topics, where the writer has to cling to facts. The work, nevertheless, is a very dangerous one to fall into the hands of the untrained biblical student, or of young men and young women who have come into contact with teachers who lose no opportunity to sneer at orthodoxy. Such men are found even in nominally Christian schools. Indeed, the saddest thing about this book is that it proceeds from an ordained minister of the Anglican Church, who, no doubt, often leads a congregation in the prayers of the Church of England, wherein the inspiration of the Scriptures is taught and the belief in the deity of Jesus Christ is clearly expressed. If we understand the position of the editor of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* aright, both these cardinal doctrines of the Christian Church are denied.

The publishing of this new Bible dictionary will lead many persons to see that Canon Cheyne and his school cannot be trusted as religious

leaders. The advanced ideas of the most radical critics have been largely incorporated in this encyclopedia, and, directly, it will prove of immense value to the Church. It has already served as an eye opener to many who were on the edge of a precipice. It has not only called a halt, but has caused a hasty retreat. Numberless protests have gone up from pulpit and press, and the warnings are proving beneficial.

The question is no longer whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch, or whether there were only one or two or a dozen Isaiahs, but rather whether the Bible is any different from any other book. It is no longer whether the first chapters of Genesis and the story of Israel in Egypt and the wilderness contain history, but whether the doctrine of the incarnation, the miraculous birth and resurrection of Jesus Christ can be accepted as facts worthy of our faith. Or, as Dr. Dale puts it, "It is not a theory of ecclesiastical polity which is in danger, it is not a theological system, it is not a creed, it is not the Old Testament or the New, but the claim of Christ himself to be the Son of God and the Saviour of mankind. The real question is, Is Christendom to believe in Christ any longer or no?" But lest we misrepresent the work we criticise let it speak for itself.

We read in the preface of Vol. I that the sympathy of the editors is "upon the whole with advanced criticism, without any desire 'to boycott' moderate criticism when a critic has something original to say." Professor Smith is classed with the moderate critics, and we are told that had he lived to the present time the probability is "his ardor would have waned and his precedence passed to others." We are also told that his articles in the *Britannica* are not advanced enough for the present state of criticism. Hence the numerous revisions.

Professor Cheyne feels the lack of a scientific handbook of New Testament theology, for, according to him, we have no such at present. "Unfortunately," says he, "the literary and historical criticism of the New Testament is by no means as far advanced as that of the Old Testament." This sentence was doubtless written before Professor Schmiedel's article on the gospels had been written. As might be expected, most of Genesis is regarded as poetical, legendary, or mythical, without even a trace of historical basis. Even very radical critics till recently regarded Abraham and most of the patriarchs after him as real historical characters, but Canon Cheyne assures us that Abraham is "not so much an historic personage as an ideal type of character." . . . "The traditions regarding him in Gen. xi, 27-xxv, 18, are certainly not historical but legendary. The framework of the narrative may be derived from myths and legends, but the spirit comes from the ideals stored up in the minds of the narrators." We are therefore not to regard Abraham as a person who really lived, even though there may be a kernel of tradition in the narrative. The marriage of Abraham and Sarah is a symbol of a political fusion "between a southern Israelitish tribe and non-Israelitish clans to the south of Hebron. The relation of Abraham and Hagar has a political

meaning for the close intercourse between Egypt, Palestine, and parts of Arabia. The separation of Abraham and Lot may be but a foreshadowing of the separation of Israel and Moab.

Isaac: "It is customary to suppose that Isaac was originally at once a tribal name and a divine title." At any rate, he was a deity worshiped by the pastoral tribes as "the divine patron of Beer-sheba."

"Ishmael, the son of Abram, is the personification of a group of tribes who were regarded as near kinsmen of the Israelites." And Hagar is likewise "no doubt a personification of a tribe or district." That she appears "as the slave woman is a necessary consequence of the theory upon which the Hebrew myth is based."

Jacob is the name, "not of an individual, but of the imaginary ancestor of a tribe."

Joseph: The writer of the story of Joseph "had to write the life of the founder of the people of Israel, how, therefore, could we expect even a moderate degree of historical impartiality?"

The article on Israel is written by Professor Guthe, of Leipsic. He tells us that the fully organized Israel of the land of Canaan did not exist at the beginning of the wilderness journey, but that several of the tribes came together later. Which of the twelve tribes visited Egypt is not known, but as several of them had no existence previous to the exodus, all of them did not. The object of the narrative concerning this period is purely didactic. Moses, a shepherd in the service of Jethro, was not the author of the Pentateuch, nor lawgiver in the traditional sense. He probably did establish some laws which served as precedents in later ages, but what these were no one can tell.

Joshua: "The historical character of Joshua as an individual is doubtful. Whether the name Joshua is a pure invention or has its origin in a clan name, the actions ascribed to Joshua are purely legendary." So much for the Old Testament. Let us now briefly turn over to the New. Whoever has followed the critics during the past few years has been compelled to see that the most radical of them had no sympathy with revealed religion. They have gone on from step to step, until they reject both prophecy and miracles, not only in the Old but also in the New Testament. They talk eloquently of the divinity of Jesus, while rejecting the deity of Christ. They will hear nothing of the preexistence, miraculous conception, and resurrection of Christ, nor of the doctrines of the Holy Spirit, conversion, and regeneration.

The article on faith in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* has no reference to the atonement, the death, or resurrection of our Saviour. The article on Jesus by the late Dr. A. B. Bruce is not disappointing, for we have no right to expect anything in this book at variance with Unitarian doctrines. The life of Jesus is written much in the same spirit as would be the life of any good man and great teacher. Dr. Bruce has not a word to say of the birth of our Lord, the angelic appearances are passed over in silence. In speaking of the passion of Christ he says, "Even in its most historic

version, it is not pure truth, but truth mixed with doubtful legend." He admits that the primitive disciples believed that Jesus rose from the dead on the third day. In speaking of the gospels he says that they "are of a varying value from an historical point of view," and adds that many critics think the gospel of John "is the least trustworthy, as a source, both of the acts and words of Jesus." No one of the four gospels possesses a uniform degree of historical probability. Whether Dr. Bruce believed in the miraculous element in Christ's life is more than we can say. Evidently, however, the question of miracles was distasteful to him. In speaking of the healing ministry of Jesus he says, "Whether miraculous or not, whether the works of a mere man, or of one who is a man and more, these healing acts are a revelation of the love of Jesus." Dr. Bruce did not reach these negative results at once, but very gradually. His course shows the dangers of evolutionary destructive criticism.

But probably the most objectionable article so far published in the encyclopedia is that on the gospels by Dr. Schmiedel. Here we have a splendid illustration of a critic applying Old Testament methods to the New. The critics have told us that the Pentateuch is a patchwork, without a single line of undoubted Mosaic origin. And now Christ is ruled out of the gospels, for, according to this learned Zurich professor, the gospels, like the Pentateuch, are a bad mixture of fiction, allegory, and metaphor. They have less than half a dozen absolutely credible passages about Jesus. These are: (1) "Why callest thou me good? none is good save one, even God" (Mark x, 18). (2) The passage in Matt. xii, 31 f., where we read that blasphemy against the Son of man can be forgiven. (3) The passage in Mark iii, 31, where it is said that Jesus's relatives held him to be beside himself. (4) The passage in Mark xiii, 32, which reads, "Of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." (5) "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Matt. xxvii, 46.) To these he adds four passages (Mark viii, 12; vi, 5; Matt. xi, 5; Luke vii, 22). The object of these four is to show that Christ did not work miracles. The professor does not deny the possibility of miracles, but says that everyone must have some doubt of the gospel account of them, "for it is not entitled to implicit acceptance." There were doubtless marvelous cures and some revivifications. But the accounts are greatly exaggerated. Often what was simply a metaphor or allegory is stated as a fact. This was the case in regard to the raising of Lazarus and the woman's son. The accounts we have of the resurrection of Jesus are so conflicting as to render belief in them impossible. It will be seen that the author is not in sympathy with evangelical doctrines.

The book will do no great harm, indeed it will be productive of much good; for it reveals the real animus as well as the untenable teachings of the more radical destructive critics.

**MISSIONARY REVIEW.****THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT IN KOREA.**

THE Koreans are astir in the matter of accepting Christianity. This causes comment among non-Christian Koreans. Some attempt to analyze and condemn the motives of those abandoning their patriarchal faith. We find, translated to our hand, a specimen of this sort of invective from the daily newspaper published in Seoul, the capital of the country. There are twenty indictments, if one may so call them, or natural, secular, and selfish reasons why Koreans become Christians: (1) Because others told them to; (2) to get the sugar promised for doing so; (3) to obtain medicine; (4) to obtain money; (5) to secure better official position; (6) because their parents did so; (7) to get power; (8) to escape the tax collector; (9) to get away from the jurisdiction of the prefect; (10) to escape from the persecution of the peddler's guild; (11) to escape the private taxation; (12) to escape taxation; (13) to get quit of the continual importunities of Christians to join their ranks; (14) to escape arrest; (15) to be able to steal with impunity; (16) to escape the consequences of having been a Tong Hak (we do not understand what this means); (17) to have an opportunity to play; (18) because many handsome women have entered the Church; (19) because they say, "I shall see heaven;" (20) in order to have an opportunity to ride upon the clouds and see the Four Seas.

Some of these allusions are to the practices of Roman Catholic priests, who secure political and other privileges to their converts, and work mischief thereby, just as they have done in China, and as they originally did in Japan till the nation drove them from the land. In connection with this movement edicts were posted everywhere against any Christian coming to Japan—edicts which have only recently been removed or become inoperative.

That there may be ground for some of these specifications is quite supposable. Few men in any country have wholly unmixed motives, and the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions are treated *en bloc* in this editorial, while they are far from being parallel in their aims or motives, their methods or results. Even the best of these converts are not, presumably, mature saints, with centuries of heathen influences in their veins, and it is not quite fair to expect of them a higher average of Christian experience, motive, or living than obtains in the best communions at home. We can perhaps do no better in the way of rejoinder to these charges than to refer those having access to the *Korean Review*, published monthly in Seoul, Korea, as a general literary, secular, and religious magazine, to the June number for 1901, page 263, for some assuring statements made editorially, having no

reference to the statements of the daily paper alluded to. The editor says that in fifteen years past between eight and ten thousand Koreans have joined the Christian Churches of the Protestant communion of that land, including men of every class from the highest to the lowest. In the majority of instances their uniting with Christians has occasioned them pecuniary sacrifice. These adherents have contributed generously of their money to build chapels and schools in scores of country villages, and have suffered financial loss from their observance of the Sabbath. They have rejected the custom of concubinage, broken down the barriers of caste, discouraged child marriage, destroyed their fetiches, established schools, published books, and have given almost as much money, in proportion to their means, as the average of nominally Christian people in any other country in the world for the Indian Famine Relief. Not more than two per cent of them have received salaries out of foreign funds, and then only for value received. We do not wonder that the editor concludes that these results are worth the money and the labor expended, judged wholly from a sociological standpoint, and that he considers them unaccountable, except as the result of a moral and spiritual change. He is warranted in his hopefulness that the peculiar power which has wrought these results will be self-propagating on a larger scale in the future, and that it will ultimately change vastly for the better the whole social fabric of Korea. The results already wrought are wonderful in view of the comparatively small pittance of missionary money contributed by Christian lands to the mission work in the Land of the Morning Calm. Presbyterians and Methodists of America have been the chief Protestant agents in the inauguration of this cheering work, which has developed with surprising rapidity combined with self-reliance and self-propagation.

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#### PROHIBITION OF MISSIONARIES IN THE SOUDAN.

It is widely known that Lord Kitchener secured a prohibition of missionaries entering the Soudan after the subjugation of the Mahdi. As a military measure of temporary force there would be little disposition to controvert his judgment, but the extension of this limitation to a settled state of civil rule puts the British government in a remarkable attitude as the exponent of religious liberty. It is the more worthy of attention in view of the outright failure of a similar policy in India under the East India Company's rule, and the administration by a governor general. That company at first sought to prevent any missionary from attempting to evangelize the people, and drove Newell and Judson beyond their bounds. The terrible vengeance which was visited on this policy by the Indian mutiny wrecked the company, and the new order of religious neutrality was inaugurated. This has never been the cause of any serious antagonism by the non-Christian populations of India. They respect rulers who are consistent Christians and who seek



to justly administer the policy of religious freedom. The strength of the British government in India lies in its wise and impartial administration according to this principle. No European ever gained such respect and influence among the peoples of the Upper Nile as Gordon, whom they all knew as a devout and zealous Christian, and who even asked the Bishop of Exeter if he, Gordon, might baptize the people in the absence of clergymen.

A writer in the *London Times* in 1900, well versed in all the conditions, writing on the "Opening of the Soudan," said: "It was the followers of the Mahdi who murdered Gordon. It was the Mahdi whose tomb and body we destroyed. It was to heal this feud, to atone for all this violence, to bear the reconciling Christian message to the Mahdists that the missionaries sought to enter the Soudan. It is this work that they have been forbidden to attempt."

Admiration has been expressed at the enlightened policy of the British in the Soudan in its exceeding impartiality exhibited in the departments of finance and justice, and the Christian public of Great Britain wish to see the same attitude taken in the department of religion. Strict impartiality is the correct attitude for the Soudan, where the population is divided in its religious convictions. Prohibition of missionary work in the Soudan is inconsistent with religious neutrality, which Britons have stoutly proclaimed in their colonies. It has been subject of criticism that even in lower Egypt the government has failed in justice to the Christian Copts, who number one in ten of the population, in that it provides schools where the Koran is taught and does not so provide for schools where the Bible is taught.

We, in common with the Protestant world, feel, with the *Times* correspondent already quoted, that "it is to be hoped that the government may eventually see its way to modify" its restrictions of missionary work up the Nile valleys, for it is not easy to point to more successful missionary work than that of Americans from Cairo to Khartoum.

The Church of England Missionary Society, which does not propose to let this restriction continue without protest, memorialized the principal secretary for foreign affairs upon the position of their society in the Egyptian Soudan. It is interesting to note their line of argument. They claim that the principle of religious liberty involves the right to engage in missionary work in any part of the British dominions or spheres of influence which are not subject to treaty limitations. Any Christian ought to have the right to become a Moslem, and any Moslem to become a Christian; any Moslem missionary ought to be free to preach Islam, and any Christian missionary to preach the Gospel, subject only to necessary regulations for preserving the peace. They fail to see that the policy of restriction of missionary effort in the Egyptian Soudan is either necessary or wise. The precedent of the Punjab is the basis of their argument. Here was a

fanatical Moslem community, recently conquered, among whom the British government permitted the missionaries freely to enter. Their officers contributed to the success of the enterprise, and designed and erected necessary buildings for the missions. Even at Peshawar, among the fiercest of Moslem populations, the missions received the direct sanction and cooperation of the British commissioner. No evil results followed, and the Punjab became the strongest arm of defense of the British in the mutiny. His province has ever since remained one of the most peaceful and prosperous provinces in all India. The distinguished men who ruled it were pronounced in their religious profession and proclivities, and Moslems, Sikhs, and Hindus came to know their strict impartiality in dealing with all religions. The society asserts that the perils in the Egyptian Soudan against adopting a similar policy there cannot be greater than those of the Punjab in 1849. And they believe it would be wise to substitute that course for the present one of restriction.

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ATTENTION has been turned with renewed interest to the sources from which the Koran was derived. Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, a missionary of Persia, has published a pamphlet recently showing how many of the rites and ceremonies of the Koran were borrowed from pagan Arabs, how much of it are distinctly of Jewish origin, and what was derived from Christian heresy. He carries his research into fields less commonly entered to trace even the elements of Zoroastrianism and other ancient faiths. Sir William Muir (*The Nineteenth Century*, December, 1900) thinks the successful exposition of the actual sources whence Mohammed compiled his so-called revelations tends to cause his claims to fall to the ground. Mr. Tisdall has at least placed in the hands of missionaries to Mohammedans a keen-edged weapon, but experience has tended to show that controversy is of comparatively small avail in winning Moslems to Christ. It has its value, however, but this work of Mr. Tisdall's will be of interest to many Christian students. The title is *Yanabi ul Islam*. It would have its worth if rendered into English, for a class of readers unacquainted with Persian.

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WILL the Methodist Church realize sufficient encouragement from the utterance of the Lord Bishop of Newcastle about the success of American missions in India, to rally to our India work, so that it may not be necessary to part with large sections of it because we cannot sustain it without larger appropriations? The archbishop said, "God has blessed our labors in India, and yet so far more has America realized the need of winning India to Christ that, a hundred years hence, if England and America send out missionaries to India in the same proportion as during the past thirty years, India will owe its Christianity more to America, with its various Christian bodies than to all the societies of Great Britain and Ireland combined."

## FOREIGN OUTLOOK

## SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

**Emil Sulze.** He made his reputation among Germans in 1892 by his work on the Evangelical Congregation. Here we take him as a representative of a certain type of theological thinking as portrayed in his recent work, entitled *Wie ist der Kampf um die Bedeutung der Person und des Wirkens Jesu zu been digen?* (How shall the Dispute concerning the Significance of the Person and Work of Jesus be brought to an End?) Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. Were it not for the danger of being misunderstood as a fling at the author, it would be proper to say that he thinks the dispute can be ended only by having all come to his opinion of Christology, which amounts, in fact, to robbing Christ of his place at the center of the Christian system. According to Sulze, Jesus was one of a series of human beings who have been given the new life direct from God, whence all must receive it if they are to have it. The principal difference between Jesus and others is that he had this life in the highest degree. Turning to the question of the dispute, it is, to say the least, doubtful whether anything would be gained were it ended. The controversies that are now raging certainly indicate that Jesus is the greatest and most important personage in all history to all thinking persons. Theologians do not especially wish for the ending of these controversies. Religionists can keep their feeling for Christ alive only by clearly conceiving him in their thought, and if controversy were at an end concerning him, one of the best means to the desired result would be lacking. The most that can be wished for in this direction would be a change, so that either one of a couple of views of Christ might be religiously fruitful. But neither the thorough theologian nor the religionist will be satisfied with Sulze's theory of the person and work of Christ. According to him the strongest antichristian force of to-day is atheism, and atheism in turn he regards as the result of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity and of the Atonement, the former as destroying any vital concept of God, and the latter as destroying our sense of moral responsibility. This view of the origin of atheism is plainly erroneous, since atheism is not a reaction against a certain view of God, but a product of certain theories of the origin of the world and the nature of man. Before there was a doctrine of Trinitarianism there was atheism. Besides, it is a singular oversight in Sulze when he does not see that in proportion as the doctrine of Unitarianism is prominent in any community atheism, theoretical and practical, prevails. Doubtless it is true that often the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity is held in such a way as to render its virtue as a religious nutritive void; but there is no form of the denial of the Trinity whose logical outcome is not

destructive of vital piety. Fortunately many such deniers are logically inconsistent, and their piety is saved.

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**Johannes Weiss.** In a recent review of a book by Professor Arthur Titius (see *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1901, Nr. 10, Spalt 259-264) he discusses the relation of the teaching of Paul to that of Jesus. Titius had undertaken to show that the relationship was that of dependence on the part of Paul. Weiss admits that Titius has succeeded in showing the similarity of the religious and ethical views of Paul to those of Jesus, and even that he has brought out new facts in this regard. Still he thinks that the accord between Paul and Jesus is not as great as Titius holds, and that the harmony in many instances is made to depend upon doubtful interpretations. Then, too, he suggests that in many instances of apparent harmony between Paul and Jesus there is no sufficient reason to regard Paul as dependent upon Jesus, but rather to suppose that both were affected by the common religious atmosphere. He thinks we know the Judaism of that time too imperfectly to assert with any great definiteness what was absolutely new in the teaching of Jesus. The whole domain is so uncertain that he inclines to skepticism rather than assurance as to Paul's dependence upon Jesus. Taking up specific points, Weiss says that Paul's doctrine of the compassion of God toward the sinner, and of divine grace, are almost wholly wanting in the recorded teaching of Jesus. We do not admit the truth of this; but if it were a fact, it would not prove that Paul was independent of Jesus, but merely that he was not dependent in this particular instance. Again, he says that Jesus's conception of God is more harmonious, peaceful, and humane than that of Paul, and compares in proof the saying of Jesus that God lets the sun shine upon the evil and the good with the expression of Paul regarding vessels of grace and of wrath. He finds in the idea of the filial relation to God as taught respectively by Jesus and Paul a distinct difference: with the former it is something natural and easily acquired; with the latter it is reached only by struggle. Also in God as Father of Jesus Christ Weiss sees a difference between Jesus and Paul, the former making it a natural relationship, the latter making it depend upon the will of God. These illustrations will suffice to exhibit the position of Weiss. It must be noted that in no instance is there a contradiction between Paul and Jesus, but merely such a variation of the putting as tended to accomplish the specific end that each had in view. Weiss is noted for his emphasis on the religious atmosphere as influencing Jesus, and he now applies the same theory to Paul; but unless it be supposed that Jesus expected his disciples to follow his teachings slavishly, Paul could not have come closer to the teaching of Jesus. The great reason, however, for thinking that Paul got his ideas from Jesus rather than from the general religious atmosphere is that Paul was a disciple of Jesus and naturally got his teaching from him.

## RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

**Glaubensregel, Heilige Schrift und Taufbekenntniss. Untersuchungen über die dogmatische Autorität, ihr Werden und ihre Geschichte, vornemlich in der alten Kirche** (The Rule of Faith, Holy Scriptures, and Baptismal Confession. Researches concerning the Origin and History of the Authority of Dogmas, especially in the Ancient Church). By Johannes Kunze. Leipzig, Dörffling and Franke, 1899. The early Church continues to be a subject of prime interest to Church historians, and since the renewal of the controversy relative to the origin of the Apostles' Creed a few years ago works bearing on that general theme have been numerous. Of these the book by Kunze is one of the best. His investigations have led him to the opinion that the first real occasion for a rule of faith in the Church, arose in connection with Marcion and the Gnostics generally, and that the rule of faith was the so-called Apostles' Creed. From the very first, or at any rate after the apostolic age, the Church had its sacred Scriptures and its Baptismal confession. These, however, were not mechanically unchangeable in form. Substantially the Church everywhere had the same Old and New Testament writings, and everywhere the Church baptized only when a confession of faith had been made which was essentially the same in all places, and corresponded closely to what is known as the old Roman symbol. The Baptismal Confession was the briefest possible summary of the contents of the Holy Scriptures, and was used on occasions when the individual wished to sum up briefly what the Church believed. By reference to the Scriptures the formula could be enlarged as needed for polemical purposes. Or it could be abbreviated by reducing it to the threefold divine name of the formula of baptism. Even the Gnostics had the same sacred Scriptures as the orthodox Christians and no others; while they used the same formula of baptism as the orthodox. To the writer of this review this seems exceedingly doubtful.

The Gnostics, if we may trust Eusebius and other early writers, had Scriptures not used by the orthodox, and there were certainly some of the heretics who baptized differently from the orthodox. Kunze held also that the Church emphasized in opposition to the heretics that no secret tradition was valid alongside of the Scripture tradition, and that in the writings which were read in the meetings for divine worship there was contained the whole treasure of apostolic doctrine; also that the creed or confession, in its plain meaning, was adapted to be a guide to each Christian as to the contents of the Old and New Testaments. Thus up to the fourth century the Scripture was really the standard of doctrine for the Church; but after the Council of Nice the symbol or creed took the place of Scripture. From that time on Tertullian's idea prevailed, that heresy must be measured and fought by the use of the creed. Thus the Scripture was supplanted, with all the evil attending upon that outcome.

**The Case of Göhre.** That a pastor should forfeit his rights and immunities by voluntarily severing his connection with the German State Church is a comparatively small matter. One among the thousands would scarcely be missed. But Göhre's case involves a principle which raises it to a place of the first significance. For a long time Göhre had sympathized deeply with the laboring classes of Germany and with the aims of the Social Democrats so far as the elevation of the masses was concerned. Still he professedly held fast to Christianity. As time went on he became convinced that there was a vast difference between the Church and religion, and that the union of the Church and State was the chief hindrance to a revival of interest in Christianity among the Social Democrats. Thus his sympathies remained with the Social Democrats on the one side and with Christianity on the other, while they became less and less influential in binding him to the Church. Being invited by the ecclesiastical authorities to give up that which he no longer prized, namely, the position of a minister in the State Church, he granted their request. Göhre had felt that the laboring classes were in large measure finally lost to the Church. If there was any doubt in the minds of others, that doubt must now be removed. It is wholly unlikely that the Social Democrats will understand the polite invitation of the Church authorities to Göhre to resign his ministerial calling because of his attitude toward them as anything short of a declaration that the Church has no mission to them as long as they remain Social Democrats. The breach appears hopeless. But while it is probable that the State Church has finally lost the adherence of the vast numbers who adhere to Social Democracy, it is within the bounds of possibility and even of probability that they will be more open to the influence of Christianity than before. If Göhre will remain a true Christian as well as a friend of the laboring classes, he may yet do far more for the establishment of the kingdom of Christ than he could have done as a minister of the State Church.

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#### RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

**Der Ursprung des Monchthums** (The Origin of Monasticism). By Daniel Völter. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1900. The question discussed in this book is far more important from the practical point of view than it at first sight appears to be. Monasticism in its manifestations during the Middle Ages was simply organized asceticism. So that the all-important question is, whether there was anything in the teaching of Jesus or in the proclamation of the Gospel by the earliest Christians which would necessarily lead to monasticism. In other words, whether the New Testament records contain an ascetic element. Völter rejects all theories hitherto offered in explanation of the origin of monasticism as being insufficient and one-sided. He regards the *Vita Antonii* as the work of Athanasius, but he thinks it must be very cautiously

used as a source of information; especially since our Greek text is nothing but a modified form of the original. Coming to the question of the work attributed to Philo, *de vita contemplation*, as a source of information relative to the origin of monasticism, Völter holds that Philo is not its author, that it arose about the middle of the second century, and that it was the work of a Judaistic-Hellenistic reformer, having nothing to do with the origin of Christian monasticism. Völter is of the opinion that the ascetic impulse so early manifest in the Church is not sufficient to account for monasticism, although he admits that the unsatisfactory ecclesiastical situation gave intensity to that impulse. This ecclesiastical situation did not, therefore, according to Völter, cause the world-fleeing tendency. Nor will Neoplatonism nor the monasticism of the serapis cult explain the introduction of monasticism into the life of the Church, though both of them have their significance. It is the belief of Völter that the Circumcellions of North Africa, of whom we hear in connection with the Donatist controversy, will help us in discovering the origin of monasticism in Christian circles. These Circumcellions were ascetics who renounced marriage and who wandered from place to place in large unorganized bands denouncing all political, civil, and social institutions with fanatical hate as the kingdom of Satan. It is plain that this was in large measure a socialistic movement, and hence Völter concludes that monasticism is in a good degree originally a chapter out of the history of the great social question. In other words, monasticism was born in that instant in which the social degradation of the time, or rather the consciousness of it, was united with the ascetic tendency. That Völter has given us a couple of new suggestions here there can be no doubt. Perhaps, also, they have considerable value. It certainly appears probable that a combination of ascetic tendency, discontent with the Church, and a sense of the miseries of the social life of the time would better account for the world-fleeing disposition than would the first two causes without the addition of the last. Still the connection with the Circumcellions does not seem to explain anything except the union of these three elements, while the Circumcellion phenomena differ so widely from monasticism as to raise more difficulties than they explain.

**SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.**

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*The Bookman* (New York) for August notices at some length Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer's book, *Robert Annys, Poor Priest. A Tale of the Great Uprising*, published by The Macmillan Company. The great uprising referred to in the title is the movement in England toward the close of the fourteenth century, the movement of which Wat Tyler, John Ball, and Jack Straw were the best known leaders; an uprising the immediate cause of which was the dire poverty, at that time, of English artisans and laborers, and the purpose of which was to abolish villinage and the oppressive capitation tax and obnoxious restrictions which had been put upon commerce and upon the free migration from place to place of persons in search of manual employment. At the period pictured in Mrs. Meyer's book the teachings of Wyclif and the Lollards had excited indignation against those churchmen whose proud and luxurious lives showed an insolent indifference to the sufferings of the miserably poor. Robert Annys is a priest, a high-strung, imaginative man, who championed the cause of the despised and suffering peasantry, and in defiance of ecclesiastical authority urged on the great insurrection, not to despoil the rich nor to overthrow the state, but to reach and rouse the conscience of the king so that he would take notice of the woes of his poorest subjects and afford them redress and relief. *The Bookman* thinks the most impressive figure in the book is Thomas of Ely, the great bishop, loyal alike to his Church and to his country, an English patriot though a devout Catholic, wise, gentle, far-seeing, liberal, and patient, recognizing the weaknesses of our common humanity, and willing to work with imperfect instruments toward the attainment of perfection. His answer to the defiant appeal of Robert Annys is called a noble apologia for the Church, and contains such words as these: "The Church is a more intricate matter than any one Book or any one Rule. Why, think you, was it that the wolves of the North, as St. Jerome well calls them, those wild tribes of Franks and Burgundians, of Vandals and Goths and Visigoths, savage as was their onslaught, yet paused in the face of Rome? Was it not because the churchmen at that critical time were not idle dreamers, but the greatest statesmen the world ever saw? Was it not to the early bishops that the world was forced to look for its strong counselors and rulers when the reins of government were slipping from the weak hands of all others? . . . If the people have wrongs, they should be righted from within the Church. They have no better friend than the Church. It has been the one institution which has cared for the individual, sought him out, and conferred upon him inestimable benefits, temporal and spiritual, while asking of him only such service as he could well render it. In its bosom it has held the divine spark of the doctrine of the equality of all



men, and has kept it there and protected it in ages when the world was not yet ready for it. The Church has preserved and cherished it until it will some day be a flame great enough to light the torch of universal freedom."

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*The Fortnightly Review* (London and New York) for September prints "An Open Letter to Lord Rosebery" from an evident admirer, who appeals to Rosebery on behalf of England's needs. It would be interesting to overhear Mr. Chamberlain's mental comments on this letter, which says to Rosebery: "You are both the apostle and the martyr of Liberal unity. . . . The country is acquainted with your general ideas, which it has found so fresh, suggestive, and quickening. All the stimulation that your eloquent and pungent commentary on political conditions and ideals can exert has already been exercised. You have added more ideas to contemporary politics than anyone since Lord Beaconsfield. What the country desires from you now are constructive proposals, a definite program, and the potent leadership, which not only formulates general principles with the imagination, humor, and magnetic force you possess, but fastens upon particular methods. Your message to the country has been, 'Action, Action, Action!' And that is now the message of the country to you. . . . The only personality through which Liberalism can hope to appeal to the nation against Mr. Chamberlain's is yours. The characteristic moral force of Liberalism in the past depended on its power to search the national conscience. Mr. Chamberlain's profound deficiency is the entire absence of that power. The place of ethical fervor, believe me, has not passed away from politics. Beyond all men prominent in public life, except Mr. John Morley, you have the authentic impulse born of social insight and sympathy. When you plead for the wretched, the suffering, the poor, you move men, you agitate. In that mood of eloquence you can trouble and lift the heart of the nation with something of the lyric cry, communicating a fine inspiration to the imperial idea. England needs you if the clotted Philistinism of a vulgar and vaunting sense of Empire is to be displaced and dissolved." The letter then points out to Lord Rosebery that England's school facilities should be made similar and equal to those of Germany; that there is now a sounder basis than ever before for temperance legislation which should be necessary to national efficiency and to the soundness of the empire at the heart; that better housing of the working classes and prompt removal of condemned tenements is an urgent matter; and that in South Africa there ought to be federation at the earliest possible moment after the war, substituting a British ideal of unity for the republican ideal of separation. In the same number W. H. Mallock begins a discussion of "Religion and Science at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century," in which Haeckel is put forward as the spokesman for science, and it is represented that the opposition of science to religion is not, to-day, that of a materialistic doctrine to a

spiritual, but of a monistic doctrine to a dualistic. The battle of monist and dualist rages over the problem of the origin of life and the problem of the beginning of consciousness. And the solution and deciding of those problems is supposed both by monists, like Haeckel, and by dualists, like the theologians, to have much to do with the question of the validity of religion. But Mallock insists that the questions over which monist and dualist are contending have no bearing whatever on the problems of religion. If the dualist proves his point, it does not validate the postulates of theistic religion—a conscious, righteous, benevolent God, an immortal human soul, and eternal moral relations between God and man. And if the monist proves his view, he will do nothing whatever toward destroying what Haeckel calls the “three great buttresses” of religion—a personal God, an immortal soul, and a will free and independent, not controlled by the natural causes which control the inorganic and lower organic world. Mr. Mallock asserts that the controversy between religion and science begins *not* with the phenomena of life, *but* with the doctrine of *a life that is immortal*; *not* with the fact and phenomena of consciousness, *but* with the doctrine that *the will is free*. And we may add that the whole question of man's nature and possible destiny pivots down at last upon the question of the freedom of the will. If that freedom be a reality, then man is a being outside of and above the order of the inorganic world and may have an exceptional destiny. If, further, he has a moral and spiritual nature which differentiates him from the brutes, he may have, he is likely to have, a destiny different from and higher than theirs. Such are some of the reasonings which lay the intellectual foundations of religion. An article on the Dowager Empress Frederick, recently deceased, shows that the tragedy of her life was that she was an English woman in Germany, as her father, the prince consort, Albert, was a German in England. She lacked tact, and irritated the Germans by making unpleasant comparisons between things English and things German. She lacked the ability to tolerate disagreeables that constitutes at once the high breeding and genuine *bonhomie* of royal personages. At a military review on the Tempelhofer field she made her footman order a man to cease smoking because the odor annoyed her. Her mother, Queen Victoria, would never have done such a thing; she would not have asserted her authority, and she would have preserved her dignity and composure. The Empress Frederick was generally at odds with Bismarck. Once, when he handed her a glass of water, she said to her lady in waiting, “He has cost me more tears than that glass could hold.” She vexed and embarrassed Bismarck and Von Moltke by trying to postpone and prevent the bombardment of Paris in 1871, when Germany was in danger of losing by such delay one half the fruits of a costly victory. She kept Bismarck always growling against petticoat influences. Mr. Benham's article brutally says that it was counted lucky for Germany that Unser Fritz died so soon after becoming emperor, because of the influence his wife

had over him. There was at one time a marked estrangement between her and her eldest son, the present emperor, because the son distrusted and disliked his mother's influence over his father, believing it harmful to the nation. Because of all this there was little happiness for her or for the German court. Yet, she was pure and high-minded, as even Bismarck conceded, notwithstanding the lifelong hostility between them. He said the old Empress Augusta was untruthful, but that the Princess Frederick was sincere, unaffected, and honorable. And on the grave of Queen Victoria's daughter amid the lakes and trees of Potsdam, as on the mother's at Windsor, there is no shadow of dishonor.

In *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* (New York) for October, the editor, Dr. Gilder, who is himself a constant force for public purity and civic righteousness, writes of "The Desperate Plight of New York City." He says that the condition of affairs in our American metropolis, the second city of the world in wealth and population, is such as would not be tolerated in any European city; that, if it were discovered in London that the heads of police in that city were blackmailing every form of vice, and being supported in the infamy by the ruling powers of the community, throngs of aroused citizens would quickly converge on Trafalgar Square and the Mansion House, and before the scandal was many hours old every official even indirectly implicated would have his resignation, or his official head, in the basket, or the British throne itself would begin to shake. Of Croker, the brigand chief, who loots New York, avowedly "working all the time for his own pocket," and then, more wary and cunning than Tweed, retires with his plunder to the safe shelter of the British throne, Dr. Gilder says that he is an unparalleled example of political power and audacity, an absentee autocrat ruling three millions of American citizens from his favorite seat beyond the sea, returning to the city he governs only now and then at harvest time to gather more spoils and insure the perpetuation of his absolute control. Most of the time he hides safely in an English paradise, denies himself to all except a few favored lieutenants who have the password to his lair, delegates others to serve as his proxy in the prison cell where he belongs, and makes and unmakes by a word the men who collect millions of tribute alike from those who want merely the privilege of obeying the laws in peace and from those purveyors of vice who desire peacefully to break the laws. New York city is now engaged in a desperate effort to overthrow this malignant mastery at the ballot box. Soon after this is printed the result of the tremendous struggle will be known. In the same number of *The Century* Mrs. Maria S. Porter writes of Thomas William Parsons, of whom O. W. Holmes said: "Parsons is appreciated by scholars; his genius is greatly admired in England and Italy. His absorbing study of Dante has given him his felicity of style and the exquisite art of his work. He has written some poems finer than any other American poet has produced."

## BOOK NOTICES.

## RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

*The Fact of Christ.* By P. CARNEGIE SIMPSON, M.A., Minister of Renfield Church, Glasgow. 12mo, pp. 188. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

Intellectually clear, logically strong, and morally cogent are these lectures delivered to a pastor's class which met on Sunday evenings after service. If lectures to a class are of this quality, what are the sermons from the pulpit of Renfield Church? One longs to read some of them. For practical value this is one of the most useful of books; a mine of available truth for the minister, and on the level of popular comprehension. The central, overshadowing fact of the world and history and life and religion is Christ. The author makes this convincingly clear and transcendently significant. Christianity offers not theories so much as facts, not doctrine so much as data. The first chapter deals inductively with those data. Greatest among those data is the Fact of Christ, undeniable, indestructible, immensely significant, meaning more than any other fact can mean. The first meaning of the Fact of Christ is seen in Christian character produced by it in men, and in the moral motive power which it furnishes and imparts to human life. The further meaning of the Fact of Christ is in the foundation which it affords for faith, and in the proof it gives that "the Word was God." The final meaning of the Fact of Christ is in its relation to the reality of sin and to the problem of forgiveness. (Under this head the principles of the Atonement are set forth, giving it a jural significance, as enabling God to forgive without compromise of the moral order of the universe.) The closing lecture illuminates the question, "What is a Christian?" George H. Lewes, in his *History of Philosophy*, dismissed religion from the realm of verifiable knowledge because of "its inability to furnish knowledge with any available data." But in the Fact of Christ there are data enough to build religion on as a solid superstructure upon a firm foundation. Agnosticism can be driven back by Christ and the data contained in him. The philosophical mind discusses Christianity as the manifestation of eternal truths of the reason; and that it surely is. The practical mind discusses it mainly as a moral ideal and motive; and that it truly is. But Jesus presented religion to men by asking, "Whom say ye that I am?" as if faith should begin at him. And that is just where it can begin, and not faith only, but apologetics also, the reasoned evidences of religion. Christ is the key with which we can unlock the doors of all the soul's great problems and the mind's mysteries. Jesus alone of all teachers ever known presents himself as the answer to every question, the sufficient object of every search. When a man is inquiring the way to eternal life Christ

says, "Follow me." When another man desires to see the Father Christ's answer is, "Hast thou not known me?" Men ask for light; he says, "I am the light of the world." They seek truth; he says, "Come unto me." As Herrman says, in his *Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*, "Christ knew no more sacred task than to point men to his own person." And as Keim says, in his *Jesu von Nazara*, "The religion of Christ goes mysteriously back to his person, and this singular fundamental fact alone enables us to understand the religion which sprang from it." Now all this is entirely unparalleled. Excepting Jesus no such commanding master ever confronted men, making himself the text of all that he had to say. Agnosticism is the form mostly taken by unbelief to-day. Voltaire and the Deists, Shaftesbury, Toland, and Bolingbroke, are gone, and do not trouble us any more. For men who care for religion at all the superiority of Christianity is so manifest that it has no rivals. But the agnostics hold that religion and all the things it deals with are matters beyond the possibility of human knowledge. They say, "Who knows about the origin of the universe, and the meaning of life, and the destiny of man?" and, as our author, says, "The more serious of them read Herbert Spencer and make their agnosticism a philosophy, while the more shallow read their Omar Khayyam, and many a troubled soul is left unsatisfied." The cure for agnosticism is Christ, the Great Master of the soul, who practically says to men, "Yes, there are many problems you cannot solve; many things are surmised about which seem far away and unknowable. But here am I, an actual, visible, undeniable Fact. What think ye of me? What will you do with me?" And the Fact of Christ is so extraordinary, so amazing, so tremendously significant, that no man has any right to call himself an agnostic until after he has earnestly, reverently, and exhaustively studied that great Fact. After that he may be an agnostic—if he can. We freely admit that if Christ does not save from agnosticism, then there is no salvation. It should be added just here that when the agnostic deals with the Fact of Christ he should not fail to use the experimental method of investigation in conformity with the instructions given by Bacon, who said, "The question whether anything can be known is to be settled not by arguing, but by trying;" which is only an echo of the Master's words, "He that willeth to do the Will shall know." The Fact of Christ is one which impresses men as nothing else can. Charles Lamb felt this when, referring to Christ, he said, "If Shakespeare should enter this room, we would all rise to meet him; but if He should come in, we would all fall down and try to kiss the hem of his garment." And mighty is this Master for the transforming of human character and the inspiring of human lives. Henry Drummond began his little brochure entitled *The Changed Life* by quoting Huxley's well-known words, "I protest that if some great power would agree to make me always think what is true and do what is right, on condition of being turned into a sort of clock and wound up every morning, I should

instantly close with the offer;" and then Drummond boldly says, in substance, "That offer is made by Christ; without being turned into a sort of clock a man may be so regulated by the Spirit of Christ, if he submits himself to it, as to think what is true and do what is right." Millions who have so thought and done have given the glory of it all to him. "Not I, but Christ," said Paul. The author shows, in the first place, that the original data of Christianity are in Jesus Christ himself; next that Christ is a fact not only of history, but also of present spiritual life and experience; and, inquiring what this Fact means for religion, he finds that it holds meanings of the profoundest kind for character, for faith, and for conscience; it means a new moral life, a real revelation of the living God, and an evangel of assured forgiveness. Dr. Chalmers, a great teacher of the moral bearings of truth, said, "Our chief business with Christianity is to proceed upon it." And the main thing is not to understand Christianity, but to be a Christian. This brings the lecturer in his closing pages to ask, "What is a Christian?" Having found Christianity to be the meaning of the Fact of Christ, he describes a Christian as one who is responding to that meaning. A perfect Christian would be one who perfectly responded to all the meaning of that Fact for thought and feeling and life. But where is the perfect Christian? Paul counted not himself to have apprehended. Luther called himself "almost a Christian." The response which makes a Christian may be real and sincere, even when not perfect. Some, who will call a man a Christian even though his practical response to the meaning of Christ for life and conduct be weak and meager, will yet refuse him the name if his intellectual response to the meanings of Christ for doctrinal belief be not sharply defined and very positive. How is the amount of response necessary to make a Christian to be determined? The character of any man's response in matters of creed and in matters of conduct must be judged in the light of the mental and moral constitution of the individual. Each man's responsibility, intellectual and moral, can be passed upon only in the court of conscience, and therefore only by the Searcher of the conscience, the Trier of the hearts of men. "The Lord knoweth them that are his." A Christian, says the lecturer finally, is one who is responding to whatever meanings of Christ are being brought home to his intellectual and moral nature by the divine Spirit. And this definition covers at once the completest Christianity and the simplest. One man may be able to respond with intellectual assent and practical obedience to *many* of the meanings of Christ for thought and life; another, equally earnest, may be able, by reason of his constitution, circumstances, or ignorance, to respond only to a *few* elementary meanings. Yet both are Christians: one more mature and complete than the other, but not necessarily more true and real. The Christian who has not the full richness of the Christian faith and the full victory of the Christian life is a loser, but not lost. He should be encouraged, not excommunicated. It is not the amount of our attain-

ment in belief or achievement in conduct that the Lord first looks at, but the sincerity of our hearts and the honesty of our purpose. Not the dull, obtuse, and blundering follower of Christ is blamed, but only the careless and unfaithful disciple. On his last pages our preacher asks, "*Why* be a Christian?" and answers briefly thus: "There are two voices which are never long silent in the heart of any serious and thoughtful person. One is a voice within that speaks to a man of himself, of his personal responsibility, character, and destiny. It is a small voice, never overheard in another, easily silenced even in oneself; but in the still hours and solemn experiences of life it speaks out clear and makes us listen. The other is not a small voice. Like the sound of many waters, it is the deep, sad murmur of humanity's labor and suffering and sorrow—now a roar as of the breaking sea, now a moan as of the homeless wind. This voice, too, can be ignored by the dull heart and the deadened conscience; but now and again it will make itself heard in a way to rouse and frighten the soul. These are the two great voices that are forever speaking to men. They bear one and the same message; both are a call to look to Christ and to learn of him. We need him for our own sakes, if we wish to live rightly and die peacefully; we need him for the sake of others, if we care to bless and serve them in any real and helpful way. Alike by every reason for interest in our own character and fate, and by every obligation toward our brother men, we are bound, therefore, to be Christians. When one lays this book down the Fact of Christ seems, as it is, the most sublime and subduing Reality in the universe known to man.

*Reconstruction in Theology.* By HENRY CHURCHILL KING, Professor of Theology in Oberlin Theological Seminary. 12mo, pp. 257. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

Sabatier says, "To satisfy the expectation and the quest of spirits, living and troubled at this very moment, and to give men the means of justifying to themselves their faith and their hope—this is the principal merit of every genuine theology." Theology, to have any influence or render any service, must use statements relevant to the thought of the time and comprehensible to living minds. Professor King's book is animated by a desire to help intelligent laymen as well as theological students and ministers to an understanding of the great scholarly movements and convictions of the day, and to show that the solution of the theological problems of to-day is a conception of religion as a personal relation and a restatement of doctrine in terms of personal relation. And this last is, to our thinking, the most distinct and helpful value of this earnest and able book. Dr. King feels that it ought to be possible in Great Britain and America to avoid the great breach between the scholars of the Church and its membership, such as confronts Germany to-day; and shows that theology not only is compelled to look modern scientific and critical thought full in the face, but can do so calmly and

without fear that anything vital to the highest and purest Christianity is in danger, and with serene confidence that the movement of the time is carrying us toward a more truly biblical theology (which ought to be the only theology) and toward Christ's own point of view. The author's discussions of miracle and of evolution have also some special interest. Recognizing the value of the great creeds, in the past and now, the chief effort of the book is to describe the new world of thought in which we are living, and the necessity for theology to make itself intelligible to this new world by restatements of truth, and also to give the author's idea of the necessary form and basis of theology for the present and the future. Professor King insists that the effort for restatement and reconstruction is not the work of a rationalistic spirit in the Church, nor is it caused by the influence of an antireligious age upon the Church, but is due to the perceived necessity of meeting the new conditions with which a new intellectual and moral world surrounds us. The shape, not the essential nature, of the Church's problems changes from age to age. Five chapters are given to considering the influence of the new world of thought on theology; first, scientific influences and miracles in the light of modern science, with a glance at evolution and its special bearing; and next the influence of historical and literary biblical study. The author thinks that evolution's point of view offers some great general gains for theology; and as for the critical study of the Bible, while there are dangers attending transition to new views, he is confident of the final outcome, is sure it will establish the abiding significance and value of the Old Testament, and will bring larger gains to Christianity in view of the fact that Christianity is at once biblical and historical. This part of the book concludes by presenting what the author considers to be the positive results so far developed for modern theology, with a statement of the doctrine of inspiration as it now stands and of the difference between biblical and post-biblical inspiration. To us, as already intimated, the peculiar interest and worth of this volume is in the last four chapters, which treat of religion as a personal relation, regarding the laws of the Christian life as those of a personal friendship between man and God, setting forth the basis of this divine friendship and the conditions for deepening it. Two great facts of our day bearing favorably on this conception of religion are, first, a growing sense of the value and sacredness of the person, and, second, the increasing recognition of Christ as the supreme person of history. Other hopeful tokens are the increasing recognition of the whole man, the exclusion of the mechanical and the sacramentalistic, the quickening of the social conscience, the greater emphasis on the ethical with the root-unity of the ethical life in love, and the sifting of doctrine by practical tests. With all this goes also an increasing recognition of the practical Lordship of Christ, with God the Father as the ruling conception in modern theology, of whom Christ is the supreme and sufficient revelation—so much so, thought Dr. A. J. F. Behrends, that he could say, "The vision of Christ's face is



the only vision I ever expect to have of God, as Philip saw in him the Father." Arguing for the necessity of putting theology into the terms of personal relationship, it is shown that we know personal relations best, that the problem of life is the right fulfillment of personal relations, that religion is a personal relation, and that this is the New Testament conception. Even Pfeiderer says: "Why should it be less possible for God to enter into loving fellowship with us than for men to do so with each other? I should be inclined to think that He is even more capable of doing so." Professor King rejoices that modern intellectual progress has given to theology a larger view of the method, plan, and aim of God in the universe; a great extension and strengthening of the design argument; a clearer view of the harmony of the divine methods, the harmony between the plan of the natural world and that of the spiritual world; and an enlarged conception of God in his immanence in the world. He thinks that critical study is making the entire Old Testament more real, more rational, more personal, more vital, giving it a deepening hold on the imagination, heart, and life of mankind; and he believes confidently that because of this the best preaching of the Bible ever seen in the world is still ahead and is to be the glory of the twentieth century and the salvation of the world. We heartily agree with this book that man is the key to all problems, but only the *whole* man, and that the whole man is expressed only in personal relations. Lotze truly says that the nature of things does not consist in thoughts, and thinking alone is not able to grasp it. Man is more than intellect, and an adequate theology or philosophy must take account of all the data—emotional and volitional as well as intellectual; æsthetic, ethical, and religious as well as mechanical. It is a misnamed rationalism that knows only intellect; a genuine rationalism knows the whole man. And "the language which speaks of God in terms of our own highest experience is really *truer* than purely metaphysical language concerning God *can be*. Religion carries us nearer to the meaning of the world and the rationale of life than do the formulæ of an abstract metaphysics." This book is mediatorial and irenic in its purpose, and is part of the effort to bring about that *rapprochement* between the scholarship of the Church and its membership, which is rather painfully needed for the relief of the present situation. In the nature of the case the main responsibility for bringing about that better understanding rests upon the scholars, who alone are equipped for explanation and exposition, and who are in duty bound to make themselves "understood of the people," and to allay whatever alarm arises from failure to understand. A great deal of such work as is contained in Professor King's volume will have to be done. But the final result will be peace and power, light and life. Is this "an age of doubt"? Does the large and steady gain in evangelical Church membership support that characterization? The increase of avowed Christians during the nineteenth century was enormous. This is preeminently the age of triumphant faith in Christ.

*Commentary of the Old Testament.* Vol. VIII. Ezekiel and Daniel. By CAMDEN M. COBERN, D.D. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. Price, cloth, \$2.

Many will be glad that it has been given to our brother to make this contribution to the literature of the Church, and it is but just to congratulate him on not only the taste and skill shown in his work, but the industry that has so subdued a tangled and luxuriant field of sacred learning. In his service of large churches the welfare of his people and the mind of the Master have so employed his hours and energies that a friend may wonder how he has, for a by-task, achieved this commentary. Surely to the busy come business calls, and their working capacity grows by what it feeds on. The Book of Ezekiel is a book specially fortunate in this preliminary fact, that no criticism attacks its date or authorship, its unity or canonicity. Who the author was, when or where he lived, the character and fortunes of his people in his day, need statement only, not debate. One sees the prophet fearlessly throw himself into the midst of his times to struggle for Israel's welfare and to urge men to concur in the divine plan and calling. He anticipates the New Testament in his passionate appeal for their repentance and reform and in his assurance that all shall go well with them if once they turn. The Gospel in Ezekiel is the cry of the Baptist, of the evangelists, of the Apocalypse. It ignores ancestral and ceremonial merit and enforces absolute personal responsibility. The prophet lived in a crisis of his nation, in an age on ages telling. As with Jeremiah at Jerusalem, so with Ezekiel among the captives on the Chebar, old things were passing away and now was the hour to give the new things as they rose a healthful, hopeful character. Therefore his office is manifold. As historian he keeps a continuous record of events; as priest without temple or altar he cherishes every devout feeling and exalts the spiritual life above all carnal ordinances; as prophet, out of the ruins of the past, as from dry bones in desert sands, he sees the organized future come forth into new and strenuous life. From the temple's broken waste he sees rise in full flow a living stream that fills with abundance the Sea of Death or adorns its shore with trees whose leaf shall not wither, whose fruit shall be through all the months unailing. The dead nations never rise again, but their memorial may strangely come forth from the dust of oblivion. In one century—620 B. C.—520 B. C.—five great empires went down; within sixty years their record has emerged from their ruins. A mass of unmeaning wedges has proved to be an arrowheaded library, and has told the tale of Mesopotamia. No other sacred book is thereby so illustrated as Ezekiel, and no writer has so mastered and presented the gist of all this as Dr. Cobern. Familiar with this historic wealth in its home lands and in the best museums, he has made it a help to the better understanding of the Scripture, as if, indeed, for that it was kept in store. The introduction embraces all matters leading up to the proper contents of the book. The topic the most difficult and important is the

language of symbolism. The giant imagery, the emblems long quite incomprehensible, have in these later years been uncovered in the Assyrian palaces, and Ezekiel's visions, like Joseph's dreams, like the Saviour's parables, were at home when used and are now made everywhere intelligible. The explanations in this commentary serve well elsewhere in Scripture. The entire Book of Ezekiel our author throws into five divisions. The first sets forth the prophet's call to his sacred office. The second details the sin and announces the doom of the Jews and their city. The third is given to denunciation of Israel's foes, the vague forms of fierce tribes and peoples thrust into the hopeless darkness of the underworld, which to Israel was still cheered by the divine Presence. The fourth offers its wealth of consolation, while the fifth, swinging the gate of the future, shows the coming sanctuary and the preliminaries of the coming one, closing full in the name of the holy city. "The Lord is there." From the first verse of this commentary one may learn the style of the whole. This is fully treated, varying views fairly shown and the best quietly chosen. The diligence and acuteness, the wide study, and the earnest quest of truth here at once give the keynote of the whole work, and the last verse "returns to that from which it has not departed." Our author finds between the books upon which he comments the greatest contrast. The Book of Daniel is now for ages and generations under query as to what manner of times one is to find herein. "The Son of man," who first here bears this title, owned the book by quoting it; the Jews long counted it the most glorious of their prophetic list, and Dr. Coburn makes clear the ardor of esteem with which the Church to this day regards it. Yet the book wears a baffling mystery. Its material agrees with one epoch and its molding with another. It is in the second canon a century before our era as if coming from the unseen and placed by the fingers of a bodiless hand. Our author finds his widest work in discussing the views held by eminent critics, for each, fascinated by the book, has his theory. The date and authorship of Daniel give them a problem to be exercised therewith, and their sorest travail brings little but vexation of spirit. Our commentator, calmly rehearsing all this, takes as his working theory about as follows: Under the dynasty of Seleucus, to whom came Alexander's Syrian empire, a prophet, for Israel's immediate comfort, brought into glowing vision the four centuries last gone and the two centuries next coming. The vision is an artistic unity, the personal traditions of Daniel serving for instruction in righteousness and framing the visions like apples of gold in network of silver. The commentary discusses all the features and relations of the book, and the reader, though he run while reading, can grasp all that is knowable of this inspired and inspiring prophet. The kingdoms of this world eventfully rise and fall; then rises the divine, universal kingdom that cannot fall. The movement is that of a pageant trailing clouds of glory on its way and at the end finding its consummation in the eternal splendors. Dr.

Coburn has taken his task in deep and wide seriousness. He drops his work into the stream of our time's religious thought. It will not be cast aside upon the bank; it will add to the volume and enrich the quality of the flow.

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PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

*The Habitant.* By WILLIAM HENRY DRUMMOND, M.D. 12mo, pp. 137. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

This successful volume of French-Canadian poems, mostly in dialect and already followed by another, entitled *Johnnie Courteau and Other Poems*, is by an adopted son of Canada who came there from Ireland when ten years old. The author's motive is given in his preface: "Having lived practically all my life side by side with the French-Canadians, I have grown to admire and love them, and have felt that while many of the English-speaking public know perhaps as well as myself the French-Canadian of the cities, yet they have had little opportunity of becoming acquainted with the *Habitant*; therefore I have endeavored to paint a few types, and in doing this it has seemed to me that I could best attain the object in view by having my friends tell their own tale in their own way, as they would relate them in their broken half-English dialect to English-speaking auditors not conversant with the French tongue." The pictures which interpret the characters and scenes of these verses are sketched from nature or life by F. S. Coburn, a young Canadian illustrator of remarkable ability. Most writers of to-day agree in giving the French-Canadian a good character. In his preface to *The Lane that Had no Turning*, a book of tales concerning the people of Pontiac, and parables of the provinces, Gilbert Parker writes: "I have never seen frugality and industry associated with so much domestic virtue and so deep and simple a religious life as in French Canada. A land without poverty, and yet without riches, it stands alone, too well educated to have an ordinary peasantry, too poor to have an aristocracy." The province of Quebec, which was the earlier colonized and is the more interesting in scenery and historical associations, contains most of the French-Canadian peasantry, the *Habitant*. Descended from the hardy men who were brought to America by Champlain over two hundred years ago, the *Habitant* is an antique historic figure, not merging into the general population, but preserving his quaint identity—a survival from a bygone time. The *patois* which he continues to speak generation after generation is probably a modification of the French dialect spoken by his ancestors in Normandy centuries ago. Although more than a century has passed since the flag of Britain first floated in victory over him, he still clings to many old French ways and traditions. He plants long rows of tall poplars to keep alive the memory of the country of his forefathers. He abhors change and novelty and new-fangled inventions, such as steam plows

and patent reapers. He makes his furniture and most of his tools and farming implements with his own hands, as his wife makes all clothing for the family. His white hamlets dot the banks of the St. Lawrence, above and below Quebec, with veritable Norman cottages, which have steep roofs, dormer windows, and wide chimneys; and always central in each group of humble homes stands the whitewashed church lifting its red-tiled roof and picturesque steeple, with the curé's neat cottage behind it, and a convent or seminary near by, while here and there along the roads is planted a wayside cross before which peasants kneel, crossing themselves in prayer for good harvests, long life, and plenty of children. As a rule the French-Canadians outside the cities marry early, often the boy of twenty to the girl of seventeen, and have large families, in which the chief ambition is to raise one priest or *avoué* to dignify the family name. They are simple-minded folk, characterized by submissive reverence for the priest, a placid temperament, and an extreme contentment, which speaks for itself in the opening poem called "The Habitant:"

De fader of me, he was habitant farmer,  
 Ma gran' fader too, an' hees fader also;  
 Dey don't mak' no monee, but dat is n't fonny,  
 For it's not easy get everyting, you mus' know:

All de sam' dere is someting dey got everybuddy,  
 Dat's plintee good healt', wat de monee can't geev;  
 So I'm workin' away dere, an' happy for stay dere  
 On farm by de reever, so long I was leev.

We leev very quiet 'way back on de contree,  
 Don't put on sam' style lak de big village;  
 Wen we don't get de monee you tink dat is fonny,  
 An' mak' plintee sport on de Bottes Sauvages.

But I tole you—dat's true—I don't go on de city  
 If you geev de fine house an' beaucoup d'argent—  
 I rader be stay me, an' spend de las' day me  
 On farm by de rapide dat's call Cheval Blanc.

The *Habitant* is intensely patriotic toward his own people and the soil he lives on, complacent over himself and his position, proud of Canada's immeasurable superiority in location, scenery, climate, and healthfulness. He is content with his plain fare of rye bread, sour milk, fat pork, and potatoes. He is content with his easy religion. The priest does his thinking for him and most of his praying, wipes out his sins for him from time to time for a consideration, and finally helps him out of purgatory on the same financial plan. Intensely French as he is in his pride of ancestry, he is content with the government he lives under. England, in Canada as elsewhere, has shown herself such a just and generous conqueror that the *Habitant* has been happier since the victory on the heights of Abraham unfurled the banner of Britain above the citadel of Quebec than he ever was under the flag of *L'Ancien Régime*. He found his English conqueror to be a strong protector, who

interfered in no way with his comfort or well-being, but permitted him to go on living his own life freely in his own way. His contentment is well expressed by his own words in the Jubilee Ode with which he joins in celebrating the good Victoria's long reign:

We spik Français lak', we always do, an' de English dey mak no fuss,  
An' our law de sam'; wall, I don't know me, 'twas better mebbe for us.  
So de sam' as two broder we settle down, leevin' dere han' in han';  
Knowin' each oder, we lak' each oder, de French an' de Englishman;  
For it's curis ting on dis worl', I'm sure you see it agen an' agen,  
Dat offen de mos' worse ennemi, he's comin' de bes', bes' frien'.  
An' onder de flag of Angleterre, so long as dat flag was fly,  
Wit deir English broder, les Canayens is satisfy leev an' die.

Fifty years hence, or less, it may be that the world will hear from South Africa a similar song of loyal contentment with Great Britain's liberal, benign, civilizing, and elevating supremacy through all the regions lying between the Zambesi and the Cape. In South Africa now, as previously on the Nile and in the Soudan, and as hereafter wherever England may need them, the French-Canadians have been ready volunteers to shoulder arms and help extend to other unwilling lands the blessings of that mighty, just, generous, freedom-giving, and republicanized empire, under which they themselves rejoice to have lived in peace and prosperity for more than a hundred years. The French-Canadian does not want to be annexed to the United States. As to the Yankees, he says:

Wen effer dey're comin' on Canadaw, we always be treat dem well,  
For dey're spendin' de monee lak' gentilhommes, an' stay on de bes' hotel.  
Den "Bienvenu," we vill spik dem, an' "Come back again nex' week,  
So long you was kip on de quiet an' don't talk de politique."

The festivals of the French-Canadian are religious, the chief ones being that of St. Jean Baptiste and the Fête de Dieu, celebrated by picturesque processions with music and flowers and sacred emblems and the carrying of the host through the streets. The literature of the *Habitant* is mostly in the form of songs, which go to the sound of his fiddle after his hard day's work is done. And the principal literary product of Canada, English as well as French, would seem to be in large proportion, poetry, the richness and variety of which may be seen in Dr. T. H. Rand's *Treasury of Canadian Verse*, and are familiar to us in the works of such Canadian singers as Carman, Roberts, Lampman, and D. C. Scott. Our latest characterization of the French-Canadians is from Goldwin Smith, a well-informed resident of Canada, which we here append as giving some views slightly different from those above expressed, and as fit to close our notice of the book in which Dr. Drummond has given us so much of the spirit and quality of the life of Lower Canada: "In French Canada the Catholic Church has reigned over a simple peasantry, her own from the beginning, thoroughly submissive to the priesthood, willing to give freely of its little store for the building of churches which tower over the hamlet, and sufficiently firm

in its faith to throng to the fane of St. Anne Baupré for miracles of healing. She has kept the *Habitant* ignorant and unprogressive, but made him, after her rule, moral, insisting on early marriage, on remarriage, controlling his habits and amusements with an almost Puritan strictness. Probably French Canada has been as good and as happy as anything the Catholic Church had to show. The priesthood was of the Gallican school. It lived on good terms with the state, though in French Canada the state was a conqueror. From fear of New England Puritanism it had kept its people loyal to Great Britain during the Revolutionary War. From fear of French atheism it kept its people loyal to Great Britain during the war with France. It sang *Te Deum* for Trafalgar. So things were till the other day. But then came the Jesuit. He got back, from the subserviency of the Canadian politicians, the lands which he had lost after the conquest and the suppression of his order. He supplanted the Gallicans, captured the hierarchy, and prevailed over the great Sulpician monastery in a struggle for the pastorate of Montreal. Other influences have of late been working for a change in a direction neither Gallican nor Jesuit. Railroads have broken into the rural seclusion which favored the ascendancy of the priest. Popular education has made some way. Newspapers have increased in number and are more read. The peasant has been growing restive under the burden of tithe and *fabrique*. Many of the *Habitants* go into the Northern States of the Union for work, and return to their own country bringing with them republican ideas. Americans who have been shunning continental union from dread of French-Canadian popery may lay aside their fears."

*Counsel upon the Reading of Books.* 12mo, pp. 306. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

The American Society for the Extension of University Teaching arranged for the delivery, in Philadelphia, of lectures intended to offer helpful suggestions to those who desire to read wisely. The six papers in this volume, based upon those lectures, are by Morse Stephens, Agnes Repplier, Arthur T. Hadley, Brander Matthews, Bliss Perry, and H. W. Mabie. The subjects are "History," "Memoirs and Biographies," "Sociology, Economics, and Politics," "The Study of Fiction," "Poetry," "Essay and Criticism." The lecturers have spent their lives among books, and are capable of telling something about the best books and the way to use them. They look at the subject from different sides, each having a specific theme and viewing it through his own peculiar temperament. Three write from the scientific point of view, and three from the literary. One of them, Miss Repplier, makes light of prescribed courses of reading, calling them "Cook's Tours in Literature," but Henry Van Dyke in his Introduction wisely says that, while he who is reading for pleasure may read what pleases him, one who is in pursuit of knowledge must surely be thankful to be "personally conducted" to

the books which contain the information he seeks. He adds, "There are more than ten great books in the world, and more than a hundred good ones; but the best hundred for you may not be the best for me." He gives such advice as this, "Read the preface or introduction first; read plenty of books about people and things; read one book at a time; read the great old books which have stood the test of time; read no book with which the author has not taken pains enough to write it in a clean, sound, lucid style." As to history, Professor Stephens highly values and strongly commends the historical novel, like those of Scott, and Dumas, and Kingsley, and Weir Mitchell; but Professor Matthews scorns the historical novel as a "bastard hybrid of fact and fancy." Macaulay passes for a great historian, but it does not increase our confidence in the trustworthiness of his history when we hear him say, "Facts are the mere dross of history." "History begins in novel and ends in essay; it is a compound of poetry and philosophy." Professor Stephens says that James Anthony Froude was one of the masters of modern English literary style, but that he regarded accuracy and impartiality as of no importance, and that he had a curious disease which prevented him from stating the truth even when he perceived it. One critic invented the word "Froudacity" to describe that disease. It differs from mendacity in being not so much a perversion of the truth as an absolute inability to state it. Carlyle was not a historian, for he had not the faintest idea of what scientific investigation, accurate criticism, impartiality, or objective reality implied; he had not the type of mind nor the training necessary for weighing evidence, and his love of the picturesque and the dramatic in history outweighed the love of truth which he was always talking about. His marvelous work entitled *The French Revolution—A History* might have been more accurately named *The French Revolution—A Rhapsody*. Professor Stephens thinks that "the greatest of living English poets" has described the spirit in which the true historian will write and the reward he will receive:

And only the Master shall praise us and only the Master shall blame;  
And no one shall work for money, and no one shall work for fame,  
But each for the joy of the working, and each, in his separate star,  
Shall draw the Thing as he sees it for the God of Things as they are.

In biography the great English books are Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* and Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*. Southey's *Life of Nelson* and Gibbon's *Autobiography* are models of biography in miniature. Carlyle said with enthusiasm over Johnson's noble courage, and kindness of heart, and impregnable common sense, "A true brother of men is he, and filial lover of the earth;" yet Carlyle himself, in sharp contrast, turned from his brother men and from his mother earth in angry scorn of the folly he could not pity and of the wickedness he could not mend. The *Life of Lord Tennyson* by his son is counted a failure in the sense that it paints a shadowy Tennyson, lacking in humanity, and without warmth or light. Another failure is Professor Dowden's *Life of Shelley*.



because the biographer's emotions overwhelm his judgment; as Matthew Arnold said, "Dowden holds a brief for Shelley, pleading for him as an advocate pleads for his client;" and his pleadings are so feverishly sentimental that we are lifted from the firm, familiar ground of right and common sense, and whirled about in a fog-world of nonsense and wrong. And this is the professor who extols Southey's *Life of Nelson* for its simplicity and lack of sentimentalism! An interesting volume is the *Memoir and Letters* of John Murray, the publisher, in which are seen as in a picture the childish vanity of James Hogg, the irritable arrogance of Leigh Hunt, the greed of Madame de Staël, the bewildering verbosity of Coleridge, the gayety of Thomas Moore, the petulance of Byron, the rare modesty of Sir Walter Scott, the inexhaustible self-esteem of Southey. Benjamin Disraeli, himself by no means lacking in self-appreciation, gave the palm for self-conceit to Greville, the author of the *Memoirs*, "although," added the prime minister, "I have read Cicero, and I knew Bulwer Lytton." The noblest nature shown us by a great biographer is probably Sir Walter Scott, whose sane and manly virtues, kindness, patience, unostentatious acceptance of new duties, and freedom from envy, jealousy, and vanity, place him among God's truest noblemen. "Never did man preach less and practice more," says Miss Repplier. "Sir Walter," said his old servant, "always speaks to every man as if he were his born brother." "If you please," answered the dying Duke of Wellington to a servant who asked him if he would like a drink. If one wishes to feel the difference between science and poetry, he cannot do better than to read this ornithological description of the skylark, "a small oscine, passerine bird of the family Alaudidæ, insectivorous and migratory," and then read Shelley's "Ode" to that same bird. One critic writes that "poetry is a new way of seeing things rather than a loud way of saying them." Another says that poetry is the finest of the arts and gives visions of the most ravishing beauty. Shelley thought poetry "the record of the best and happiest moments of the best and happiest minds." Edward FitzGerald, extolling Wordsworth, said, "I read all the other poets, but I always end by coming back to their Daddy." Speaking of literature as a whole, John Morley once said, "Its purpose is to bring sunshine into our hearts and to drive moonshine out of our heads." Writing of the essay, Mr. Mabie says that the essayist is not generally supposed to have a place in Hebrew literature: The historian, the poet, the psalmist, the prophet, are found there; but until Professor Moulton restored its proper literary form to the Bible few, if any, dreamed of finding the essayist there. But Mr. Mabie calls the following an essay in spirit and form, full of what Walter Pater describes as autumnal wisdom, spiritual discernment, the very genius of discretion, judgment upon knowledge, the distilled wine of experience: "Wisdom exalteth her sons, and taketh hold of them that seek her. He that loveth her loveth life; and they that seek her early shall be filled with gladness. He that holdeth her fast shall inherit

glory; and where he entereth, the Lord will bless. They that do her service shall minister to the Holy One; and them that love her the Lord doth love. He that giveth ear unto her shall judge the nations; and he that giveth heed unto her shall dwell securely. If he trust her, he shall inherit her; and his generations shall have her in possession. At first she will bring fear and dread upon him and torment him with her discipline, that she may try him by her judgments until she can trust his soul; then will she gladden him and reveal to him her secrets. But if he go astray, she will forsake him and deliver him over to his fall." This, says Mr. Mabie, is one of the earliest of essays, a piece of perfect literature; very brief and condensed, yet bringing man face to face with one of the deepest and most momentous truths of life; it deals with eternal principles, yet is as concrete in its way as the Psalms of David or the Book of Job. Although Dr. Van Dyke thinks that the enterprise of making a book out of such lectures as are in this volume has its disadvantages, we have found it interesting, stimulating, and informing from the first page to the last.

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#### HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

*The English Church, from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I (1066-1272).* By W. R. W. STEPHENS, B.D., F.S.A., Dean of Winchester. Crown 8vo, pp. 351. London and New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, \$2.

This is the second in a series of seven volumes intended to cover the history of the English Church from its foundation in 597 A. D. to the end of the eighteenth century. The first three or four volumes are now ready, and, though prepared by different hands, show consistency and continuity as well as carefulness. Our own interest in the series will center most on the seventh and closing volume, to see how Canon Overton will treat of the great evangelical movement under the Wesleys when he comes to write of the English Church from the death of Anne to the close of the eighteenth century; although the canon's previous writings have taught us what to expect from him in spirit and attitude toward that mighty awakening. The volume now before us begins with a momentous period. The Norman Conqueror brought the English Church and nation, which had been insulated in a kind of backwater, into the main stream of European civilization just at the opening of one of the most eventful eras in the history of Christendom. The two hundred years from the latter half of the eleventh century to near the close of the thirteenth were emphatically an age of growth—intellectual, religious, and political; an age of great men, grand ideals, and noble ventures. It witnessed the rise and progress of the Crusading movement. It saw monasticism reach its zenith in the reform of the Benedictines, the foundation of the Cistercian and Corthusian orders, and the diffusion of the Mendicant orders, which not only brought the ministrations of Christian love and self-sacrifice to the outcast leper, the sick, the suffering, the needy, the sin laden, but also furnished some of the leading

teachers in the University of Oxford. It was in that age of great intellectual activity and increasing scholastic learning that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge rose out of obscure beginnings into fame and importance. In that period the metropolitan see of Canterbury was distinguished by a succession of archbishops eminent for learning, sanctity, administrative ability—Lanfranc, Anselm, Theobald, Thomas Becket, Hubert Walter, Stephen Langton, Edmund Rich—who exercised an important influence on Church and nation, protecting the liberties of both from the oppressive exactions of popes and kings. The popes of that period were able and ambitious, and insisted that the spiritual power, being in its nature superior to the earthly and temporal, ought to be paramount in Christendom, asserting that this supreme spiritual power had been inherited by the popes from St. Peter, whom they mistakenly believed to have been chief of the apostles and first Bishop of Rome. The effort to enforce this claim of supreme power involved the papacy in the unscrupulous intrigues of worldly policy, and, stooping to conquer, the Church meanly debased itself. The avaricious popes drained England of its resources until the patience of clergy and people was exhausted, and they united in resistance against rapacious oppression. Pope Alexander II gave great assistance to William the Norman in his invasion and conquest of England, and the papal bull which denounced Harold as a usurper and proclaimed William the lawful heir of the English throne really invested William's enterprise with the character of a holy war. So William was able to appeal to religious sentiment as well as to love of plunder in inviting aid for his attempt to conquer England; and wealthy ecclesiastics in high position were induced to contribute men and ships for the invasion, the Abbot of St. Ouen furnishing twenty ships and one hundred knights, and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, one hundred ships. From the outset William the Conqueror exhibited himself in the eyes of Europe as champion of the Roman Church no less than as rightful claimant to the English throne; and his purpose was to bring the English Church into direct submission to Roman discipline and the authority of the pope. After the victorious William had had himself crowned in Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day, 1066, he sent to the pope an astonishing amount of gold and silver and costly ornaments, such as a Byzantine emperor might have envied. It is impossible for us in this notice to follow the struggles for freedom against oppression in this critical period of the English nation and Church. Only a few incidents of that stirring and tumultuous history can be noted. William the Norman filled the offices of the English Church with imported Normans, until Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, was the only bishop of English birth who remained in possession of his see. He was a man of many noble qualities, honest fearlessness, apostolic zeal, and good sense, a preacher of righteousness, who purified the port of Bristol from its infamous traffic in slaves, and did many other mighty works of reform. It is narrated that when a new church was finished

Wulfstan was observed to weep, and, being remonstrated with for not rejoicing at the completion of so noble a work, he replied that their forefathers had been content with less stately buildings, because to them every place was a church wherein they could offer themselves as a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto God. "We, on the contrary," he continued, "are diligent in piling up grand buildings made of stone, while we are negligent of those living temples which are the souls of men." A wealthy Thane, named Lygulf, and his wife each presented a bell to the great Abbey of St. Albans, he selling some of his flocks of sheep and goats to buy his bell for the church. When these donors heard the bells ringing from the minster tower Lygulf would say merrily, "Hark! how sweetly bleat my sheep and goats!" and his wife, listening to the sweet concert of the two bells, rejoiced in their harmony as symbolical of the loving agreement between her husband and herself in devotion to the Church. A great character was Anselm, Prior of Bec, a man of lofty genius, a profound and original thinker who grappled with intricate and unsolved questions touching the nature of God and man's relations with him. When, on Palm Sunday, 1109 A. D., they told the dying Anselm that he would probably keep his Easter with his Master in heaven, he replied, "If his will be so, I will gladly obey it; but if he were willing I should abide with you until I have solved a question I am turning over in my mind about the origin of the soul, I should be thankful." The good Anselm during his life spent a large part of his time by day in giving advice to persons who consulted him on questions of faith or conduct; and after his hours of prayer the remainder of his time, including a great part of the night, was devoted to severe study and devout meditation. He even took upon himself the irksome task of instructing boys in the rudiments of grammar. But the work in which he most delighted and excelled was that of molding the minds and characters of young men. For this he was eminently qualified by sweetness of temper, affectionate sympathy, playful humor, deep piety, acute intellect, keen discernment of character, and practical wisdom in suggesting rules for moral conduct. An abbot who had difficulty in training the boys in his monastery complained to Anselm that they were incorrigible, and, though constantly beaten, only grew worse. "Beat them constantly, do you?" said Anselm. "And pray, what kind of creatures are they when they grow up?" "Dull and brutal," was the reply. "What can we do?" asked the abbot; "we restrain them in every possible way, but all to no purpose." "Restrain them, my lord abbot!" rejoined Anselm. "If you planted a young shoot in your garden and then confined it on all sides, so that it could not put forth its branches, would it not turn out a strange, misshapen thing when at last it was set free? Even so, these children have been planted in the garden of the Church to grow and bear fruit for God; but you cramp them so severely with your punishments and threats that they contract all manner of evil tempers and sullenly resent all correction." When Thomas Becket,

Archbishop of Canterbury, was murdered in his church by four knights, who called themselves "the King's men," the monks, after the murderers had fled, came out of hiding and took up the bleeding body to bury it in the crypt. They found that the archbishop wore next his skin a garment of coarse haircloth, swarming with vermin, and that his flesh was scarred with self-inflicted scourgings. At this they were filled with wonder and joy, exclaiming: "What a true monk was our great archbishop! What a true martyr, enduring torture not only in his death, but in his life! What a true monk he was, and we knew it not until now!" And amid their tears of sorrow for the loss of so great a bishop they "laughed for joy" at discovering so great a saint. A charming character was Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, whose sweetness and simplicity softened the most rugged natures and even won a singular affection from animals. The gentleness of animals to children and their ready attachment to persons who in innocency of life resemble little children illustrate the truth that discord and strife were brought into the world by sin, and that harmony can only be restored by pure goodness and love. When some visitors to St. Guthlac in the eighth century were astonished at seeing the swallows twittering around him and perching on his shoulders, the English hermit explained thus: "Know you not that he who is united to God by purity of heart finds all these sinless creatures of God united peaceably to himself? The birds of heaven, like the angels of God, know that they may safely trust those who have abjured the wickedness of the world." In the same spirit Benedict at Subiaco shared his frugal meals with the ravens, and Cuthbert and Francis of Assisi gathered birds and beasts around them as friendly companions. The future volumes of this history of the English Church will be awaited with much interest.

*The Autobiography of a Journalist.* By WILLIAM JAMES STILLMAN. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. 743. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$8.

Mr. Houghton, of the publishing house, suggested the writing of this book. Amid the multifarious occupations of a random life Stillman's most serious service was rendered as a journalist—all the rest, he thinks, was fringe or failure. Giving his strength for twenty years to the *London Times*, he testifies to the noble character and larger sincerity of that great journal. When the idealized portrait of the author, prefixed to these volumes, was drawn by Rowse in 1856, Russell Lowell said, "You have nothing to do for the rest of your life but to try to look like it." The Puritan conscience runs through Stillman's life, and the note of perfect honesty sounds in all his narrative of changing views and a restless, roving career. His father was called "honest old Joe Stillman," and his godly mother held self-righteousness to be the one thing utterly profane. Brought up a rigid Baptist, he reacted at one period into extreme liberalism, or even atheism; but this passed and his essential reli-

gious convictions became stronger than ever. Never at any time did the clear conviction of immortality as the explanation and justification of human existence fail him. He records that he has seen many men who lived for years in absolute rejection of religion return in their old age to the simple faith of childhood, ending as they began. Stillman's own digression into rationalism ended by leaving him firm in a simple faith. Out of the wilderness of doubt he came with vivid religious convictions, saying, "Providence rules and God answers prayer." Stillman had a genius and consuming passion for art, and feels that life denied him the one career to which he had the strongest call. His study of art in England brought him into acquaintance with Ruskin and Turner. He tells us that Turner refused to sell to James Lenox, of New York, for any amount of money his painting of the old fighting *Temeraire* being towed to her last berth to be broken up. Meeting Ruskin, he expected to find something of the fire, enthusiasm, and dogmatism of *Modern Painters*, but found only a man of the gentlest type, blonde, refined, and with little self-assertion, suggesting views rather than asserting them, as if he had not yet come to a conclusion on the subject of conversation. One day, when Stillman was drinking from a glass, Ruskin said he believed it had been ordained from all eternity whether that glass should be put down empty or only partly empty. During our civil war Ruskin's sympathy was ardently with the South. Stillman thinks that however correct Ruskin's views of the ethics of art, he was entirely in error from the standpoint of pure art. The great Turner was a little, insignificant-looking old man with a nose like an eagle's beak, though with an eagle's eye, bright, restless, keen. When Stillman spoke to him of one of his pictures which was owned in America he exclaimed impulsively, "I wish they were all put in a blunderbuss and shot off." In the early fifties young Stillman fell under the spell of Kossuth, and lent himself to the revolt against Austria on Hungary's behalf. He went on a reckless adventure to Hungary to carry off the crown jewels for Kossuth, nearly losing his life in the futile attempt. He says the personal fascination of Kossuth was beyond anything he ever knew, but that he was the most incompetent of conspirators, and his failure inevitable. At one time in his restless and intense life Stillman made a practical and persistent investigation of spiritualism, out of which he came with two conclusions: first, that there are about us spiritual individualities; second, that the human being possesses spiritual senses, parallel with the physical, by which it sees and hears what the physical sense cannot see or hear, these spiritual senses appertaining to a spiritual body which survives the death of the physical. Stillman served as fine-art editor for the *Evening Post*, which, under William Cullen Bryant, was the noblest type of political dailies. Bryant was slow to forgive Lowell for writing of him in the "Table for Critics:"

If he stir you at all, it is just, on my soul,  
Like being stirred up with a very North Pole.

Bryant was a just man whose habit was to repress all expression of his own feeling, and so he was counted cold. Longfellow was a man of extreme unselfishness and delicate consideration for others, yet he did not possess that social magnetism which made Lowell the loadstone of so many hearts. Emerson and Longfellow were of antagonistic intellectuality and were incapable of close mutual sympathy. Stillman says that O. W. Holmes loved his friends serenely, but enjoyed himself more than he enjoyed anybody else; enjoyed his personal appearance and his position and attainments, being even more conspicuously satisfied with himself, his fate, and fortune than Mr. Gladstone or Professor E. A. Freeman. Lowell was the Yankee antithesis of Holmes, having a large, generous, chivalric, widely sympathizing nature, from which radiated love for humanity and the broadest and most catholic helpfulness. As to evolution, Professor Richard Owen saw in it the plan of a Divine Intelligence; Agassiz maintained the presence of Conscious Mind in all creation, saying, "All correspondence between the different aspects of animal life are the manifestations of mind acting consciously with intention toward one object from beginning to end; a mental power with which our own is akin manifests itself in nature; this world of ours is the work of an intelligent, conscious Power." The great American botanist, Asa Gray, a distinguished Darwinian, accepted evolution as the *modus operandi* of the Supreme Intelligence. Stillman says the father of Robert Browning was a saint, a serene, untroubled soul, a man in whom no moral problem could arise to cloud his frank acceptance of life as it came to him. Inheriting an estate in Jamaica, he calmly refused it when he found he could not work it profitably without becoming a slave owner. One of the author's opinions is that but for Lincoln's faith in the Supreme Providence, and in the destiny of the republic, and the courage this faith gave him, the war would have destroyed the Union. The corruption of our politics to-day makes him feel that the blood of that war was largely wasted, and he thinks that unparalleled disasters must come before our country reaches the goal its founders believed to be its destiny. Gladstone thought the condition of our civil service ominous of evil to the future of America. In the early sixties Stillman was American consul at Rome. Protestant worship inside the city walls was forbidden by law. But in defiance of this law the consul hired in the name of the legation a large room near the Piazza di Spagna, put up the arms of the United States, and opened it for religious services, conducted by an ex-chaplain of the House of Representatives—the first recorded Protestant worship in the papal city. In Rome he saw much of Charlotte Cushman, whom he characterizes as utterly selfish, avaricious, and malicious—"that most dangerous member of society, a strong-willed and large-brained woman without a vestige of principle." Having seen much of many nations, Stillman puts the Montenegrin at the head of European races in military courage and

docility; he is born brave, and the customary wish for the boy baby in his cradle is, "May you not die in your bed;" to face death is to Montenegrin boy or man the most joyous of games. An incident illustrating what often happens in Mohammedan countries is the following: In the city of Mostar a young Mussulman, having received a present of a new rifle, went out into the suburbs, and seeing a Christian boy, took a pot shot and killed him. For this the young assassin was carried in triumph about the town on the shoulders of his playmates, and was never in any way punished for it. Stillman confesses a strong liking for the Russians, and says: "I have hardly known a Russian whom I did not take to, in spite of a looseness in matters of veracity, which is so unlike the Anglo-Saxon. The evolution of the Russian character will in time make that race dominant in Europe. When the vices inherent in a people governed despotically are outgrown they will develop a magnificent civilization which may distance the West of to-day. But under the present crude and maleficent despotic form of government they are likely to menace the welfare of the world for a long time. The expected struggle between German and Slav is inevitable, and the sure defeat of the German will insure Russian domination in Europe." For Italy the author is not hopeful. The present pope, he says, is an amiable ecclesiastic, who practically says to the Italian people, "Be and do as you please, only obey us in all that we command"—obedience in rites and ceremonies being considered of far greater importance for priests and people than sexual morality, veracity, or common honesty. "For that evil influence which has its seat in the Vatican," writes Stillman, "and whose end and aim are absolutely antagonistic to all pure religion, I have no respect, but only the feeling due to unmitigated evil. It is a deadly political malady, malefic in proportion to its influence on the people, and until Italy is freed from it no progress or morality or healthy political life is possible." He fears that the struggle between the Vatican and a free and united Italy may end in the ruin of both contestants, since he doubts if the Italians have the patriotism or the courage to adopt the only saving measure—the formal and complete suppression of all civic privileges for the pope and his bishops, the relegation of religion to a place outside the organization of government. This *Autobiography of a Journalist* is interesting to a high degree.

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#### MISCELLANEOUS.

*The First Interpreters of Jesus.* By GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT, Ph.D., D.D., Author of *The Student's Life of Jesus*, *The Student's Life of Paul*, and *The Revelation of Jesus*. 12mo, pp. 429. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

This book was the immediate occasion, if not the entire cause, of Professor Gilbert's removal from his professorship of New Testament literature and interpretation in Chicago Theological Seminary. It denies the preexistence of Christ as usually held, and holds that his union with



God was rather a moral agreement than an identity of nature or a oneness of substance. The author is a disciple of Ritschl; his is the first Ritschlian head to fall into the basket in this country; essentially it is Ritschlianism which is thus put under ban. Professor Gilbert gets his doctrine from Germany, as did the Andover *post-mortem* probationists; Ritschl is his teacher, as Dorner was theirs. Methodism needs no second-probationism, since it has no hard doctrines requiring to be pieced out and relieved by such unscriptural inventions. Neither does Methodism need to call the ministry of Ritschlianism for any ills, displacements, or discomforts of which it is conscious; it has no need to wear a truss or a brace. The great effort of the nineteenth century was to ethicize theology. This effort the Ritschlians have shared with the Unitarians, though the two columns go about it in very different ways. To an extent both have rendered good service, for some theologies have badly needed ethicizing, since they shocked the moral sense. Ours is not one of those theologies; it needs neither plasters nor purgatives nor excisions. Ritschl is undeniably a great personality, and his school is at present perhaps the most influential in Germany. It is quite Teutonic in being very subtle and considerably misty. The Ritschlians complain that they are misunderstood. English and German visitors to Paris often make a similar complaint because they find that the French people do not understand their own language when it is spoken to them. Ritschlianism, which is essentially a revival of Kantianism, was in this country anticipated in certain particulars by some of Bushnell's advanced ideas. A recent comment on Ritschl says that his negation of metaphysics and his positive vindication of the value-judgment both rest on the Kantian theory of the confinement of knowledge to the *phenomenal* as distinguished from the *noumenal* world; and that a sign of this is his well-known comparison of the compass of Christian theology to an ellipse (as distinguished from a circle) with the doctrine of Reconciliation and the doctrine of the Kingdom as its two foci. In Ritschl's system the kingdom is mainly an *ethical* and only secondarily an *eschatological* magnitude; whereas in the teaching of Jesus the eschatological element seems to predominate.

*Atonement.* A Brief Study. By Bishop S. M. MERRILL. 16mo, pp. 160. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, 25 cents.

*Sanctification.* Right Views and Other Views. Same author, publishers, style, and price.

Agassiz once said to a friend: "O I wish I had time to write a little book! All my books come large, and I have not the time to condense them." Bishop Merrill has condensed large subjects into these two great little books of doctrine, strong, lucid, coherent, conclusive. Their compactness, sanity, simplicity, and easy comprehensibility fit them for the purpose which inspired their writing, namely, to correct erroneous current views and teachings, and to elucidate what is reasonable, scriptural, and now for a long time assuredly believed among us.

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